RELIGIOUS FRANKS

RELIGION AND POWER IN THE FRANKISH KINGDOMS: STUDIES IN HONOUR OF MAYKE DE JONG

EDITED BY ROB MEENS, DORINE VAN ESPELO, BRAM VAN DEN HOVEN VAN GENDEREN, JANNEKE RAAIJMAKERS, IRENE VAN RENSWOUDE AND CARINE VAN RHIJN

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Mayke de Jong

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Edited by Rob Meens, Dorine van Espelo,
Bram van den Hoven van Genderen,
Janneke Raaijmakers, Irene van Renswoude and
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Preface

Mayke de Jong is a historian of the early Middle Ages who not only left her mark in her field with fundamental studies on child oblation, Carolingian monasticism and the reign of Louis the Pious, but also inspired a whole generation of younger scholars in the Netherlands and abroad. It would be odd, therefore, to let the occasion of her retirement from the chair of medieval history at Utrecht University, which she occupied for almost thirty years, pass by without giving credit to her many merits for the field of early medieval history. This volume leaves no doubt that Mayke has been a great inspiration to all its contributors; to its readers, this will become immediately evident in the ensuing chapters. It was also testified by the enthusiastic and prompt response from everyone we invited to contribute to the book.

Yet, all of us know that Mayke has no real liking (to put it mildly) for the traditional *Festschrift* with which the academic community pays its tribute to outstanding scholars. One of her objections regards the miscellaneous nature of such books. For this reason we have aimed at a thematically coherent book that would centre around the three themes that are central to her work: the Frankish world, politics and religion. All of the chapters below address these three themes and demonstrate how closely they were linked in the cultural world that was dominated by the ruling families of the Merovingians and Carolingians.

Because Mayke has always been a real inspiration for younger scholars, we definitely wanted to include many of them, as well as as many of her closest friends and colleagues. Since the response to our invitation was truly overwhelming and the book we had in mind ran the risk of becoming unwieldy because of its size, we urged/asked some contributors to cooperate in writing a chapter together, the more so since some of them intended to write on almost identical topics. We think it appropriate to the spirit of cooperation that Mayke always fostered that we are able to include four co-authored chapters. Unfortunately, a few prospective authors had to withdraw from this project owing to the pressure of other academic obligations, yet the richness of

this book amply illustrates the enthusiasm that Mayke has provoked in the authors who have contributed to it, as well as, undoubtedly, in many others who are not included here.

A book like this cannot be written without the help and assistance of many. First of all we would like to thank all the contributors for their smooth cooperation. Furthermore, we want to thank Jelle Wassenaar for all the work he put into the process of correcting footnotes and composing an integrated bibliography. Financial assistance for the publication was provided by the Van Winter Fonds and the Department of History and Art History, to whom we would also like to express our warmest gratitude. But above all we thank Mayke herself for the love she has instilled in all of us for that amazing subject that is early medieval history.

Notes on contributors

Philippe Depreux is Professor in Medieval History at Universität Hamburg. His research focuses on the religion, culture and society of the early and high Middle Ages in the West. Recurrent themes in his work are the political life, standards in written official documents (capitularies, formulas, charters), social and cultural networks, and the history of the Eastern and Western Frankish Kingdoms and France. Among his books are *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux (781–840)* (Sigmaringen, 1997) and *Charlemagne et la dynastie carolingienne* (Paris, 2007).

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Stefan Esders has been a professor at the Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut of the Freie Universität Berlin since 2006. One important theme in his work is the transition and continuity between the late antique and early medieval worlds. Other recurrent topics on which he has published extensively include the State, law and the military in Rome, Byzantium and the early medieval West; and antique and medieval realms and the formation of ethnic identities. His publications include: *Römische Rechtstradition und merowingisches Königtum. Zum Rechtscharakter politischer Herrschaft in Burgund im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen,1997), *Der althochdeutsche Klerikereid. Bischöfliche Diözesangewalt, kirchliches Benefizialwesen und volkssprachliche*

Rechtspraxis im frühmittelalterlichen Baiern (Hanover, 2000), and recently *Die Formierung der Zensualität. Zur kirchlichen Transformation des spätrömischen Patronatswesens im frühen Mittelalter* (Ostfildern, 2010).

Dorine van Espelo wrote her Ph.D. thesis with Professor Mayke de Jong at Utrecht University on the Carolingian collection of papal letters known as the *Codex epistolaris carolinus* and now works as Postdoctoral Researcher and Assistant Professor at Radbour University, Nijmegen. She is mostly interested in representations of the papacy in the sources and the relations between the early medieval papacy and the Carolingian court. She recently published the article 'A testimony of Carolingian rule? The *Codex epistolaris carolinus*, its historical context, and the meaning of imperium', *Early Medieval Europe* 21 (2013).

Robert Flierman wrote his Ph.D. thesis 'Pagan, pirate, subject, saint. Defining and redefining Saxons 150–900 AD' with Professor Mayke de Jong at Utrecht University. He works on ethnicity, historiography and hagiography, with a particular emphasis on the continental Saxons and teaches at the Radboud University, Nijmegen and Utrecht University.

David Ganz is Visiting Professor of Palaeography at the University of Notre Dame and a Research Associate of Darwin College, Cambridge. His many interests include palaeography, books and the intellectual culture of the early Middle Ages. He has published numerous books, including the monograph *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Sigmaringen, 1990). Currently he is working on Charlemagne's biographer, Einhard.

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Gerda Heydemann is a postdoctoral researcher in the project 'Christian discourse and political identities in early medieval Europe' (the Sonderforschungsbereich (SFB) *Visions of Community*) at the Institute for Medieval Research in Vienna, working on ethnic and political models in early medieval exegesis. She wrote her Ph.D. dissertation on Cassiodorus's commentary

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Christianity: relics in the medieval West (*c.*700–*c.*1200)'; *Proceedings of the British Academy* 181 (2012); 'Einhard: the sinner and the saint', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth series 13 (2003); and *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. III: *Early Medieval Christianities, c. 600–c.1100* (Cambridge, 2008), which she edited together with Thomas Noble.

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Abbreviations

799 Kunst und Kultur	C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff (eds), *799 Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn*, 3 vols (Mainz, 1999)
AASS	*Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur*, ed. J. Bollandus *et al.* (Antwerp/Brussels, 1643–)
AB	*Annales de Saint-Bertin*, ed. F. Grat, J. Vielliard and S. Clémencet (Paris, 1964)
AF	*Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum orientalis*, ed. F. Kurze, *MGH SRG* 7 (Hanover, 1891)
AMP	*Annales Mettenses priores*, ed. B. von Simson, *MGH SRG* 10 (Hanover, 1905)
ARF	*Annales regni Francorum unde ab a. 741 usque ad a. 829, qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, ed. F. Kurze, *MGH SRG* 6 (Hanover, 1895)
BHL	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis*, ed. socii Bollandiani (Brussels 1898–1986)
BL	British Library (London)
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis* (Turnhout, 1966–)
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* (Turnhout, 1952–)
CCM	*Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*, ed. K. Hallinger (Siegburg, 1963–)
CLA	E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini antiquiores. A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts prior to the Ninth Century*, 11 vols plus supplement (Oxford, 1935–71)
CLb	*Chronicon Laurissense breve*, ed. F. Schnorr v. Carolsfeld, *Neues Archiv*, 36 (1911), 15–39

CSEL	*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
DA	*Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EME	*Early Medieval Europe*
Ep.	*Epistola*
FGM	Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters
FrSt	*Frühmittelalterliche Studien*
HJ	*Historisches Jahrbuch*
HZ	*Historische Zeitschrift*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
LdM	*Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 10 vols (Stuttgart, [1977]–1999), in Brepolis Medieval Encyclopaedias – Lexikon des Mittelalters Online, http:ggot//www.brepolis.net/bme
LP	*Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, J. Bayet and C. Vogel, *Le liber pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire*, 3 vols (Paris, 1955–57)
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
Cap.	*Capitularia, Legum Sectio II, Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause (Hanover, 1883–97)
Conc.	*Concilia, Legum Sectio III, Concilia*: II, ed. A. Werminghoff (Hanover, 1906–09); III, ed. W. Hartmann (Hanover, 1984); IV, ed. W. Hartmann (Hanover, 1998)
DD	*Diplomata* (based on *MGH* abbreviations. See bibliography for full details.)
Arn	Arnulf of Carinthia
Kar. 1	Pippin, Carloman and Charlemagne
Epp.	*Epistolae* (Hanover, 1887–1939)
Poet. lat.	*Poetae latini aevi Carolini*, ed. E. Dümmler, L. Traube, P. von Winterfeld and K. Strecker, (Hanover, 1881–99)
SRG	*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi* (Hanover, 1871–1987)
SRM	*Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison (Hanover, 1885–1920)
SS	*Scriptores* in folio, (Hanover, 1824–1924)
Suppl.	*Supplementum*
NCMH, Vol. II	R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II: *c. 700–c. 900* (Cambridge, 1995)
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols (Paris, 1857–66)
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1841–64)

RB	*Regula Benedicti*, ed. A. de Vogüé and J. Neufville, *La règle de Saint Benoît*, SC 181–6 (Paris, 1971–72)
RH	*Revue historique*
SC	Sources Chrétiennes (1942–)
Settimane	Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo (1953–)
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*

Introduction

Rosamond McKitterick

Among early medievalists today it is a commonplace to state that in the early Middle Ages politics and religion were so closely intertwined that they can barely be separated, not even conceptually. This awareness, however, is quite a recent one. Until the 1970s the history of religion remained mainly the domain of religious specialists, while political historians in general kept their distance from treating religious issues. It was only from that decade onwards that historians of the early Middle Ages started to see religion 'as an integral part of mainstream historical research'.[1] The process of deconfessionalisation and secularisation in Europe and the United States in the latter part of the twentieth century had made it possible to study medieval Christianity more on its own terms, instead of looking at it as the origin of particular trends in the Catholic Church that were often regarded as backward and/or an aberration of true Christianity. The cultural phenomenon known as the 'Carolingian Renaissance', or 'Frankish reform movement', for example, is now mainly understood as 'the reformation and reconfiguration of all the peoples under Charlemagne's rule to create a Christian realm in its institutional structures, moral behaviour and personal convictions'.[2] In the past, however, it was often seen as a programme 'to raise the intellectual standards of the realm', as a recent textbook still formulated it.[3] Raising intellectual standards should, however, rather be seen as a means to attain a truly Christian polity that would retain God's favour and thus achieve success in war. One of the historians who has strongly advocated the integral importance of religion in early medieval society in general and

[1] M. de Jong, 'Rethinking early medieval Christianity: a view from the Netherlands', in *The Bible and Politics in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. M. de Jong, *EME* 7, special issue (1998), 261–76, p. 261.

[2] R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne. The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 306.

[3] J. Bennet and W. Hollister, *Medieval History. A Short History* (Boston, MA etc., 2006), p. 111.

particularly for the world of the Franks is of course Mayke de Jong. The title of her study of the reign of Louis the Pious, *The Penitential State*, amply illustrates the intricate relationship between politics and religion.[4]

Throughout her professional career Mayke de Jong has staunchly maintained that all historians, and especially early medievalists, must take religion seriously as integral to politics. Further, all historians should take early medieval Christianity seriously; it was no mere shadow of 'real Christianity'; nor was it only a dim outline obscured by the notion, now thoroughly discredited, of 'Germanic paganism'. Some of Mayke's thinking about this was formed in her student days in Amsterdam in 1970s, when religion seems not to have had even a walk-on part in lectures on such topics as the Investiture controversy. Mayke explained this herself in the battle-cry introduction she wrote for the special issue of *Early Medieval Europe* in 1998, *The Bible and Politics in the Early Middle Ages*, based on sessions she organised for the Leeds International Medieval Congress in 1996.[5] Indeed, this article served as both historiographical dossier and manifesto for the way in which biblical models shaped new forms of political self-representation in the post-Roman West. Mayke has been energetic in her championing of early medieval Christians who thought about their own positions in society vis-à-vis God, the past, and their present rulers. She has been unafraid in her confrontation of the intellectual, moral and emotional challenges faced by men and women in the early Middle ages, from the parents offering their children as oblates to monasteries, to the challenges faced by early medieval exegetes in relating the text of the Bible to contemporary politics and the texts relating to Wala of Corbie's tussles with Louis the Pious. Mayke has brought her sharp intellect and erudition as well as a distinctive imaginative sympathy to the elucidation of her subjects' thinking and their predicaments.

A survey of Mayke's work over the decades of her career exposes strong and consistent themes as well as a steady intensification of her approach, the clarity of her thinking and her close engagement with the texts of her protagonists so that we can understand their society from their own perspectives. Mayke never merely presents material on a topic. All her work addresses major questions, explores hypotheses, and offers finely honed arguments in a wonderfully direct and accessible manner. In her first book published in English, based on her earlier Amsterdam dissertation, she studied the phenomenon of the *oblatio puerorum* in the early Middle Ages: a child offered to God by child oblation – a living sacrifice – to a monastery by his or her parents. Here Mayke argued that child oblation was indeed to be understood as a gift to God with all that that implies in relation to social strategies of gift giving and communication

[4] M. de Jong, *The Penitential State. Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge, 2009).

[5] De Jong, 'Rethinking early medieval Christianity'.

with the supernatural.[6] She exposed how secular concerns of modern scholars had contrived to obscure the religious implications and importance of child oblation. She also demonstrated the intertwining of the religious, political and social strands of early medieval monasticism more generally, which led to a number of new perspectives on the role of monasteries within Carolingian society, not least as 'powerhouses of prayer'.[7] It is one of Mayke's special contributions to Carolingian studies that she has insisted upon the secular as well as the religious dynamics of eighth- and ninth-century monasticism. These ideas expanded still further to embrace Mayke's concept of *ecclesia* – that is, a polity in itself, encompassing the secular public sphere as well as the ecclesiastical institutions generally called 'the Church' – as well as her emphasis on religion as a formative element of identity.[8]

In Samuel's Image also emphasised the paramount inspiration and source for creative adaptation provided by the Bible, especially the Old Testament, within early medieval law, liturgy and religious practice. In a happy turn of phrase characteristic of Mayke's remarkable feel for language, she described this as an 'elective affinity, based on a perceived similarity and continuity between the biblical past and the present'.[9] The cultural transformation that such absorption of the Bible into early medieval thought entailed was further developed in relation to Carolingian politics in other articles, such as her classic studies of Hrabanus Maurus and the Old Testament, and her explorations of the impact of biblical commentary, both on contemporary thinking and on the construction of historical narrative.[10] Mayke's interest in perceptions

[6] M. de Jong, *In Samuel's Image. Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden, 1996). The first book she wrote on the topic was published in Dutch ten years earlier: M. de Jong, *Kind en klooster in de vroege Middeleeuwen. Aspecten van de schenking van kinderen aan kloosters in het Frankische Rijk (500–900)* (Amsterdam, 1986).

[7] M. de Jong, 'Monastic prisoners or opting out? Political coercion and honour in the Frankish Kingdoms', in M. de Jong, C. van Rhijn and F. Theuws (eds), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden/Boston, MA/Cologne, 2001), 291–328; M. de Jong, 'Carolingian monasticism: the power of prayer', in *NCMH*, Vol. II, pp. 622–53.

[8] M. de Jong, '*Sacrum palatium et ecclesia*: l'autorité religieuse royale sous les Carolingiens (790–840)', *Annales: histoire, sciences sociales* 58:6 (2003), 1243–69; M. de Jong, '*Ecclesia* and the medieval polity', in S. Airlie, W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (eds), *Staat im frühen Mittelalter*, FGM 11 (Vienna, 2006), 113–32.

[9] De Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, p. 11.

[10] M. de Jong, 'Old law and new-found power: Hrabanus Maurus and the Old Testament', in J.-W. Drijvers and A. McDonald (eds), *Centres of Learning. Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East* (Leiden, 1995), 161–76; M. de Jong, 'The empire as *ecclesia*: Hrabanus Maurus and biblical *historia* for rulers', in Y. Hen and M. Innes (eds), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*

of incest, purity and penance, moreover, remains one crucial element of her elucidation of Carolingian society and politics.[11]

Two interwoven strands of her work have been how institutions functioned in relation to their underlying ideologies and how those ideologies themselves were formed. In other words, she has focused on the 'intricate connection between the physical topographies of power and their mental counterparts'.[12] Her particular conceptualisation of this connection bore rich fruit in the collection of essays she edited on the *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*. This volume was itself both an outcome of and a complement to the European Science Foundation Transformation of the Roman World research project (1992–97) in which Mayke had been a leading spirit.

Mayke's keen understanding of the conjunction between penance and political action needs to be seen against this wider conceptual framework. Specific aspects of it were evident at an early stage, with the publication, among others, of her preliminary study of Louis the Pious's penance in 1991, and culminating in *The Penitential State*.[13] This path-breaking examination of the political and cultural context and implications of Louis's public penance in 833 offered a finely nuanced reading of texts by Carolingian authors reflecting on legitimate

(Cambridge, 2000), 191–226; M. de Jong, 'Exegesis for an empress', in E. Cohen and M. de Jong (eds), *Medieval Transformations. Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context* (Leiden, 2001), 69–100; M. de Jong, 'Bride shows revisited: praise, slander and exegesis in the reign of the empress Judith', in L. Brubaker and J. Smith (eds), *Gender in the Early Medieval World. East and West, 300–900* (Cambridge, 2004), 257–77. See also her contribution to the volume arising from the HERA project (2010–13) on 'Cultural memory and the resources of the past': M. de Jong, 'Carolingian political discourse and the biblical past: Hraban, Dhuoda, Radbert', in C. Gantner, R. McKitterick and S. Meeder (eds), *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2015), 87–102.

[11] M. de Jong, '*Imitatio morum*: the cloister and clerical purity in the Carolingian world', in M. Frassetto (ed.), *Medieval Purity and Piety. Essays in Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform* (New York/London, 1998), 49–80; M. de Jong, 'An unsolved riddle: early medieval incest legislation', in I. Wood (ed.), *Franks and Alamanni in the Merovingian Period. An Ethnographic Perspective* (Woodbridge, 1998), 107–40; M. de Jong, 'Transformation of penance', in F. Theuws and J. Nelson (eds), *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2000), 185–224; and M. de Jong, 'What was public about public penance? *Paenitentia publica* and justice in the Carolingian world', in *La giustizia nell'alto medioevo (secolo IX–XI), 11–17 aprile 1996*, Vol. II, Settimane 44 (Spoleto, 1997), 863–902.

[12] See C. Wickham, 'Introduction', in M. de Jong, F. Theuws and C. van Rhijn (eds), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2001), 1–8.

[13] M. de Jong, 'Power and humility in Carolingian society: the public penance of Louis the Pious', *EME* 1 (1992), 29–52.

political authority and the definition of political crime as sin.[14] It is one of the special qualities of this book that it combines literary, philological, historical and political analysis in a way few other medievalists can manage. Mayke's analysis of the politics of Louis's reign made it clear that the *Epitaphium Arsenii*, or *Life of Wala*, a major political protagonist in the circle of Louis the Pious, written by Paschasius Radbertus of Corbie, merited a detailed discussion of the political, religious and intellectual context of this extraordinarily sophisticated and subtle text in its own right. Nothing daunted, Mayke set out to provide just such a discussion in her new study, *Epitaph for an Era*.[15]

Mayke's intellectual profile might be seen as that of an adventurous explorer, ever pushing at the boundaries both of political discourse in relation to political action in a fundamentally religious context, and of our understanding and interpretation of the history of early medieval Europe. Her study of the *Epitaphium*, for example, has enabled her to explore the deployment of lament and invective, the role of asceticism and of writing about asceticism as an ideal, Paschasius Radbertus's own personal engagement with his subject, his classical and biblical frame of reference, and the wider discourse about public duty in antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

Mayke has always been notably receptive to the possibilities of methods and insights from other disciplines while maintaining her own disciplinary integrity.[16] Authors of the many books and ideas with which she has engaged, even wrestled, ought to appreciate the serious critical attention and respectful evaluation she accords their work, whether of fledgling undergraduates or her doctoral students, her colleagues, or other established scholars. Among the many joys of my long and much treasured friendship with Mayke are the lively and candid discussions about our own research and reactions to books, articles and papers we have had over the years. There have been many opportunities: during the year she spent as Visiting Fellow at Trinity College, Cambridge; our year together at the Netherlands Institute of Advanced Study in 2005/06 when I was a member of the research group Mayke convened on Carolingian politics and identity; our meetings at the Leeds International Medieval Congress since that conference's inauguration two decades ago; and a regular sequence of visits among Cambridge, Amsterdam and latterly Utrecht; let alone the number of times we have coincided at conferences or seminars in Berlin, Paris, Rome, Spoleto, Vienna, Princeton and elsewhere. In between times there has been the exchange of letters and, thanks to the technology of the mid-nineties onwards, emails. I hope Mayke will not mind if

[14] De Jong, *Penitential State*.

[15] M. de Jong, *Epitaph for an Era. Paschasius Radbertus and the 'Epitaphium Arsenii'* (Cambridge, forthcoming).

[16] See for example M. de Jong, 'The foreign past: medieval historians and cultural anthropology', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 109 (1996), 323–39.

I give an extract from one of these from May 2014 as a characteristic example of her reflective way of working and her unerring eye for flaws in an argument, especially those that arise from assertions based on ignorance:

> It's very hot here still. I'm reading Averil Cameron, *Dialoguing in Late Antiquity* – a highly instructive small book she made out of lectures given in Germany. I need this for my 2nd chapter – this is my excuse for sitting in the garden in the shade and reading … While I do so, my ideas take a more precise shape. There's a whole bunch of people … who think Xtianity killed the public arena, public debate, and 'real' dialogue (= open-ended). When I read [their work] in Princeton I thought, no no, my dears, this won't wash. It now turns out I'm in distinguished company.

Thus insights from cultural anthropology, confessional history, archaeology, literary criticism and political philosophy have been absorbed and turned to the service of helping to elucidate aspects of the early medieval texts Mayke has studied. Mayke remains a 'Young Turk', and a wonderfully articulate, clear headed and creative one. She always has new things to say and new perspectives to offer. Her systematic confrontation of evidence has also been a feature of her teaching, but she has also introduced generations of students to the fascinations of the study of the early Middle Ages. She communicates why the study of the past matters so well that she has galvanised the study of the Middle Ages in the decades during which she has held the Chair of Medieval History in Utrecht. It was a bold appointment at the time, in 1987, of a very young scholar; Utrecht University should congratulate itself on its courage and wisdom, for Mayke has offered unfailing leadership for medieval studies generally in her time at Utrecht. She has a particular gift for inspiring young students as well as more senior scholars, in drawing out interesting themes in seminar discussions, and in encouraging the young to advance their ideas but insisting that they do it from a secure base of knowledge and technical accomplishment.

The chapters in this book are consequently far more than a tribute to a beloved friend, respected and admired colleague, and superb scholar, though they are all of that of course. They also bear witness to the ways in which Mayke's work has inspired further reflection, whether to complement her insights or build upon them. The editors have commissioned chapters with a strong theme – religion and power in the Frankish Kingdom – and have created a coherent book rather than a miscellany of papers. They have neatly organised the book to embrace the principal themes of both Mayke's own interests and contributions to scholarship, and the work she has inspired among her students.

The first set of chapters are concerned with religious discourse and political polemic in studies that take up the themes of identity, the creative deployment of the language of the Old Testament within Frankish society, law and the definition of royal authority. They address different instances of the uses of the

resources of the past for contemporary debates. Thus Gerda Heydemann and Walter Pohl explore early medieval uses of the biblical metaphor of a 'chosen people' in the early Middle Ages and show how the use of ethnic rhetoric in a Christian context shaped medieval perceptions of community.

Rutger Kramer considers the implications of the invocation of the Emperor Constantine in the debates about Adoptionism at the end of the eighth century. The involvement of Frankish rulers in Carolingian religious controversies reflects the kings' understanding of their role as protectors of the Church. This theme is also addressed in a companion piece by Janneke Raaijmakers and Irene van Renswoude. They focus on one particular aspect of the king's responsibility as guardian of orthodoxy: namely, his role as arbiter, taking an active role as hearer and judge in deliberations about theological issues. Raaijmakers and Van Renswoude shed light on the great variety of possible examples and traditions to which Carolingian kings and their advisers could turn for guidance and inspiration. In an explicit continuation of a discussion begun by Mayke de Jong, moreover, Philippe Depreux investigates all the sources – annals, treatises, normative texts – that mention the assembly at Attigny and Louis the Pious's first penance in 822, and consider the *renovatio* of the Frankish realm. Depreux incorporates a discussion of what he regards as an instance of a 'working document' – a further set of *capitula* to the discussion, namely, the *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines* in which Louis exhorts the bishops, counts and *fideles* with whom he shared his power. This document is made to yield further light on the involvement of bishops in political matters during the ninth century.

All the chapters in this book push into new territory, pulling texts into new contexts, analysing hitherto neglected texts, and unpicking and explaining the implications of interesting manuscripts. They collectively address, to one degree or another, manifestations of royal power, reform, *correctio*, monasticism and centres of learning, the power of bishops, and the Franks' relations with Rome. Thus Bart Jaski challenges the customary interpretation by art historians of some illustrations in the Utrecht Psalter as being related to political events and containing political messages. Jaski shifts the focus to the text and places it in the context of the production of psalters and gospel books at Reims in particular. David Ganz turns his attention to the lections in the eighth-century Northumbrian Gospel Book, now Durham Cathedral Library, A.II.16. These lections differ from other lections from Northumbria in that they share Gallican readings. This leads Ganz to suggest a hitherto unnoticed link, perhaps via Wilfrid of Hexham, between Northumbria and the Merovingian Church. Marco Mostert comments on the ludicrous scribal errors in manuscript copies of the *Admonitio generalis* of 789, such as the early-ninth-century Saint-Bertin manuscript, now Brussels, Bibliothèque royale lat. 8654–72. If this chapter exposes the inadequacies of certain scribes, Mariken Teeuwen analyses the annotations in three different manuscripts related to Auxerre that

demonstrate how students and scholars commented upon texts and at times engaged in a discussion about the proper transmission or interpretation of a text. She makes a strong case for the way such manuscripts reflect not only a world of scholarship in which an insistence on orthodoxy is paramount, but also a set of shared practices and language of signs within a widely dispersed scribal community – signs also specific enough to identify particular masters or centres. Another kind of community is identified by Régine Le Jan in her study of the *nomina amicorum viventium*, or 'living friends', of the monastery of Reichenau. These comprise members of the Carolingian royal family, bishop, abbots, priests and lay counts. Le Jan interprets the list as a representation of an ordered Christian society that embodies not only the connections between the monastery and the secular world but also competition between aristocratic families and the underlying ideas of peace, love and unity in Carolingian ideology

Excerpts from Justinian's *Novels* relating to Church property preserved in Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Phillipps 1735, a late-eighth- or early-ninth-century codex from Burgundy, afford Stefan Esders and Steffen Patzold the opportunity to demonstrate the kind of questions the Carolingian reproduction of such texts on ecclesiastical property might raise, as well as the wider issue of the degree to which early Carolingian rulers and Louis the Pious in particular may have been influenced by Roman ideas from Constantinople. The implications of particular compilations of texts in a particular historical context are also considered by Dorine van Espelo in her study of the copy made at Cologne under Archbishop Willibert (870–89) of the *Codex epistolaris carolinus* (now Vienna, Österreichsiche Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 449), the unique copy of papal letters to the early Frankish rulers originally compiled at Charlemagne's request in 791. Van Espelo reflects on the social and ideological function of the collection both in 791 and when the sole surviving copy was made in the later ninth century.

Another early-ninth-century Frankish manuscript in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, lat. 2839–43 is investigated by Yitzhak Hen. This contains a copy of the compendium comprising the apocryphal correspondence between Seneca and St Paul and the supposed exchange of letters between Alexander the Great and Dindimus, king of the Brahmins. The compendium was apparently originally compiled by Alcuin for Charlemagne. Hen suggests that this compendium was carefully crafted in order to soothe the emperor's anxiety and reassure him that his rule was rightful in God's eyes. A mirror for 'princes who had opted out' is identified by Erik Goosmann and Rob Meens in their interpretation of Regino of Prüm's detailed account of Carloman (Pippin III's elder brother) and his retirement to the monastery of Monte Cassino. A further instance of the particularity of Carolingian commemoration at Prüm is the curious story, reconstructed by Julia Smith, of Pippin III and the relics of the sandals of Christ. She suggests that ancient fragments of elaborately worked leather

preserved at Prüm, first mentioned as relics in the ninth century, were Christ relics invented by Pippin III. She argues that ninth-century biblical exegesis retrospectively established a context for these relics.

Els Rose takes Marco Mostert's doubts about the accuracy of the copying of Latin in the 'Carolingian Renaissance' an important step further by analysing the language deployed in Frankish liturgical texts. She raises the question of the accessibility of the language and how much these texts might have been understood and appreciated by congregations in Frankish churches. That the 'Carolingian Renaissance' was not confined to intellectual audiences, but also reached the local levels of Frankish society, is borne out by a short priests' examination analysed and edited by Carine van Rhijn.

Closely related to issues of *correctio* in language and understanding are perceptions and representations of reform. Ian Wood assesses the development of the reform imperative in the early Carolingian Church in the light of his reappraisal of the *Vita Columbani* and *Vita Iohannis* of Jonas of Bobbio. Wood proposes that the Carolingian reform agenda was not so much a response to the failings of the Merovingian Church as a need to respond to the massive transfer of wealth to monasteries in the seventh and eighth centuries. Looking at *correctio* and reform from a different angle, but one that also depends on the effectiveness of language, Maximilian Diesenberger looks closely at the 'rhetoric of improvement' and moral discourse in the reign of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious in the light of an early instance of such moral criticism, namely, the *Sermo de cupiditate* of Ambrosius Autpertus.

Conflict and disagreement about various aspects of Louis the Pious's reform agenda, most particularly the role envisaged for bishops, abbots, the laity and rulers in such reforms, are exposed by Albrecht Diem's study of such major monastic hagiographic texts as the *Vitae Galli* and the *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*. Diem also stresses the 'pasts' evoked and invoked in these texts, whether institutional or ideological. He highlights the ways the construction of the past could become a tool for the expression of controversial ideas. In particular, he discusses the tension between the content of the *Regula Benedicti* and the reality of monastic reform, and the 'textual techniques' authors used to reconcile norms and practice. Attention to the invocation of particular forms of language and established discourses also enables Robert Flierman to offer a new interpretation of the *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae*, usually dated between 782 and 795. Flierman suggests that the Saxons are actually not being addressed as pagans who need to be converted but Christian members of the Frankish realm, in which allegedly pagan practices were actually acts of infidelity.

Two underlying themes of these specific studies of particular texts and manuscripts are, firstly, the ways in which the responsibilities of a Christian ruler within a Christian society are defined and, secondly, how the imperatives of Church governance are articulated. These themes are investigated more

fully with particular reference to texts relating to or by bishops and popes. Papal letters to the Frankish kings in the second half of the ninth century are the subject of Tom Noble's contribution. He addresses the large corpus of letters from Pope Nicholas I, and extracts what Nicholas's letters can tell us about papal and Frankish thought and action in the middle of the ninth century. Noble teases out both papal and Frankish thinking on questions of authority and Church governance. Further elucidation of Church governance is provided by Jinty Nelson in her examination of the relationships between Charlemagne and his bishops, while Giorgia Vocino presents some 'mirrors for bishops'. Vocino shows how a range of texts – *vitae* of exemplary bishops such as Martin, Hilary, Ambrose and Augustine as well as homilies, funeral orations and letters containing hagiographical and biblical exempla – helped to shape new hagiographical writing in Carolingian Italy in the late eighth and the ninth centuries, with striking portraits of the ideal bishop. One particular Carolingian bishop is the subject of Bram van den Hoven van Genderen's study of the reality and legend of Frederic, bishop of Utrecht (826 × 834) and the construction of a martyr saint in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The chapters in this volume are designed to complement Mayke's own work. The authors hope to contribute to an understanding of how texts shaped political identities, and to elucidate how early medieval ideologues had to rely on both the normative world of the Old Testament and a bristling arsenal of later commentary and creative composition. The chapters are offered with love, admiration and gratitude to Mayke de Jong on her sixty-fifth birthday and on the occasion of her retirement from the Chair of Medieval History in the University of Utrecht.

I have emphasised Mayke's scholarship throughout this introduction, but no tribute to Mayke should omit thanks to her too for her extraordinary commitment and hard work, her inspiring teaching, her extraordinary personal as well as intellectual generosity, her sense of fun, and her fabulous parties and picnics. We have written these chapters for her, but in the spirit we know she will endorse for a wider public as well, to demonstrate the remarkable creativity evidenced in the early Middle Ages and, above all, the intertwining of religious and political issues in these truly formative centuries of early medieval Europe.

Part I

Defining royal authority: religious discourse and political polemic

1

The rhetoric of election: 1 Peter 2.9 and the Franks

Gerda Heydemann and Walter Pohl

Could the Franks be regarded as holy, as a chosen people? Alcuin wrote in his *Vita Vedastis* that through the baptism of Clovis the Franks had become a 'holy nation' (*gens sancta*), a 'people of His own' (*populus adquisitionis*).[1] This seems like a strong statement of Christian Frankish identity by Charlemagne's Anglo-Saxon adviser, based on a quote from the First Letter of Peter in the New Testament.[2] It raises a number of important questions. What does it tell us about the attitude of 'religious Franks' towards Frankish ethnic identity? And how exactly were *ecclesia*, *regnum/imperium* and *gens* related? We owe fundamental insights on this problem to Mayke de Jong: 'From the late eighth century onwards, the notion of *ecclesia*, including all its connotations of the eventual salvation of God's people, was harnessed to the identity of the Carolingian polity, with the ruler's responsibility for the salvation of its people as its defining factor.' Therefore, 'the Holy Church or the Christian people [*sancta ecclesia vel populus Christianus*] could be one way of defining the identity of the Frankish polity.'[3]

Of course, that did not mean that educated Franks considered Church, kingdom and people to be one and the same, but they strove to make them converge. Political thinking in early medieval Europe was inspired by biblical models, and not least, by the Old Testament. However, Christian authors were cautious with equating contemporary *gentes* with the 'chosen people' of Israel. As Mayke de Jong rightly maintained, 'no self-respecting biblical scholar at the beginning of the ninth century … would argue that his polity was "Israel", let alone the "New Israel"'.[4] Direct enunciations of the idea of the 'Franks as

[1] Alcuin, *Vita Vedastis duplex*, Part II, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 3, 414–27, pp. 417f.

[2] 1 Peter 2.9–10; and see below.

[3] M. de Jong, '*Ecclesia* and the early medieval polity', in S. Airlie, W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (eds), *Staat im frühen Mittelalter, FGM 11* (Vienna, 2006), 113–32, p. 119, referring to *ARF*, p. 58.

[4] De Jong, '*Ecclesia*', p. 120.

the New Israel' were rare.[5] But what do they mean when they occur? In this article, the passage in 1 Peter that Alcuin paraphrased in the *Vita Vedastis* will be used as a test case for the 'rhetoric of election' and its uses in the early Middle Ages.

The First Letter by Peter told the early Christians:

> But you are a chosen lineage [*genus electum*], a royal priesthood [*sacerdotium regale*], a holy nation [*gens sancta*], a people of His own [*populus adquisitionis*], so that you may proclaim the virtues of the one who called you out of darkness into his marvellous light. You once were not a people [*populus*], but now you are God's people. You were shown no mercy, but now you have received mercy.
>
> (1 Peter 2.9)

The English translations of the key terms – race, priesthood, nation and people – are in part misleading, in particular, 'race' and 'nation', so tainted with modern ideologies; we will therefore mostly quote the Latin terms. Peter's text is based on several similar passages from the Old Testament, most importantly Exodus 19.5–6, which narrates the conclusion of the covenant between God and Israel (addressed as *regnum sacerdotale et gens sancta*) on Mount Sinai. Peter used the Old Testament language of election to underline that the Christians superseded the Jews whose priesthood was a privileged caste, while every Christian had priestly status by virtue of baptism. Therefore, they were the true people of God. This remained a challenge for exegetical interpretations of the passage and for its moral and political uses. When Christianity expanded beyond the chosen few of early Christian communities, the exhortational use of the language of election by the Old Testament prophets, stressing the moral dynamic of loss and return to grace, came to the fore again.[6]

1 Peter 2.9 represents a 'uniquely emphatic description of members of the Church as a race, a nation, and a people', as David Horrell has stated.[7] It forms part of a wider current of thought discernible in early Christian texts, whose authors often used ethnic terms to define and position the early Christians as a group in relation to the wider political framework of the Greco-Roman

[5] M. Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel? Education for an identity from Pippin to Charlemagne', in Y. Hen and M. Innes (eds), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), 114–61, who emphasised that it was the non-Franks such as Theodulf and Alcuin who 'were responsible for some of the most explicit articulations of the idea' (p. 120).

[6] Cf. Hosea 1.9f. and 2.24; Isaiah 9.2.

[7] D. Horrell, '"Race", "nation", "people": ethnic identity-construction in 1 Peter 2.9', *New Testament Studies* 58 (2011), 123–43, p. 134. See also J. Elliott, *1 Peter. A New Translation and Commentary* (New York, 2000), p. 407; J. Elliott, *The Elect and the Holy. An Exegetical Examination of 1 Peter 2:4–10 and the Phrase 'basileion hierateuma'* (Leiden, 1966).

empire.[8] However, some scholars doubt that terms such as *ethnos*, *gens* or *populus* can be understood as 'ethnic' in a modern sense in these texts.[9] Erich Gruen has rather bluntly dismissed the ethnic character of 1 Peter: 'This passage suits the context in lacking ethnic overtones.'[10] He argues that when religion is the issue, ethnic terms cannot have ethnic meanings. However, if a language consistently used for tribes and peoples is applied to religious groups it makes no sense to ignore these deliberate ethnic overtones. The self-stylisation of the Christians as the New Israel created the paradox of an ethnic identification for a religious community with an emphatically supra-ethnic scope, a paradox that spurred exegetic debates and successive efforts of interpretation that continued well into the Middle Ages. It is of little value to debate whether or not the terms used in 1 Peter were 'ethnic', and according to which definition (Gruen uses the term in a radically restrictive sense).[11] Such a black-and-white take would completely obscure the complex early Christian search for identity and its long-term implications.

Peter's letter, and many later Christian authors, deliberately employed the ethno-religious language of the Old Testament. Such usage can, first, be analysed in order to understand how the early Christians styled themselves as the new chosen people, and to explore the interplay between ethnic and religious identifications. The combination of ethnic language with words of holiness and election joins two of the strongest ways to express belonging, and offers metaphors of allegiance and solidarity. That may explain the success of the passage in later periods. The letter, which was probably written in the early second century, was soon ascribed to Peter the Apostle, which lent extra weight to it. Later, this and similar pieces of rhetoric could be used in arguments about the role of particular communities within the universal Church in specific historical contexts. This leads to a second line of enquiry, pursued in the present chapter and so far hardly addressed: How did the often emphatic use of ethnic rhetoric in a Christian context shape medieval perceptions of

[8] D. Buell, *Why This New Race? Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity* (New York, 2005); J. Lieu, *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Greco-Roman World* (Oxford, 2004).

[9] A. Johnson, *Ethnicity and Argumentation in Eusebius' 'Praeparatio evangelica'* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 25–54.

[10] E. Gruen, 'Did ancient identity depend on ethnicity? A preliminary probe', *Phoenix* 67:1/2 (2013), 1–22, p. 18. For a critique, see W. Pohl, 'Disputed identifications: the Jews and the use of biblical models in the Barbarian kingdoms', in Y. Hen (ed.), *Jews and Barbarians* (Turnhout, forthcoming).

[11] For the problems of defining 'ethnicity': W. Pohl, 'Introduction: strategies of identification – a methodological profile', in W. Pohl and G. Heydemann (eds), *Strategies of Identification. Ethnicity and Religion in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 2013), 1–64.

community? The strong religious overtones attached to the whole range of terms for ethnic groups and peoples could not but have an impact on their role in the political landscape of the period.

If we wish to understand how Christians in the early Middle Ages perceived the language of election and peoplehood in 1 Peter 2.9, it is useful to take a look at biblical exegesis. Christian exegetes clearly recognised the central aim of the passage, which was to claim that Christians were God's new chosen people, having replaced the Jews of Old Israel. They therefore frequently used the passage to develop the idea of a Christian covenant both in analogy and in contrast to the Old Testament. Appropriating this model for Christians, however, necessitated de-emphasising its strong implications of ethnic particularism in favour of a more universal vision of community. Unlike in the Old Testament, where God's call was restricted to the people of Israel, the promise of election in 1 Peter 2.9 was addressed to all the *gentes*.[12] Faith or allegiance (*fides*) to Christ and his gospel, rather than common origin, was emphasised as the central marker of belonging to this new people.

This exegetical approach towards 1 Peter 2.9 is well exemplified by the work of Bede, whose comprehensive explanation of the passage in his commentary on the canonical epistles, along with remarks in some of his other works, became authoritative for later, Carolingian exegetes. Bede's commentary emphasises the parallel between the 'old people of God' and the Christians by evoking the conclusion of the covenant through Moses and the typological connections between Israel's history and that of the Christians. The origin of the Israelites and their liberation from Egypt foreshadow the emergence of the 'new people'.[13] Bede stressed the universal nature of the Christian covenant, which was not restricted to one single people, and stated that the priesthood was no longer a privilege of one tribe, Levi, but rather was open 'to all the *gentes* who have been called to the faith'. The *genus electum*, *regale sacerdotium*, *gens sancta*, *populus adquisitionis* comprised 'everyone who longs for justice and wishes to belong to the court of the true David'.[14] Using the metaphor of the Church as Christ's body, Bede explained that all of its members became *rex* and *sacerdos* like Christ. According to Bede, every Christian was a priest in

[12] Needless to say, the relationship between universalism and particularism in the Bible was much more complex than such a simplistic opposition between the Old and the New Testaments might suggest; see J. Levenson, 'The universal horizon of biblical particularism', in M. Brett (ed.), *Ethnicity and the Bible* (Leiden/Boston, MA/Cologne, 1996), 143–69.

[13] Bede, *In Epistulas canonicas*, *In 1 Petrum* II.9, ed. M. Laistner, *CCSL* 121 (Turnhout, 1983), 179–342, pp. 237–8.

[14] Bede, *In primam partem libri Samuhelis* III.21.6, ed. D. Hurst, *CCSL* 119 (Turnhout, 1962), p. 197.

a spiritual sense, performing the sacrifice through works of faith and proper Christian behaviour.[15]

Other patristic exegetes developed a similarly universalising notion of kingship that was applicable to everyone who exercised self-government.[16] Some authors moreover associated this with baptism: Christ's status as 'king' and 'priest' was extended to all Christians through the anointment (which itself connected Christ to his biblical types, the Israelite priests and kings).[17] Bede did not make this connection, but underlined repeatedly that Christians could be called a 'chosen' people by virtue of their faith in Christ.[18] Bede carefully explained how each of the verse's epithets applied to the Christians, focusing on the adjectives expressing the distinctiveness of this community, and suggesting an open, spiritual understanding of the collective nouns.

The group terms as such (*genus*, *gens*, *populus*) are only rarely problematised in exegesis of 1 Peter. They continued to be applied to the Christians as a group, and some authors also evoked the idea of spiritual kinship with Christ or among Christians. Even if 1 Peter 2.9 was commonly thought to refer to all Christians, regardless of their specific position or status, some patristic authors applied it to more specific groups within the Christian community, such as monks, ascetics or bishops, reminding them of their exalted status and the moral and religious obligations associated with it.[19] The passage also features in texts that explain the significance of monastic tonsure (or discuss

[15] Bede, *In epistulas canonicas*, p. 237; *De templo*, c. 16, ed. D. Hurst, *CCSL* 119A (Turnhout, 1969), 114–234, p. 194. See also e.g. Origenes, *Homiliae in Leviticum* IX.1 and 9, ed. and trans. M. Borret, SC 287 (Paris, 1981), pp. 72–5, 114–17.

[16] Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* XXV.7, ed. M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 143, 143A, 143B (Turnhout, 1985), pp. 1237–43; *Regula pastoralis* II.3, ed. and trans. B. Judic, F. Rommel and C. Morel, *Règle pastorale*, 2 vols, SC 381–2 (Paris, 1992) Vol. I, pp. 180–6, 184. Cf. P. Dabin, *Le sacerdoce royal des fidèles dans la tradition ancienne et moderne* (Brussels, 1950).

[17] Ambrose, *De sacramentis*, IV.1.3, ed. H. Chadwick (London, 1960), p. 29; Hesychius, *In Leviticum* VI, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PG* 93 (Paris 1865), cols 787–1180, at 1068B; cited by Hrabanus Maurus, *In Leviticum* VI.18, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 108 (Paris, 1864), cols 245–586, at 491A–C. For the connection with unction (chrism), see also Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos*, *In ps.* XXVI.2, 2, ed. C. Weidmann, *CSEL* 93 (Vienna, 2011), p. 94.

[18] Bede, *In Epistulas canonicas*, p. 237.

[19] 1 Peter 2.9 is used in this sense in fourth-century treatises on ascetism, for example Jerome, *Adversus Iovinianum* I.39, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 23 (Paris 1883), cols 221–352, at 278; Ambrose, *De fuga saeculi* 2.6, ed. C. Schenkl, *CSEL* 32.2 (Vienna, 1897), p. 167. Cf. Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* I.19, ed. and trans. M.-J. Delage, SC 175 (Turnhout, 1971), pp. 266–8; Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis* II.3, p. 184.

its correct form).[20] Bede, by contrast, tended to argue against a restricted interpretation of 1 Peter 2.9 as pertaining only to a (clerical) elite within the Christian community, stressing instead that also the more simple-minded had a place among the *genus electum*.[21]

The tension between a universalising reading of 1 Peter 2.9 and its appropriation for specific groups within the Church is found not only in exegetical texts, but also in Christian discourses about community in a broader sense. The interplay among religious, ethnic and political meanings provided an opportunity to negotiate the relationship between Christian and political communities, and to argue either for their convergence or for their necessary distinction. By the fifth century, Christians had ceased to be a distinct minority in many communities, and the question arose to what extent a Christian *populus* was, or should be, coextensive to cities, ethnic groups, kingdoms or empires.[22] Augustine described the inescapable tension that lay beneath these seeming equations. No state, people or city could hope for salvation in its entirety, and the City of God could never be equated with any actual community on earth.[23]

Later Christian intellectuals, often well-versed in Augustine's thought, did not necessarily follow his approach, as the examples in which the rhetoric of the elect was indeed used to address an earthly community show. Most of these instances have an appellative and/or ideological function, and can often be explained from specific political contexts.

For instance, Pope Leo the Great used the letter ascribed to Peter several times in his sermons to address the Christian community in Rome, promoting Petrine primacy in a time of political instability and theological crisis.[24] In 441, Leo took the feast day of Peter and Paul as an occasion to convey to his audience a providential view of the Roman empire and of the religious

[20] Isidore of Seville, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* II.4.4, ed. C. Lawson, *CCSL* 113 (Turnhout, 1989), p. 55; taken up by Carolingian authors such as Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum* I.3, ed. D. Zimpel, *Fontes Christiani* 61, Vol. II (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 134–6.

[21] Bede, *De templo*, c. 16, p. 194. See, however, his *In Esdram* I.3, ed. D. Hurst, *CCSL* 119A (Turnhout, 1969), 235–392, p. 264, for an application of the passage to religious leaders specifically.

[22] G. Heydemann, 'Peoples of God? The uses of the Bible and the language of community in the post-Roman West', in E. Hovden, C. Lutter and W. Pohl (eds), *Meanings of Community across Medieval Eurasia* (Leiden, forthcoming).

[23] R. Corradini, 'Die Ankunft der Zukunft: Babylon, Jerusalem und Rom als Modelle von Aneignung und Entfremdung bei Augustinus', in W. Pohl and G. Heydemann (eds), *Strategies of Identification. Ethnicity and Religion in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 2013), 65–142.

[24] On Leo, see S. Wessel, *Leo the Great and the Spiritual Rebuilding of a Universal Rome* (Leiden, 2008).

significance of the city of Rome. He juxtaposed Rome's secular origin myth with its Christian foundations, replacing Romulus and Remus with Peter and Paul. Leo identified Rome as 'a holy *gens*, an elected *populus*, a priestly and royal *civitas*', arguing that she derived her position as *caput orbis* from being the seat of the apostle Peter.[25] The language in 1 Peter was carefully modified so as to appeal to both religious and civic layers of Roman identity. In another sermon preached on the anniversary of his own elevation to the papal throne, Leo balanced a universalising reading of 1 Peter 2.9 with a more particular one to evoke a spirit of community and cohesion among his audience. He exhorted the entire congregation, and indeed the whole Church, to join the papal celebration, since they also shared with the pope the dignity of kingship and priesthood.[26] The theme of election was subsequently developed into a praise of the uniqueness of St Peter (and, therefore, turned into an argument about the primacy of his successor), a claim that was well suited to Leo's dispute with Hilary of Arles and the agenda of the Roman synod of 444.[27] The sense of distinction implied by the passage could also be mobilised in polemics against heterodox groups living within the city of Rome. In one of his anti-Manichean sermons, Leo emphatically appealed to his audience to stay clear of the error of the Manichees, telling them that they alone could legitimately claim to represent the holy people addressed by Peter, as long as they stuck to the faith according to which they were baptised.[28] Sharp boundaries were needed to separate the chosen people from its rival communities. The promise of election, combined with a strong message about both the unity and the exclusivity of the orthodox Church, was designed to reassure Leo's congregation.

Leo's collaborator, Prosper of Aquitaine, gave the passage in 1 Peter a slightly different spin. The context is the debate about predestination, and the problem of whether all human beings are called to salvation. Undoubtedly, most individuals of past generations had not received the call. Yet all the peoples are being called at some point. Prosper quotes the Acts of the Apostles (14.14): 'In past generations he [i.e. God] allowed all the *gentes* to go their own ways', and concludes that God 'has never denied the gifts of his goodness to any of the *gentes*'. Therefore, he underlines that Peter's passage is addressed

[25] Leo I, *Sermo* 82, rec. α, c. LXXXII, ed. A. Chavasse, *CCSL* 138A (Turnhout, 1973), p. 509. Cf. Wessel, *Leo the Great*, pp. 365–70; C. Lepelley, 'Saint Léon et la cité de Rome', *Revue des sciences religieuses* 35 (1961), 120–50, pp. 147–9.

[26] Leo I, *Tractatus* 4 (29 September 444), c. 1, pp. 16–17.

[27] As Leo reminded his audience, although 'there are many priests and shepherds in the people of God', none was equal to Peter, who oversaw 'the calling of all the *gentes* and [led] all the apostles and fathers of the church'. Leo I, *Tractatus* 4, c. 2, p. 18. Cf. W. Ullmann, 'Leo I and the theme of papal primacy', in W. Ullmann, *The Church and the Law in the Earlier Middle Ages*, (London, 1975) IV, 25–51.

[28] Leo I, *Tractatus* 24, c. 6, p. 116; Wessel, *Leo the Great*, pp. 121–7.

to 'the *gentes* of his own and of future times'. 'When this was preached', he asks after a full quote of 1 Peter 2.9, 'were those men still alive whom God had, in previous generations, allowed to follow their own ways, and were also those who had previously been left to their own will the same who were now called from the dark to the marvellous light?'[29] The call to salvation cannot be understood individually; and Peter's ethnic rhetoric offers welcome support to Prosper's argument that the call has gone out to all the peoples, not to all the people.

Leo and Prosper explored several ways of using the ethnic language of the passage for particular communities, and of negotiating their relationship with Christianity. Another context in which ideas about the divine election of peoples were repeatedly expressed was the conversion of pagan peoples to Christianity, although within this context the emphatic language of 1 Peter was rarely used. While there is little evidence for ideas of providential choice and identifications with 'God's own people' in the Merovingian period, they became more common for the Franks under the Carolingians. It seems that the notion was first advocated by the popes, who needed Frankish support against the kings of the Lombards. In 756, Pope Stephen II wrote to Pippin III, whom he had recently anointed king, in the guise of Peter the Apostle, addressing the peoples of the Franks as 'particularly Our own among all nations'.[30] The passage from 1 Peter is used in a similar context in Pope Paul I's letter to the Franks, in which the Franks are directly addressed as *gens sancta, regale sacerdotium, populus adquisitionis*, 'whom the Lord God of Israel has blessed, rejoice and exult because your and your kings' names are praised in heaven; it also features in a letter by Pope Stephen III to Carloman and Charlemagne.[31] The papal chancery of the period in fact used some of the strongest ethnic rhetoric attested in the early Middle Ages.[32]

[29] Prosper of Aquitaine, *De vocatione omnium gentium* 1.10, ed. R. Teske and D. Weber (Vienna, 2009), p. 86: 'Sicut est quod sanctus Petrus apostolus scribens sui et futuri temporis gentibus, ait [followed by 1 Peter 2.9]. Numquid cum haec praedicarentur, adhuc illi homines permanebant quos omnes Deus in praeteritis generationibus dimiserat ingredi vias suas (Act. XIV, 15), et iidem ipsi, qui prius traditi fuerant voluntatibus suis, nunc de tenebris in lumen admirabile vocabantur?' See also Prosper of Aquitaine, *Responsiones ad capitula calumniantium Gallorum*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 51, cols 155–74, at 162B.

[30] *Codex Carolinus* 10, ed. W. Gundlach, *Codex epistolaris Carolinus*, *MGH Epp.* 3, 469–657, p. 502. See T. Noble, 'The Bible in the *Codex Carolinus*', in C. Leonardi and G. Orlandi (eds), *Biblical Studies in the Early Middle Ages* (Florence, 2005), 61–74.

[31] *Codex Carolinus* 39, p. 552; cf. 45, p. 561.

[32] W. Pohl, 'Why not marry a foreign woman: Stephen III's letter to Charlemagne', in V. Garver and O. Phelan (eds), *Rome and Religion in the Early Middle Ages* (Farnham, 2014), 47–63.

Jinty Nelson has drawn a connection between this use of 1 Peter 2.9 and the royal anointings performed by the popes.[33] Papal use of the passage depended on its exegetical interpretation, in which the anointing of Old Testament kings and priests was seen as a prefiguration of the baptismal anointing of all Christians, who thus themselves became 'kings and priests'. As Nelson observes, 'such scriptural imitation in the Frankish liturgy [of the Old Testament anointments] was a matter not just of drawing analogies, but of recognising and making concrete a symmetry that was divinely drawn, and extended beyond priests and kings to the whole people: it was the Franks' destiny to be a new Israel.'[34] 1 Peter 2.9 was a very poignant expression of that symmetry, given that its wording mirrored the formula of the covenant. If the Franks could be thought of as a chosen people, however, it was in the New Testament version. The numerous baptismal instructions and commentaries produced in the Carolingian period show that Carolingian clerics were very much aware of the parallel between Christian initiation and membership in a chosen community. Alcuin, for example, cited 1 Peter 2.9 when he explained the significance of post-baptismal anointing in the baptismal commentary known as *Primo paganus*, which was one of the most widely circulated texts on baptism in the Carolingian world:

> Then the head is anointed with holy chrism and covered with the mystical veil, so that [the baptised person] may understand that he bears the royal diadem and the priestly honour, as the apostle says: 'You are a royal and priestly *genus*, presenting yourselves as a sacrifice to the living God, holy and God-pleasing' [combining 1 Peter 2.9 and Romans 12.1].[35]

Other Carolingian commentaries on baptism offer detailed explanations of the typological link between the Old Testament and post-baptismal anointing,

[33] J. Nelson, 'The Lord's anointed and the people's choice: Carolingian royal ritual', in J. Nelson, *The Frankish World, 750–900* (London, 1996), 99–131, pp. 109–11. For the link between royal anointing and baptism, see also the discussion in A. Angenendt, 'Pippins Königserhebung und Salbung', in M. Becher and J. Jarnut (eds), *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751. Vorgeschichte, Legitimationsstrategien und Erinnerung* (Münster, 2004), 179–210; and J. Clauss, 'Die Salbung Pippins des Jüngeren in karolingischen Quellen vor dem Horizont biblischer Wahrnehmungsmuster', *FrSt* 46 (2013), 391–417, who emphasises Old Testament models.

[34] Nelson, 'The Lord's anointed', p. 109.

[35] Alcuin, *Ep.* 134, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 4, 1–481, pp. 202–3; more recently edited by S. Keefe, *Water and the Word. Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, 2 vols, Vol. II (Notre Dame, 2002), text 9, pp. 238–45; cf. Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. I, pp. 80–99 for discussion; O. Phelan, 'Textual transmission and authorship in the Carolingian period. *Primo paganus*, baptism, and Alcuin of York', *Revue Bénédictine* 118 (2008), 262–88.

invoking kingdom and priesthood even where they do not explicitly cite 1 Peter.[36] In the words of Theodulf of Orléans, by virtue of the anointment, Christians joined the 'kingdom and priesthood of the church' and acquired the right to the Christian name (*Christiani nominis praerogativa*).[37] It is in the liturgical context of baptism that identification as a Christian was conflated most effectively with notions of divine election and membership in a sanctified community.

Carolingian visions of baptism take us back to Alcuin's quote in 1 Peter cited in his *Life of St Vedast*, the legendary founder of Saint-Vaast at Arras, with which we began this article.[38] A Merovingian version of the text is attributed to Jonas of Bobbio, who had also written the *Life of St Columbanus*.[39] Alcuin's version starts with a dedication to Rado, abbot of Saint-Vaast, which contains lengthy admonitions about monastic life and the duties of those 'who have taken over leadership of a flock of Christ'.[40] The *Vita* clearly reflects concerns of the 790s: the appearance of *pseudodoctores* who introduce new sects, which is a reference to the Adoptionist controversy; an extended version of the destructions at Arras by Attila as a punishment for the sins of the population, which points both to the Viking raid on Lindisfarne in 793 and to the Avar wars, which were legitimised as retribution for Attila's incursions.[41]

Alcuin considerably extended the chapter about the baptism of Clovis. In the first *Life of St Vedast*, the account of the victorious battle was based on Gregory of Tours, with numerous verbatim quotes; it introduced Vedast as the king's spiritual teacher who accompanied him to Reims, whereas the act of baptism itself was only described briefly.[42] Alcuin elaborated all parts of this

[36] E.g. Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, texts 25, pp. 371–3 (Leidrad of Lyon) and 30, pp. 425–7 (Jesse of Amiens).

[37] Theodulf of Orléans, *De baptismo*, c. 15, ed. Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, pp. 307–8. Cf. Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* II.26, pp. 106–7.

[38] *Vita Vedastis duplex*, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 3, 399–427.

[39] Cf. A.-M. Helvétius, 'Clercs ou moines? Les origines de Saint-Vaast d'Arras et la *Vita Vedastis* attribué à Jonas', *Révue du Nord* 93 (2011), 671–89. On Carolingian thought about baptism and its role in the formation of political community, see O. Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe. The Carolingians, Baptism, and the Imperium Christianum* (Oxford, 2014).

[40] Alcuin, *Vita Vedastis duplex*, Part II, *Dedicatio*, p. 415. Cf. C. Veyrard-Cosme, 'Alcuin et la réécriture hagiographique: d'un programme avoué d'emendatio à son actualisation', in M. Goullet and M. Heinzelmann (eds), *La réécriture hagiographique dans l'Occident médiéval*, Beihefte der Francia 58 (Ostfildern, 2003), 71–86.

[41] Alcuin, *Vita Vedastis duplex*, Part II, *Dedicatio*, p. 415, using 2 Peter 2.1, and c. 7, p. 421. Cf. W. Pohl, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa* (Munich, 2002), p. 313.

[42] Alcuin, *Vita Vedastis duplex*, Part I, cc. 2–3, pp. 406–8.

account. Already in the context of Vedast's teachings, he anticipates the effects of the king's baptism. The two saints, Vedast and Remigius (whom Alcuin, in a deliberate *adnominatio*, calls Remedius), together 'bring the temporary king to the eternal king as a present'. Clovis 'entered the door of eternal light, for the very strong people of the Franks [*gens Francorum*] believed in Christ, and was turned into a *gens sancta, populus adquisitionis*, so that His virtues were announced to them, who called them from the darkness into His admirable light'.[43] The actual description of the act of baptism in the following chapter accentuates this decisive step through Old Testament comparisons once again, describing the joy in the Church when 'the king of Nineveh, after the preaching of Iona, stepped down from the threshold of his majesty, sitting in the ash of penitence and humiliating his head of excellency under the pious right hand of the priest of God! Thus the king with the noblemen and the people was baptised.'[44]

The rhetoric of election is used here to underline the fundamental contrast between pagan damnation and salvation through baptism. The Franks had not been a chosen people from the start; it was the act of baptism in which the divine 'acquisition' was expressed. This miraculous *rite de passage* is operated by God's grace through the pious deeds of the two saints who bring remedy to the souls of the king and his Franks. As compared with the accounts in Gregory of Tours and also in the first Life, the king's agency is further diminished, and the importance of the religious erudition imparted to Clovis by St Vedast takes centre stage. The correct form and spiritual value of baptism were another contentious issue of the 790s, in which Alcuin disagreed with Charlemagne about the use of force in the conversion of the Saxons.[45] It is also remarkable that unlike Gregory and the author of the first *Life of St Vedast*, Alcuin stressed the necessity of Clovis's penance before his baptism. This expressed concerns about the 'Penitential State' that would become so important under Louis the Pious.[46] Only after the double ritual of penance and baptism can Clovis return to the exercise of power.

The concept of election behind the passage therefore does not mean that the Franks were 'the' true Israel, the one chosen people among the many *gentes* of the period. They had become a *gens sancta* by their conversion. The cumulative act of baptism was a special display of God's grace. The circumstances also mattered, involving divine intervention by granting victory to the *gens Francorum* and its king, and featuring two holy men who had guaranteed that

[43] Alcuin, *Vita Vedastis duplex*, Part II, c. 2, p. 418.

[44] Alcuin, *Vita Vedastis duplex*, Part II, c. 4, p. 419.

[45] I. Wood, *The Missionary Life. Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe 400–1050* (Harlow, 2001), pp. 80–9.

[46] Cf. M. de Jong, *The Penitential State. Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge, 2009).

both the religious teaching and the ritual act were impeccable. The limits of election become clearer by comparison with two further passages in Alcuin's work that also use 1 Peter, but refer to other peoples. One is Alcuin's letter to Aethelheard, archbishop of Canterbury, written in the wake of the sack of Lindisfarne. 'As is attested by the Prince of the Apostles: You are a *genus electum, regale sacerdotium.* By the insistence of your preaching we will be, as follows in the same letter: *gens sancta, populus adquisitionis* … who once were not a people but now are the people of God.'[47] 1 Peter 2.9–10 is fully quoted here, slightly modulated by introducing the first-person plural: this, in Alcuin's eyes, was about 'us', the Christian Angles, and this element is reinforced by the next passage: 'Our fathers, God allowing, although pagans, took this land by their bellicose virtues. How big is our disgrace that we Christians lose what those pagans won. I say this because of the scourge that recently came to parts of our island, which has been inhabited by our relatives for almost 350 years.' Christian and ethnic language are closely interwoven here.

Alcuin's emphatic self-identification, a device to veil his implicit critique of the British bishops, then turns into severe admonishment. How could it be that Christians lost what pagans won? This must be a punishment for their sins, and Alcuin turns to Gildas to drive the point home. Gildas had paralleled the misfortunes of Israel with those of the Britons: 'I said to myself, when they strayed from the right track the Lord did not spare a people [*populus*] that was peculiarly his own among all nations [*nationes*], a royal stock, a holy race [*semini regali gentique sanctae*] … what will he do to the darkness of this our age?'[48] Alcuin uses Gildas to argue that the Britons lost their fatherlands because of the greed of the princes, the iniquity of the judges, the sloth of the bishops and the sins of the people.[49] Let us be careful not to squander the divine protection of our fatherland, Alcuin concludes. The bishops, he insists, must open heaven's door to the people of God by their assiduous preaching. In his final array of biblical admonishments, Alcuin also directly refers to the case of Israel: 'Spare, Lord, spare your people, and do not give your inheritance to the disgrace of the *gentes*.'[50]

The letter is a rhetorical showcase, discharging fireworks of almost thirty biblical quotes and high-sounding rhetoric, continually juxtaposing encomium and severe moral exhortation. Alcuin was a master of the genre of *increpatio*

[47] Alcuin, *Ep.* 17, p. 47. See M. Garrison, 'The Bible and Alcuin's interpretation of current events', *Peritia* 16 (2002), 69–84, pp. 73–6.

[48] Gildas, *De excidio Britanniae*, Preface, c. 13, ed. and trans M. Winterbottom (London, 1978), pp. 15 and 88. On a similar note of moral condemnation, Gildas, c. 107, p. 76, used a full quote of 1 Peter 2.9–10 to castigate corrupt priests (p. 139).

[49] Alcuin, *Ep.* 17, p. 47. A similar reference to Gildas is found in Alcuin, *Ep.* 129, p. 192. Cf. D. Bullough, *Alcuin. Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden, 2004), p. 271.

[50] Joel 2.17; Alcuin, *Ep.* 17, p. 48.

that became so central to courtly debates under Louis the Pious.[51] The Peter passage derives its significance from his strategy to convince the English bishops that they were simply too important to fail. The fate of the 'holy' people of the English depended on their preaching and moral conduct. Remarkably, Alcuin splits the epithets addressed by Peter to the early Christians in two: *Vos*, the bishops, are the *genus electum*, the *regale sacerdotium*; and by their preaching *nos*, the English people, including Alcuin, will be the *gens sancta* and the *populus adquisitionis*. In his *Vita Vedastis*, Alcuin only used the last two epithets for the Franks as well. He distinguished between the kin of the elect, the royal priesthood – the chosen few – on the one side and the whole people on the other side – contrary to Peter's intention. Furthermore, God's people was by no means chosen from the start, and neither had it simply become 'holy' through conversion. Its holiness continued to depend on its actions, and on the support of the bishops; it always lay in the future, and was no more than a promise, an aim to pursue with all dedication. The failure of the Jews to live up to the requirements of the covenant, but also the perdition of the Britons, constituted dire warnings.

Some years later, Alcuin addressed a letter of admonishment to the brothers and fathers *in provincia Gothorum*.[52] The main issue was the regional practice that laymen refused to confess their sins to the priests, and Alcuin argued that confession and penitence were absolutely necessary. Then, he addressed the brothers (who needed to confess) directly: 'You are sons of light and not of darkness, a people of acquisition and not of perdition, *gens sancta*, appropriated by the blood of Christ.'[53] Those who confess their sins will pass from darkness to light, and God's mercy will elect them as sons.[54]

In all three cases, different as the circumstances may have been, Alcuin's rhetoric of election came in the context of moral exhortation and admonishment. Membership in a *gens sancta*, and even more divine election to royal priesthood, required high moral standards, and were always at risk. In Alcuin's view, this made it unlikely that a whole people, for instance the *gens Francorum*, could securely and collectively claim the status of a chosen people over time. However, the ethnic language was far from meaningless to Alcuin. God could and did send signs of distinction and predilection to certain *gentes*: for instance, by easing their conversion, by granting them victory over their enemies or by honouring them through the presence of holy men. On the

[51] De Jong, *Penitential State*, pp. 142–7; I. van Renswoude, *The Rhetoric of Free Speech in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought (Cambridge, forthcoming).

[52] Alcuin, *Ep.* 138, p. 216.

[53] Alcuin, *Ep.* 138, p. 219 (dated to c. 798).

[54] Alcuin, *Ep.* 138, p. 219: 'et elegit vos sibi in filios pietate paterna, ut per vos nomen illius annuntietur in gentibus'.

other hand, several of Alcuin's letters written under the shadow of the sack of Lindisfarne and of further British calamities use Old Testament examples to show that an entire people could be punished for its sinfulness.[55] The sins of many individuals among the people could be compensated by God's mercy, as long as the shepherds of the flock did all they could to lead it towards salvation. But there were also warning signs, such as the sack of Lindisfarne, that the moral credit of a *gens sancta* was about to be squandered. In that case, the people collectively risked the loss of homeland like the Jews or the Britons. It was the mission of spiritual and political leaders to mediate in this process of communication between God and the earthly community.

The efforts of Carolingian exegetes to understand the implications of the model of community as described in 1 Peter 2.9, based on patristic traditions (most notably on Bede), acquire particular interest in the context of ninth-century debates about the relationship between empire and *ecclesia*, and about ways in which the people and its leaders could live up to the requirements of a people chosen by God.[56] Hrabanus Maurus, one of the most prolific Carolingian exegetes, discussed and cited 1 Peter 2.9 frequently in his vast exegetical corpus. He relied heavily on Bede's interpretation, for example in his commentary on Exodus, where he incorporated the relevant passage from Bede's commentary on 1 Peter into his exegesis of the description of the Mosaic covenant, juxtaposing it with its Christian version.[57] Hrabanus consistently emphasised the universal nature of the covenant and reiterated the notion that all Christians acquired royal and priestly dignity through their allegiance to Christ.[58]

[55] E.g. Alcuin, *Ep.* 16, p. 43, lines 12–15; *Ep.* 20, p. 57, lines 8–11 (Joel 2.17); *Ep.* 101, p. 147 (Is. 1.4); *Ep.* 229, p. 373 (Ps. 32, 12). See Garrison, 'The Bible and Alcuin's interpretation'.

[56] For the significance of exegesis in political discourse, see M. de Jong, 'The empire as *ecclesia*: Hrabanus Maurus and biblical *historia* for rulers', in Y. Hen and M. Innes (eds), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), 191–226.

[57] Hrabanus Maurus, *In Exodum* II.10, *PL* 108 (Paris, 1864), cols 9–245, at 89B–D; cf. also Smaragdus of St Mihiel, *Collectiones in epistulas et evangelia*, *In Ep. 1 Petri*, c. 2, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 102 (Paris, 1851), at 269C–270C; Walahfrid Strabo, *In Ep. 1 Petri*, c. 2, in *Opera omnia*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 114 (Paris, 1852), cols 682D–683B.

[58] E.g.: Hrabanus Maurus, *In Regum* III.6, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 109 (Paris, 1864), cols 9–280, at 164A; and *In Paralipomenon* III.4, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 109 (Paris, 1864), cols 279–540, at 452A–C (both times citing Bede's *De templo*); *In Paralipomenon* I.6, cols 313A–B; *In Leviticum* II.1, cols 295A–B; *In Numerum*, II.24, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 108 (Paris, 1864), cols 587–838, at 705A–B; *In Ecclesiasticum* VIII.7, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 109 (Paris, 1864), cols 763–1126, at 1020C–D; *In Heremiam* XIII.33, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 111 (Paris, 1864), cols 793–1272, at 1065C–D; *In Paralipomenon* I.6, at 313A–B.

The theme of the priesthood and kingship of all faithful is also modulated in interesting ways by Hrabanus in passages that do not directly depend on Bede. In the commentary on Chronicles, dedicated to Louis the German, Hrabanus explained how the Old Testament King Jehoshaphat (Latin 'Josaphat') could stand as a type for the Christian people as a whole, reminding his readers that all Christians, kings and their subjects alike derived their 'Christian name and the royal dignity' from Christ, since all of them had been baptised and anointed.[59] To corroborate this perception of the Christian people, Hrabanus cited 1 Peter 2.9. The link between the righteous king and the Christian community was further strengthened by the fact that Jehoshaphat's name, which signified 'gift', suggested a close connection to the *ecclesia gentium*, which had received the diverse peoples (*nationes*) and the diversity of virtues. Alternatively, the gifts offered by his subjects in the kingdom of Judah signified the souls of the faithful offered to Christ, the 'true king', in perfect unity.[60] Jehoshaphat's campaign against idolatrous shrines throughout the country could be understood as a model for the action of a pious king on behalf of the Christian people. Such a king, according to Hrabanus, not only took care to eliminate any cause for scandal from amongst the faithful, but also directed 'princes and priests' to the cities in his realm in order 'to educate the people about the precepts of God's law'. Starting from the typological link between the biblical king and the Christian *ecclesia*, Hrabanus thus moved to suggest the responsibility of the former for building up the latter.[61]

Like Alcuin, Hrabanus was also aware of the precariousness of a community's status as a chosen people. In the commentary on Jeremiah, Hrabanus dealt with the threat faced by the people of Israel of losing their status as God's people because of their idolatrous practices, comparing this to the punishment for individual sinners, who forfeit the gifts of baptism and the unction by the Holy Spirit, and thus their membership in the *genus electum* and *regale sacerdotium* evoked by the First Epistle of Peter.[62] Hrabanus's younger contemporary

[59] Hrabanus Maurus, *Ep.* 18, in *Epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 5, 379–516, pp. 422–4. On the royal court as audience for Hrabanus's exegesis, see De Jong, 'The empire as *ecclesia*', with pp. 204–5 for the dedication of the commentary on Chronicles; Hrabanus, *In Paralipomenon* IV.17, at 488C–489B.

[60] On the theme of Old Testament kings and Christ's kingship in Carolingian exegesis, see E. Miller, 'Christ's kingship in the biblical exegesis of Hrabanus Maurus and Angelomus of Luxeuil', in C. Leonardi and G. Orlando (eds), *Biblical Studies in the Early Middle Ages* (Florence, 2005), 192–213.

[61] Hrabanus made a similar argument about kings as builders of the Church in his Commentary on Daniel (Dan. 14.19–21), likewise dedicated to Louis the German; see S. Shimahara, 'Le commentaire sur Daniel de Hraban Maur', in Ph. Depreux, S. Lebecq and M. Perrin (eds), *Raban Maur et son temps* (Turnhout, 2010), 275–91, pp. 286–8.

[62] Hrabanus, *In Heremiam*, XVIII.2, *PL* 111, at 1200C–D.

Paschasius Radbertus, in his commentary on the Book of Lamentations, combined the citation of 1 Peter 2.9 with the image of a chosen people that was afflicted not only by sin, but also by its 'carnal and criminal' prelates.[63] Although the more sober tone in these commentaries is partly explicable by the nature of the specific biblical texts they dealt with, it is tempting also to associate it with the changed political experiences in a divided empire.

In Carolingian exegetical texts, 1 Peter 2.9 was consistently used to negotiate the relationship between priesthood and kingship, and between *regnum* and *ecclesia*. The analogy between the *persona* of the bishop and the king on the one hand and every baptised Christian individual on the other did not remain a mere exegetical trope; it came to be deployed in very concrete political debates about royal power and its limits in a Christian society. Hincmar of Reims, orchestrator of royal anointings and an influential counsellor to King Charles the Bald, used the passage to this effect in his treatise regarding the divorce case of Lothar II, written in 860 in response to the queries of a number of bishops who opposed the divorce and the decisions of the synods at Aachen.[64] Hincmar rebuked Charles the Bald for having protected Hucbert, Queen Theutberga's brother and allegedly also her incestuous lover, who had fled to West Francia. He first dealt with attempts to use Deuteronomy 23.15–16 ('Thou shalt not deliver to his master the servant that is fled to thee') as a justification for providing shelter for Hucbert. Following Augustine, Hincmar explained that this biblical prohibition pertained only to persons fleeing from one kingdom or *gens* to another, and therefore had no force in the present case. After all, the Carolingian empire, albeit ruled by more than one king, nevertheless constituted one single realm and one single Church.[65] More importantly, Hincmar reminded the *principes catholici* of their written agreement, in the Treaty of Meerssen of 851, not to provide shelter to fugitives from another *regnum*. By breaking such laws as confirmed by their own hand kings not only acted unjustly and sinfully: they risked losing their claim to the royal title and office. To bolster this argument, Hincmar adduced a canon from the Council of Carthage in 419 stating that bishops were legally bound by their subscriptions to conciliar decisions and by the provisions of canon law. To counter the objection that this rule referred to bishops rather than kings, Hincmar reminded them that they also derived their dignity and office from Christ,

[63] Paschasius Radbertus, *In Lamentationes Hieremiae* V, line 424, ed. B. Paulus, *CCCM* 85 (Turnhout, 1988), pp. 324–5.

[64] Hincmar of Reims, *De divortio Lotharii regis et Theotbergae reginae*, ed. L. Boehringer, *MGH Conc.* 4, *Suppl.* 1. For context, see K. Heidecker, *The Divorce of Lothar II. Christian Marriage and Political Power in the Carolingian World* (Ithaca, NY, 2010); S. Airlie, 'Private bodies and the body politic in the divorce case of Lothar II', *Past and Present* 161 (1998), 3–38.

[65] Hincmar, *De divortio*, Resp. 12, p. 187.

the true king and priest, and he cited 1 Peter 2.9 to make the point that kings share their anointment and their royal dignity not only with priests, but with every baptised Christian. 1 Peter 2.9 and the analogy proposed by its exegetes between the individual Christian and the person of the king and priest functioned as the key argument for extending the legal provision of the Council of Carthage from bishops to secular rulers. Hincmar thus warned the kings that they risked depriving themselves of the royal title and the dignity of the office in the eyes of God (if not in human eyes) if they did not comply with previous legal statements.[66]

Nelson has underlined the significance of this argument for Hincmar's thought on royal power as bound by written law and subject to episcopal control.[67] It provided a biblical basis for juridical restraints on the royal office. In his *De libertate ecclesiarum*, addressed to Charles the Bald in 868, Hincmar formulated the same argument in even clearer terms in the context of ecclesiastical property rights. This time, Hincmar linked the king's duty to keep the relevant legal provisions (*statuta*) not only to his status as a king anointed by bishops, which subjected him to the canon of Carthage of 419, but also to the specific legal promises (*professiones*) given by the king to that effect in Beauvais in 845 and in Quierzy in 858.[68]

The symmetry among kings, priests and ordinary Christians, all of whom shared the status as Christ's anointed, meant that kings were firmly placed within a Christian order, in which they were responsible for maintaining the rule of both divine and secular law. Hincmar used 1 Peter 2.9 to remind the Carolingian kings of this responsibility in yet another context, namely in the synodal treatise *De raptu viduarum*, where he exhorted them to take action against the abduction of women, a practice that he perceived as a sacrilege and a grave violation of the divinely sanctioned order.[69] In this case, the passage served to evoke the convergence between Church and empire (and, therefore, the need to harmonise divine and secular law), as well as the underlying unity of this Christian people even under the circumstances of divided rule in the

[66] Hincmar, *De divortio*, Resp. 12, p. 188.

[67] J. Nelson, 'Kingship, law and liturgy in the political thought of Hincmar of Rheims', in J. Nelson (ed.), *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London/Ronceverte, 1986), 133–71, esp. pp. 160–5.

[68] Hincmar, *Pro ecclesiae libertatum defensione*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 125 (Paris, 1852), cols 1035–70, at 1040C–1042B. Cf. Nelson, 'Kingship, law and liturgy', p. 165.

[69] Hincmar of Reims, *De coercendo et exstirpando raptu viduarum, puellarum ac sanctimonialium*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 125 (Paris, 1852), cols 1035–70, at 1017–36. On the text, the date of which remains debated, see S. Joye, *La femme ravie. Le mariage par rapt dans les sociétés occidentales du haut Moyen Âge* (Turnhout, 2012), 405–34; R. Stone, 'The Invention of a theology of abduction: Hincmar of Reims on "raptus"', *JEH* 60 (2009), 433–48.

Carolingian empire: 'although secular power in this realm of the Christians [*regnum Christianorum*] is at present divided according to divine judgement, there exists only one single Church in and from all protected by Christ, one Lord, one faith, one elected *genus*, royal priesthood, one holy *gens*, one acquired people'.[70]

The rhetoric of election addressed to the Christians by 1 Peter was used in many ways in the early Middle Ages. Exegetes continued to identify the recipients of the message with the entire Christian people. Addressing all Christians as a 'holy priesthood' could be a powerful statement in some contexts, but it also created problems. Alcuin therefore tried to split the passage in two, reserving *genus electum* and *sacerdotium regale* for bishops and priests, but that did not remove the tension. It could rarely be made evident that all Christians were part of a *gens sancta*, at best that they should be. The passage thus acquired an inescapable dynamic, already present in its Old Testament models; election depended on moral conduct and on God's grace. Most often, 1 Peter 2.9–10 is employed to admonish bishops, clerics, political leaders or the whole people, as in Alcuin's letters. Even its straightforwardly appellative use, as in the sermons of Leo the Great or the papal letters to the Franks, implies insistent requests for (collective) action. The strong words of 1 Peter increase the sense of urgency of the moral and political imperatives connected with them. They may also be used, as in Gildas, to decry the failure of the Christians and their clerics to live up to the promise of the passage. God's grace could thus offer the opportunity to become a chosen people to particular gentes. However, only extraordinary circumstances, such as the conversion of a pagan *gens*, allowed addressing a whole ethnic group with Peter's high-sounding epithets. Otherwise, their use is often conditional, following the arcane logic of winning or losing God's grace.

Thus, no consistent ideological attempt to style the Franks as 'the' chosen people versus all the others is discernible in the Carolingian reception of 1 Peter. However, the admonitory use of the passage, as in Alcuin, presupposes an at least implicit understanding that Franks or Angles enjoyed God's special grace, which should not be squandered. Thus, the amalgamation of sacral and ethnic language could radiate both ways. On the one hand, it helped to establish an emphatic Christian vision of community that linked divine election with a strong sense of inner cohesion. On the other hand, the political role of Christian *gentes* could become more evident through their providential legitimation in biblical discourse. It allowed close conjunctions between Christian and ethnic identities, between the *ecclesia* and the Frankish polity. By the use of biblical models, ethnic terminology acquired a range of additional meanings that remained available in European political thinking for

[70] Hincmar of Reims, *De raptu*, *PL* 125, cols 1017B–C.

many centuries to come, and could serve as a basis for providential concepts of modern nationalism.

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2

Adopt, adapt and improve: dealing with the Adoptionist controversy at the court of Charlemagne

Rutger Kramer

In the late eighth century, the Carolingian court heard of a potential threat to Christian *stabilitas* that required their immediate attention. The bishops Elipandus of Toledo (*c.* 755–*c.* 808) and Felix of Urgell (*c.* 780–99, †818) preached an understanding of the nature of the Trinity that, as far as the Carolingians were concerned, dissented from what they regarded as orthodoxy. According to these Spanish bishops, Christ was the adoptive son of God, a mere man imbued with divinity, and therefore neither fully divine nor an equal part of the Trinity.[1] At least, that was how the intellectuals at the court in Aachen understood it – it has since then become clear that this was due to miscommunications as much as to wilful dissension.[2] Still, even if the exact nature of the controversy was somewhat unclear to the participants (at least at the onset of the debate), this *Hispanicus error*, as they referred to Adoptionism, was deemed to be dangerous stuff.[3] As with other religious controversies at the time – such as the almost-contemporary question about the inclusion of

[1] J. Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West. Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785–820* (Philadelphia, 1993), pp. 103–6.

[2] For a comprehensive summary of this controversy, see also M. Kloft, 'Der spanische Adoptianismus', in J. Fried (ed.), *794 – Karl der Große in Frankfurt am Main. Ein König bei der Arbeit* (Sigmaringen, 1994), 56–61. Two papal letters copied in the *Codex epistolaris carolinus* also implicate a Bishop Egila in the debate: D. Bullough, 'The dating of *Codex carolinus* nos. 95, 96, 97, Wilchar, and the beginnings of the archbishopric of Sens', *DA* 18 (1962), 223–30. As with so many of their contemporaries, it is impossible to attach exact dates to the careers of these bishops.

[3] The term *Hispanicus error* is employed by Alcuin, *Ep.* 137, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 4, pp. 210–16 (p. 211), and *Ep.* 200, pp. 330–3 (p. 331). Cavadini, *Last Christology*, argues most strongly that part of the controversy was due to miscommunications rather than heretical leanings of the Spanish bishops, and at p. 1 refers to the term Adoptionism as 'a word without a fixed historical reference'. The Adoptionist

filioque in the Nicene Creed, or the wide-ranging debates about the veneration of images – the ideas espoused by the bishops concerned dealt with the nature of the Trinity, and thus touched upon questions fundamental to the self-perception of the budding Carolingian Church.[4]

From the point of view of the ecclesiastical elites at the court of Charlemagne, who did their utmost to create an *ecclesia*, a Christian realm where everybody would be enabled to live according to God's law, such fundamentally different views on Christ could not be allowed to spread – especially not in an area 'where Frankish blood and treasure were spent lavishly for decades'.[5] The fact that this heterodox movement was not confined to the Iberian Peninsula, but appeared to have boiled over into Aquitaine as well, made the matter all the more pressing.[6] While the persistence of many different religious traditions within the realm did not necessarily hinder the unitary aspirations of the Carolingian court, teachings that gnawed at the theological foundations of the *ecclesia* were a problem indeed if they ever hoped to integrate fully the Spanish March, Gascony, Septimania and Aquitaine into the Carolingian fold.[7]

controversy is also an important topic in the contribution of Raaijmakers and Van Renswoude to this volume.

[4] T. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians* (Philadelphia, 2009), pp. 164–9. For a chronological overview, see S. Rabe, *Faith, Art and Politics at Saint-Riquier. The Symbolic Vision of Angilbert* (Philadelphia, 1995), pp. 24–6.

[5] T. Noble, 'Kings, clergy and dogma: the settlement of doctrinal disputes in the Carolingian world', in S. Baxter, C. Karkov, J. Nelson and D. Pelteret (eds), *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald* (Farnham, 2009), 237–52, pp. 244–5, 252; Cavadini, *Last Christology*, pp. 53–9, 66–8. On *ecclesia* as a model for state-building, see, for example, M. de Jong, 'The State of the Church: *ecclesia* and early medieval state formation', in W. Pohl and V. Wieser (eds), *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat. Europäische Perspektiven*, FGM 16 (Vienna, 2009), 241–54.

[6] For a general overview of the context and the flexibility of the Christian communities on the Iberian Peninsula following the Ummayyad conquest, see A. Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus (711–1000)* (Richmond, 2002). This monograph provides surprisingly little information on the Adoptionist controversy, though. Indications that a form of Adoptionism had appeared in Carolingian Aquitaine as well may be found in Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 8, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SS* 15:1, 198–220; trans. W. Kettemann, 'Subsidia Anianensia. Überlieferungs- und textgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Witiza-Benedikts, seines Klosters Aniane und zur sogenannten "anianischen Reform"' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Duisburg-Essen, 2001), 139–223, p. 158.

[7] On the notion of diversity within the unity that the Carolingian court aspired to, see R. Kottje, 'Einheit und Vielfalt des kirchlichen Lebens in der Karolingerzeit', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, Vierte Folge XIV* 76 (1965), 323–42. The question of regional identities in Carolingian Aquitaine specifically is still an understudied

Carolingian interest in this matter was about more than merely containing Adoptionism south of the Pyrenees, however, and went beyond stamping out a potentially dangerous heretical movement. What truly vexed the prelates at the Carolingian court was the idea that there were bishops propagating Adoptionist teachings in the first place; this contravened the self-perception of the Carolingian episcopate at the time. The Adoptionist bishops, they feared, became increasingly alienated from the 'kingdom defined by prayer' that was being developed, a realm 'where ideological boundaries coincided with those of correct Christian practice' and that moreover, according to some, might even grow into an *imperium Christianum*.[8] Even though the Carolingians did not fully control the Iberian Peninsula, part of which was ruled by the Muslim Umayyad Caliphate, they did appreciate that this remained home to a sizeable Christian community, and felt that this community could – and should – be part of the *ecclesia* they were building.[9] In short, it would be as important to show how the court played a role in the establishment orthodoxy as it was to encapsulate the Spanish bishops in the ideological discourse that was propagated from the palace in Aachen.

The tensions that arose from pursuing this double agenda stand at the core of this chapter. Firstly, it will show that the Carolingian way of dealing with the Adoptionist challenge was not simply to enforce their version of orthodoxy, but instead to allow a conversation between the Spanish bishops and their Frankish opponents to take place.[10] Holding such a debate would have invoked a plethora of models and images provided by history, ranging from the Council of Nicaea to the more recent experiences in Visigothic Spain – and given the direct involvement of a ruler in all this, a notional link to the legacy of Constantine, problematic though this was, was also

phenomenon; the massive – yet unfinished – study by L. Auzias, *L' Aquitaine Carolingienne (778–987)* (Toulouse, 1937) remains the starting point for any research into this region.

[8] M. de Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', in J. Story (ed.), *Charlemagne. Empire and Society* (Manchester/New York, 2005), 103–35, pp. 125–9. Regarding the development of the idea of an *imperium Christianum*, see M. Alberi, 'The evolution of Alcuin's concept of the *imperium christianum*', in J. Hill (ed.), *The Community, the Family and the Saint. Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe; Selected Proceedings of the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 4–7 July 1994, 10–13 July 1995* (Turnhout, 1998), 3–17.

[9] The steady influx of migrants from the region would have served to strengthen the ties between Carolingian court and Iberian Christians as well: P. Riché, 'Les réfugiés wisigoths dans le monde carolingien', in J. Fontaine and C. Pellistrandi (eds), *L'Europe Héritière de l'Espagne Wisigothique* (Madrid 1992), 177–83.

[10] R. Kramer and I. van Renswoude, 'Dissens, Debatte und Diskurs: Kirche und *Imperium* in der Karolingerzeit', *Historicum* 31 (2014), 22–7.

a possibility.[11] Both Nicaea and Constantine were part of the Christian Roman past shared by the Spanish and Frankish bishops, and the various uses of this imagery show how the role of a ruler and his court in a debate such as this was on the minds of both parties as much as the resolution of the Christological questions that had brought them into contact in the first place. Following this closer look at the ideas permeating the debate, the chapter will study some of the ways in which the Carolingians used this controversy to claim for themselves the authority to determine the difference between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. In so doing, the Adoptionist controversy helped them further to consolidate a sense of ecclesiastical unity with the *sacrum palatium* at its centre out of the many different visions of community within the emerging empire.[12]

Although the Carolingian court may have aimed for a specific outcome to the debate, it was deemed highly important to allow the bishops to discuss the issue, and establish the correct faith unanimously (*una voce*) and not through peer pressure alone.[13] Moreover, either party could have simply ignored the other, or opted to stay away. This was a feasible option. A sizeable part of the peninsula was isolated from the Frankish Church after the Umayyad conquests, and the bishops living under their rule deemed internal unity to be at least as important as conformity with their northern colleagues.[14] On the other hand, however, the Carolingian *ecclesia* exerted a considerable influence on the bishops in Catalonia, who were caught between the new system that emerged north of the Pyrenees, and the traditions that had shaped the Church on the Iberian Peninsula over the preceding centuries.[15] Given the complicated situation in the former Visigothic kingdoms, integration into the Carolingian sphere of influence may have become a more desirable option to the Christian

[11] De Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', pp. 127–8. For an analysis of Constantine's performance at Nicaea, see R. Lim, *Public Disputation, Power, and Social Order in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1995), 187–215; for other models of rulership in such debates, see the contribution by Raaijmakers and Van Renswoude in this volume.

[12] M. de Jong, '*Sacrum palatium et ecclesia*: l'autorité religieuse royale sous les Carolingiens (790–840)', *Annales: histoire, sciences sociales* 58:6 (2003), 1243–69.

[13] Cavadini, *Last Christology*, pp. 71–3. See also G. Brown, 'The Carolingian Renaissance', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture. Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1994), 1–51, who, at p. 31, calls this a 'set-piece debate'.

[14] Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, pp. 14–27.

[15] U. Vones-Liebenstein, 'Katalonien zwischen Maurenherrschaft und Frankenreich: Probleme um die Ablösung westgotisch-mozarabischer Kirchenstrukturen', in R. Berndt (ed.), *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794. Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur – Akten zweier Symposien (vom 23. bis 27. Februar und vom 13. bis 15. Oktober 1994) anläßlich der 1200-Jahrfeier der Stadt Frankfurt am Main* (Mainz, 1997), 447–98.

communities in the northern half of the peninsula than to those in the south – potential loss of doctrinal autonomy notwithstanding.

So Felix of Urgell decided to make the long and arduous trip across the Pyrenees, expecting to be heard at one of the three synods convened by the Carolingians to deal with this challenge.[16] At the very least, these bishops hoped to be able to explain their position which, according to a letter written by Elipandus to his Frankish colleagues, had been grossly misrepresented by Beatus of Liébana, a priest-monk from northern Spain and a fierce critic of the views of Felix and Elipandus.[17] Elipandus even called his accuser a deliberate contrarian. Using the rhetorical term *antiphrasis*, Elipandus called Beatus 'a wicked priest, a pseudo-Christ and a false prophet', and argued that he was more interested in assailing the primacy of Toledo than in establishing correct doctrine – in doing so, he also invoked a warning uttered by Christ in Matthew 24.24, where he told his disciples that 'even the elect would be deceived' by such figures.[18]

[16] Firstly, the Council of Regensburg (*a.* 792), known only through indirect sources: W. Hartmann, *Die Synoden der Karolingerzeit im Frankenreich und in Italien* (Paderborn 1989), pp. 104–5. Secondly, the Council of Frankfurt (*a.* 794), in *Capitulare Francofurtense* (*a.* 794), ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 165–71; Hartmann, *Synoden der Karolingerzeit*, pp. 105–15; Noble, *Images*, pp. 169–80; P. Gemeinhardt, *Die 'Filioque'-Kontroverse zwischen Ost- und Westkirche im Frühmittelalter* (Berlin, 2002), pp. 90–102; and the two volumes by Berndt, *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794*. Thirdly, the Council of Aachen (*a.* 799), about which we learn solely from a letter Felix of Urgell sent home, in *Concilium Aquisgranense* (*a.* 800), ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 220–5, pp. 221–5; Hartmann, *Synoden der Karolingerzeit*, pp. 121–2; and in the *Vita Alcuini*, ed. W. Arndt, *MGH SS* 15:1, 182–97, at pp. 190–1 .

[17] On Beatus, see, for example K. Poole, 'Beatus of Liébana: Medieval Spain and the Othering of Islam', in K. Kinane and M. A. Ryan (eds), *End of Days. Essays on the Apocalypse from Antiquity to Modernity* (Jefferson, NC, 2009), 47–66, esp. pp. 48–54.

[18] Elipandus archiepiscopus Toletanus, *Epistola episcoporum Hispaniae ad episcopos Franciae*, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 111–19, p. 111: 'quod Antifrasii Beati, nefandi Astoriensis presbyteri, pseudochristi et pseudoprophete, pestiferi dogmatis sermo vipereus et nidor sulfureus arcana pectoris vestrae'. The insult is repeated in a letter to Charlemagne: *Epistola episcoporum Hispaniae ad Karolum Magnum*, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 120–1, p. 120: 'iste nefandus presbyter et pseudopropheta'. Beatus of Liébana, quoting a letter from Elipandus in his *Adversus Elipandum* I, c. 43, hints at the underlying nature of the conflict, responding to Elipandus's assertions that 'Nam numquam est auditum, ut Libanenses Toletanos docuissent. Notum est plevi universae hanc sedem sanctis doctrinis ab ipso exordio fidei claruisse et numquam scismaticum aliquid emanasse. Et nunc una ovis moruida doctor nobis appetit esse?'. The full verse in Matt. 24.24

Elipandus maintained that he was not aware of any wrongdoings, and he listed a great number of patristic texts supporting his theories.[19] This was, after all, the early medieval way of proving a point; a statement was justified by being endorsed by longstanding traditions that would have to be shared by all those participating in the debate.[20] The Carolingian bishops expected that arguments be made using patristic authorities, and so that was what Elipandus had given them.[21] As Elipandus was to discover, this recourse to past authority was something of a double-edged sword, however: in an official statement sent to the bishops of Spain, the Frankish bishops started with the question as to why their colleagues were not content with simply accepting the teachings of the fathers they had just cited. They accused the bishop of Toledo and his companions of going beyond all the wisdom to which they evidently had access.[22] The Spanish prelates had supposedly erred in their reading of these teachings, and had therefore misunderstood the nature of Christ.[23] The Frankish bishops

reads: 'Surgent enim pseudochristi, et pseudoprophetæ: et dabunt signa magna, et prodigia, ita ut in errorem inducantur (si fieri potest) etiam electi.'

[19] Elipandus, *Epistola episcoporum Hispaniae ad episcopos Franciae*, pp. 112–13, where he explicitly invokes Ambrose; Hilary of Poitiers; Jerome; Augustine; Isidore of Seville; and his predecessors in Toledo: Eugenius, Ildefonsus and Julian. The rest of the letter is peppered with biblical and patristic quotations and allusions as well.

[20] See, for example, Alcuin's explanation on the matter in a letter to Charlemagne, as well as his insistence that the uniformity visible in the *libelli* by Paulinus, Ricbod and Theodulf should be construed as a sign of divine approval: *Ep.* 149, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 4, pp. 241–5 (pp. 243–4).

[21] For specific examples, see, among others, J. Heil, 'Labourers in the Lord's quarry: Carolingian exegetes, patristic authority, and theological innovation; a case study in the representation of Jews in commentaries on Paul', in C. Chazelle and B. Van Name Edwards (eds), *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era* (Turnhout, 2003), 75–95; M. de Jong, 'Old law and new-found power: Hrabanus Maurus and the Old Testament', in J.-W. Drijvers and A. MacDonald (eds), *Centres of Learning. Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East* (Leiden, 1995), 161–76; T. Noble, 'The varying roles of biblical testimonies in the Carolingian image controversies', in E. Cohen and M. de Jong (eds), *Medieval Transformations. Texts, Power and Gifts in Context* (Leiden, 2001), 101–19.

[22] *Epistola episcoporum Franciae*, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 142–57, p. 143: 'Sed duae difficiles res nostris in eo libello, quem direxistis, sensibus occurrerunt. Una, cur vobis non sufficient quae in sanctorum patrum dictis inveniuntur et universali catholicae sanctionis consuetudine confirmantur, dicente scribtura [*sic*]: "Terminos patrum tuorum ne transgrediaris" [Prov. 22.28]? Numquid sagatiores sumus ad inveniendam viam veritatis quam apostolici doctores? Et quare aliquid confirmare audemus, quod in illorum non inveniatur scribtis [*sic*]?'

[23] One is somehow reminded of the remark in Chapter 8 of the *Admonitio generalis*, that 'suffragani episcopi … nihil nove audeant facere in suis parrochiis sine conscientia et

wasted no time showing the implications of this error: the misinterpretation of the relation between Father and Son also explained 'why (they) had been given into the hand of the infidel' as a punishment.[24]

Vitriolic rhetoric notwithstanding, Elipandus, in closing, implored his Frankish colleagues for 'clemency', assuring them that he was committed to preserving the 'peace commended by Christ, under whose sign [*vexillum*] they were all ennobled'.[25] The Toledan prelate seems to have taken something of a risk here. Through the wording of this passage, he invoked images of ecclesiastical unity, of people gathered together around a single banner under the command of Christ: preserving this should be their common goal. The *vexillum* he wrote about was used in Numbers 2.1 and Jeremiah 6.1, for instance, to describe the banner under which the tribes of Israel should rally – explained by Jerome as referring to the *ecclesia* as it got ready to defend itself against persecutions.[26] In his *Etymologies*, Isidore described the use of a *vexillum* (and other military implements mentioned by Jeremiah) in a similar way, as a rallying point, a signal, or as the carrier of an image 'by which an army recognises itself'.[27] Cassiodorus, on the other hand, used the term only once in his *Expositio Psalmorum* when he comments on Psalm 89/90 that the 'brightness of the Lord' is born like a 'banner of His triumph' on the head of every Christian willing to accept divine *correctio*.[28]

consilio sui metropolitani nec metropolitanus sine eorum consilio', ed. H. Mordek, K. Zechiel-Eckes and M. Glatthaar, *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Grossen*, *MGH Fontes iuris* 16, p. 188. See also Brown, 'Carolingian Renaissance', pp. 18–19.

[24] *Epistola episcoporum Franciae*, p. 145: 'quae ex parentum vestrorum dictis posuistis, ut manifestum sit, quales habeatis parentes, et ut notum sit omnibus, unde vos traditi sitis in manus infidelium'.

[25] *Epistola episcoporum Hispaniae*, p. 119: 'Poscentes almitudinem vestram, ut, sicut unius Christi vexillo presigniti sumus, ita pacem illam, quam Christus commendabit discipulis suis, intemerato iure servemus. Si quid vero aliter vestra prudentia senserit, reciprocatus vestri sermo socordiam nostram enubilet, et lux veritatis radio veri dogmatis abdita pectoris nostri perlustret, ut dilectio Christi in nobis rite perseveret, ut quos ubertas Christi fecundat terrae spatium nullo modo dividat.'

[26] Jerome, *In Hieremiam prophetam libri vi* II, c. 8, ed. S. Reiter, *CCSL* 74 (Turnhout, 1960), pp. 62–3: 'haec omnia referamus ad ecclesiam, ut, si deliquerit et persecutionis impetus fuerit, se praeparet ad resistendum'.

[27] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX* XVIII, c. 3.5, ed. W. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri 20*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1911): 'Vexillum et ipsud signum bellicum, tractum nomen habens a veli diminutione, quasi vexillum … Cetera signa diversis praelata imaginibus secundum militarem consuetudinem existunt, per quas exercitus permixtionem proeliorum agnoscitur.' It should be noted that Isidore's explanation is based in a Roman rather than a biblical past.

[28] Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, c. 89, ed. M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 98 (Turnhout, 1958), p. 828: 'Splendor domini super nos est, quando crucis eius impressione

Elipandus's use of this military metaphor also appears to invoke the image of Constantine the Great's vision of a Chi-Rho sign in the heavens and his subsequent conversion before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312. As such, the term occurs, for example, in the highly popular Latin translation and continuation of Eusebius's *Historia ecclesiastica* made in the early fifth century by the monk Rufinus of Aquileia.[29] Firstly, he describes how Constantine turned the sign shown to him into *militaria vexilla ... ac labarum* that enabled him to achieve victory over his enemy Maxentius, and later he also uses the word to describe a cross that Constantine had added to his own statue as a permanent reminder of how Rome had been freed from tyranny.[30] Similarly, in the sixth-century *Historia tripartita*, edited and translated into Latin by Epiphanius Scholasticus and Cassiodorus, the *vexillum* again shows up as the *labarum* that appeared to Constantine in a dream (*vexillum ... quod labarum vocabatur*).[31] While it is unclear which of these sources was on the mind of Elipandus, invoking the *vexillum* may have served as a reminder of the links between empire and *ecclesia* that had existed since the days of Constantine. Was Elipandus using this as an appeal to reconstruct the unity achieved by Constantine's victory and the subsequent establishment of a Christian Roman empire?[32] The fact that, as explained by Van Renswoude and Raaijmakers in the present volume, it was Elipandus who asked Charlemagne to act as an *arbiter* in the upcoming debates certainly seems to imply that this was part of the idea.[33]

decoramur et vexillum triumphi ipsius in fronte portamus ... Opera nostra dirigit super nos, quando nobis donaverit veniam peccatorum, ut cum fuerimus perversi, efficiamur eius correctione rectissimi.'

[29] On this translation and its influence throughout the Carolingian world, see R. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 227–33.

[30] Eusebius-Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica* IX, cc. 8–9, ed. E. Schwarz and T. Mommsen, *Eusebius Werke*, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1903–08), Vol. II: *Die Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 829–33.

[31] Cassiodorus-Epiphanius, *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita* I, c. 5.1–3, ed. W. Jacob and R. Hanslik, *CSEL* 71 (Vienna, 1952), p. 18: 'Signum vero, quod apparuerat ei, dicebant tropheum esse victoriae adversus infernum, quam victoriam ascendens in caelos egit Christus crucifixus et mortuus et tertia die resurgens ... Haec sacerdotibus explanantibus ammiratus imperator prophetias de Christo ita promissas iussit viros eruditos ex auro et lapidibus pretiosis in vexillum crucis transformare signum, quod labarum vocabatur.'

[32] P. Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom. Triumph and Diversity, AD 200–1000, 2nd edn* (Malden, MA, 1997), pp. 60–83.

[33] *Epistola episcoporum Hispaniae ad Karolum Magnum*, p. 120. For various other role-models for rulers as arbiters during conciliar debates and further perspectives on the legacy and reputation of Constantine, see the contribution by Raaijmakers and Van Renswoude in this volume.

Using this fourth-century symbol was a dangerous ploy in the early Middle Ages.[34] Constantine's reputation went beyond that of a fervent sponsor of the Church.[35] For all his efforts to further the cause of Christianity, Constantine had also achieved a reputation as a ruthless ruler, who was not afraid of murdering members of his own family, and who was even suspected of having been an Arian Christian himself.[36] The unity achieved under him (or rather, under Christ) may have been laudable.[37] The person, however, was not beyond reproach.

Elipandus – who seems to have composed most of the Spanish letters in the name of his peers – was aware of Constantine's bad reputation, and seemed willing to take the comparison to its extreme: both in a letter to Alcuin and in one to Charlemagne personally, he drew the parallel to Constantine's less palatable past. In a letter responding to Alcuin's accusation that the Spanish bishops were tearing the *ecclesia* apart with their errant teachings, Elipandus, in a somewhat hostile tone, admonished Alcuin to avoid assuming the same role in Charlemagne's life that Arius had fulfilled in Constantine's.[38] Charlemagne himself was reminded of his predecessor's failings. As presented by the Spanish bishop, Constantine started off as a 'worshipper of idols', before being converted to Christianity by Pope Sylvester. Afterwards, he fell under the influence of 'that snake, his sister', who compelled him to refute the 'sentences of the 318 saints' and convert to the teachings of Arius. And so it was, Elipandus concluded, that Constantine ended up in hell.

Elipandus appears to have been familiar with the neutral or even positive appraisal of Constantine in works such as the *Historia tripartita*, but

[34] E. Ewig, 'Das Bild Constantins des Großen in den ersten Jahrhunderten des abendländischen Mittelalters', *HJ* 75 (1955), 1–46.

[35] Perhaps the clearest example of the ongoing importance of Constantine is the fact that his name had been attached to the famous eighth-century papal forgery known as the *Donatio Constantini*: see J. Fried, *'Donation of Constantine' and 'Constitutum Constantini'. The Misinterpretation of a Fiction and Its Original Meaning* (Berlin, 2007).

[36] Ewig, 'Bild Constantins', pp. 2–3 and 37–8. The ambigious reputation of Constantine already posed a challenge for authors such as Gregory of Tours: I. Wood, 'Gregory of Tours and Clovis', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 63 (1985), 249–272, p. 251. See also the contribution by Raaijmakers and Van Renswoude in this volume.

[37] See A. Jones, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe* (Toronto, 1992), pp. 129–45, who notes that what was considered to be Constantine's legacy was mostly based on Eusebius's narrative.

[38] Elipandus, *Epistola ad Albinum*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 4, 301–7, pp. 302–3: 'Vide ne tu sis alter Arius, qui Constantinum imperatorem per beatum Sylvestrum Christianum factum, per Arium et mulierem factum haereticum … Vide ne tu ipsum facias de glorioso principe Carolo, sicut Arius fecit de Constantino.'

he is also comfortable invoking the more damning assessment presented in Eusebius-Rufinus's *Historia ecclesiastica* (to whom we owe the record of the involvement of Constantine's sister Constantia in his conversion).[39] It therefore comes as no surprise that Elipandus ends his anecdote with words directly lifted from Isidore's *Chronica maiora*, composed in the first quarter of the seventh century, where the author uses the example of Constantine to warn his readers about the fickleness of human nature: '*Eu pro dolor!* What started out good in principle was used to an unlucky end.'[40]

Instead of presenting this as a purely personal failure on the part of Constantine, Elipandus tied this story directly to the excommunication of Felix. The crux of his argument, after all, was that Charlemagne ought to allow the reinstatement of his colleague to his 'proper honours' so that 'his [Felix's] flock, which has fallen to the wolves, may be reformed' as well.[41] It was probably not Elipandus's goal to accuse Charlemagne of having succumbed to heretical beliefs, but rather to warn him against the dangers that might occur whenever a ruler did not listen to his bishops and went his own way as Constantine had done. Charlemagne's refusal to allow Felix to be restored to his see was presented as an abuse of authority, an unwelcome consequence of the idea that the ruler ought to be the highest authority in such cases. While it was accepted as good in principle, such excesses put not only the king's soul in danger, but also those of the members of his *ecclesia*.[42]

The king and Alcuin turned the tables on this line of reasoning. Using the same imagery, Charlemagne, in a letter composed by Alcuin in his name, explained that he would not make the same mistakes because he, unlike

[39] On this type of allusion, see R. McKitterick, 'Reading Roman history in the early Middle Ages', in C. Chandler and S. Stofferahn (eds), *Discovery and Distinction in the Early Middle Ages. Studies in Honor of John J. Contreni* (Kalamazoo, 2013), 3–21, esp. pp. 8–9 and 17.

[40] *Epistola episcoporum Hispaniae ad Karolum Magnum*, p. 121: 'Reminiscens et illud quod omnipotens Deus a vobis longe efficiat de Constantino imperatore. Qui dum esset idolatrie cultor, per beatum Silvestrium factus est Christianus, postea per serpentem, sororem suam, sanctorum trecentorum decem et octo sententiam refutans, in Arriano dogmate conversus et ad infernum flenda ruina dimersus diem clausit extremum; de quo beatus Isidorus dicit: "Eu pro dolor! Bono usas principio, et fine malo."' See Isidore of Seville, *Chronica maiora*, ed. T. Mommsen, *MGH Auctores antiquissimi* 11: *Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII.*, 391–481, p. 466.

[41] *Epistola episcoporum Hispaniae ad Karolum Magnum*, p. 121: 'Idcirco veluti prostrati coram tuis obtutibus cum lacrimis poscimus, ut famulum tuum Felicem in proprio honore restaures et pastorem gregi a lupis rapacibus disperso reformes.'

[42] De Jong, 'The State of the Church', p. 252; see also R. Meens, 'Politics, mirrors of princes and the Bible: sins, kings and the well-being of the realm', *EME* 7 (1998), 345–57.

Constantine, took pains always to heed the advice of the men gathered around him in order to stay on the 'truthful way'.[43] Charlemagne explained that this was why he had convened the council of the 'holy fathers, the venerable brothers and the sons of the pious mother Church' in the first place. Its *unanimitas* might convince Felix and Elipandus to return to the *ecclesia*, the correct faith as taught by the clergy, and established by Christ's presence in their midst.[44] Charlemagne ostentatiously interprets the Spanish bishops' rebuke as being well-intentioned. They have, after all, warned him against Beatus. Charlemagne replies that he is on guard against everyone who 'teaches contrary to the right faith', while simultaneously welcoming *correctio* from all who are capable of providing it. Quoting psalm 140/141.5, Charlemagne reminds his bishops of their duty, using the words of his other great example, King David: 'Let the righteous chastise [*corripere*] me, it shall be a kindness; And let him rebuke [*increpare*] me, it shall be as oil upon the head; Let not my head refuse it.' Charlemagne appears to have interpreted the admonition of the Spanish bishops to have originated from a shared willingness to establish the correct faith – for 'servitude to an inner demon is worse than to an external hostile people'.[45] He admonishes them to 'Strain your mind's eye upon Him, who will snatch you away from the power of the shadows', before working his way towards the

[43] Charlemagne, *Epistola ad Elipandum et episcopos Hispaniae*, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 157–64, p. 161: 'Exemplum mihi Constantini Imperatoris proposuistis, cuius initium beatum Isidorum laudasse dicitis, et finem doluisse; quod ne mihi accidat per quendam Beatum, quem Antifrasium cognominastis, benigne suadetis. Hoc etiam, Divina miserante gratia, praecavere satago: non ab illo tantummodo, sed etiam ab omnibus, qui aliqud rectae fidei contrarium docere videntur, assiduaque devotione Deum deposco et quoscumque ex filiis sanctae matris ecclesiae valeo mihi in hac petitione adiutores convoco, ne me alicuius verbosa adulatio vel fraudulenta laudatio decipiens a via veritatis avertat.' On the authorship of this letter, see L. Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne. Studies in Carolingian History and Literature* (Ithaca, NY, 1961), pp. 147–61; I will refer to it as being 'Charlemagne's letter' in this chapter.

[44] Charlemagne, *Epistola ad Elipandum*, p. 162; De Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', p. 108.

[45] Charlemagne, *Epistola ad Elipandum*, pp. 161–2: 'Propheta decantans: "Corripiet me iustus in misericordia et increpabit me. Oleum autem peccatoris non inpinguet caput meum." Vos vero vobismetipsis cavete quod nos fraterno ammonuistis amore, procurantes diligentissime omnipotentisque Dei vobis assiduis precibus clementissimam convocate gratiam, ne callida antiqui hostis versutia sensus vestros in aliqua parte corrumpat, et peius fiat interius diaboli servitium quam exterius gentis inimicae, eumque expectate redemptorem, quem salutis vestrae habuistis auctorem … Oculos vestrae mentis ad eum erigite, qui vos eripuit de potestate tenebrarum et transtulit in regnum filii dilectionis suae.'

Creed they should adhere to.[46] This one, he elaborates, has been decided upon by 'the multitude of the Christian *populus* and the unanimity of the councils of *sacerdotes*'.[47]

Charlemagne chose to reign according to the counsel confirmed numerous times by a divinely inspired consensus, and expressed the hope that the Spanish bishops would follow the 'Catholic', universal faith instead of persisting in their own local deviation from strict orthodoxy. This put the blame back on the shoulders of the Spanish bishops: they were the ones who were subverting the unity of the episcopal community. Starting from the relatively simple warning not to end up the way Constantine did, Charlemagne thus moved beyond the person of his fourth-century forebear towards the consensus he himself now exemplified.[48]

Both sides in this controversy used the Roman past to reflect on the Carolingian system as it was taking shape.[49] The Spanish bishops, for their part, implicitly showed that they aspired to form a unified *ecclesia*, together with their Frankish colleagues. The relative isolation within which they had to operate and the realisation that refusal to engage with the Carolingian Church might cause further fragmentation on their end may have prompted them to start the dialogue in the first place. However, they were also willing to put up a fight to defend their local traditions and ways of expressing themselves. Invoking Constantine allowed them to express their concerns about this: if the ruler became too influential, they might be forced to give those traditions up

[46] Charlemagne, *Epistola ad Elipandum*, pp. 163–4. This formulation of the Creed is noticeably different from the one – influenced by Pseudo-Jerome or Pelagius – found in the *Libri Carolini* III, c. 1, ed. A. Freeman and P. Meyvaert, *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum (Libri Carolini)*, *MGH Conc.* 2, *Suppl.* 1, pp. 336–41, as well as the introduction to the edition, p. 44, where the editors also point out the parallels and differences between these two. Cf. also D. Bullough, *Alcuin. Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden, 2004), pp. 422–9, on Alcuin's role in the composition of this Creed.

[47] Charlemagne, *Epistola ad Elipandum*, p. 162: 'Ad multitudinem populi Christiani et ad concilii sacerdotalis unanimitatem revertimini.' On the concept of *sacerdotes* and the many layers of meaning connected to that concept in the Carolingian age, see M. de Jong, *The Penitential State. Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 178–83; S. Patzold, *Episcopus. Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankenreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts, Mittelalter-Forschungen 25* (Ostfildern, 2008), pp. 135–84.

[48] J. Nelson, 'Kingship and empire', in J. Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought: c. 350–c. 1450* (Cambridge, 1988), 211–51, pp. 211–12.

[49] See W. Pohl, 'Creating cultural resources for Carolingian rule: historians of the Christian empire', in C. Gantner, R. McKitterick and S. Meeder (eds), *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2015), 15–33.

as well. This, in turn, carried with it an additional risk. Rampant 'imperialism' on the part of the Carolingian court might cause those rallying to them to lapse into error if they blindly followed the guidance provided by that same court. Given the stakes involved, this should not be allowed to happen. Constantine's alleged heretical leanings only manifested themselves upon his death, so the damage done was limited to the soul of the emperor himself. Charlemagne, on the other hand, had only just embarked on an equally ambitious undertaking, and thus needed all the guidance he could get. In that respect, it is interesting that the Spanish bishops felt comfortable enough to admonish the king even though they had apparently been pressed to defend themselves.[50] Rather than believing themselves at a disadvantage because they lacked imperial support, they had no qualms about taking on the role expected of any bishop within the *ecclesia*.

The Spanish prelates of the Iberian Peninsula may thus have feared the excesses typical of an overly ambitious ruler who was busy consolidating his position. If that was the case, they would have been pleasantly surprised that they got a debate instead of a unilateral call to orthodoxy.[51] However, both parties had made it clear that their primary concern was to establish a unitary exercise of Christianity. Moreover, maintaining a system in which the king and his bishops worked closely together was as much a goal of the Frankish court as it was part of a long-standing tradition of interdependence between royal and episcopal power in the former Visigothic kingdoms.[52] This may even have added to Elipandus's and Felix's motivation to participate in debates such as these: to refuse to do so ran counter to their ideas about what it meant to be a bishop; in their own diocese, it may have even added to their prestige to be seen to be taken seriously.

Like Constantine, the Carolingians stood much to lose if they refused to take this challenge seriously. Charlemagne, however, had to acknowledge that the stakes were radically different. As far as he was concerned, he only needed to confirm the orthodoxy that had already been established, among others

[50] On this idea behind providing rulers with constructive criticism, see De Jong, *Penitential State*, pp. 112–47.

[51] However, R. Abadal y Vinyals, *La batalla del adopcionismo en la desintegración de la Iglesia visigoda* (Barcelona, 1949) considered Adoptionism as a movement resisting the universalist tendencies of the Frankish Church. On earlier attempts by (Visigothic) rulers to establish unity within the diverse churches of the Iberian Peninsula, see R. Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589–633* (Ann Arbor, 2000).

[52] Cf. P. Díaz, 'Visigothic political institutions', in P. Heather (ed.), *The Visigoths from the Migration Period to the Seventh Century. An Ethnographic Perspective* (Woodbridge, 1999), 321–72; Hartmann, *Synoden der Karolingerzeit*, pp. 56–7; Brown, 'Carolingian Renaissance', pp. 5–6.

through the efforts supported by his fourth-century predecessor. What interested him was the unity of the *ecclesia*, which would be fragmented if debate were disallowed or if the Spanish bishops were simply excommunicated for not adhering to the basic tenets of orthodoxy. In practical terms, Charlemagne had everything to gain by allowing local bishops to remain in charge of their respective flocks, as they and their priests were his conduit to the people they tended to – his subjects.[53] More than anything else, exchange of ideas was seen as essential to the upkeep of the *ecclesia*, as it was only through a convincing dialogue that errant bishops could be brought back to the flock.[54] In that sense, Charlemagne's acknowledgement of Constantine's complicated legacy in the initial correspondence between Aachen and Toledo was as important an exponent of his perceived duties as a king as his active participation in the ensuing councils.[55]

As important as such dialogues were to maintaining a sense of unity among bishops across the territorial boundaries of the Carolingian realm, it was equally vital to present unanimity within the *ecclesia* to those who were already safely within its folds and not directly involved in the controversy. Thus, it is hardly surprising that relatively little of the debates is actually recorded in the 'official' version of events presented *post facto*.[56] For example, regarding the Council of Frankfurt of 794, arguably the most important of the councils dealing with Adoptionism, the *Annales regni Francorum* stress the unanimity of the outcome and do not bother to reveal the exact nature of the heresy: 'There the heresy of Felix was condemned for the third time, and this condemnation was written down, on the authority of the holy fathers, in a book which all the *sacerdotes* subscribed with their own hands.'[57] The importance of the case has

[53] See, for example, C. van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord. Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period* (Turnhout, 2007); S. Patzold, 'Die Bischöfe im karolingischen Staat: praktisches Wissen über die politische Ordnung im Frankenreich des 9. Jahrhunderts', in W. Pohl and V. Wieser (eds), *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat. Europäische Perspektiven*, FGM 16 (Vienna, 2009), 255–68.

[54] M. Innes, '"Immune from heresy": defining the boundaries of Carolingian Christianity', in P. Fouracre and D. Ganz (eds), *Frankland. The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages – Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson* (Manchester, 2008), 101–25.

[55] This latter phenomenon is the focus of the chapter by Raaijmakers and Van Renswoude in this volume.

[56] Concerning this observation, see generally W. Hartmann, 'Konzilien und Geschichtsscheibung in karolingischer Zeit', in A. Scharer and G. Scheibelreiter (eds), *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter* (Vienna, 1994), 481–98.

[57] *ARF*, *s.a.* 794: 'Ibi tertio condempnata est heresis Feliciana, quam dampnationem per auctoritatem sanctorum patrum in libro conscripserunt, quem librum omnes sacerdotes manibus propriis subscripserunt', trans. B. Scholz, *Carolingian*

to be inferred from the fact that none of the other issues of general interest dealt with at Frankfurt are mentioned in the *Annales*, such as the final deposition of Tassilo of Bavaria, or a plot to murder Charlemagne hatched by Bishop Peter of Verdun.[58] The author of a later redaction of the *Annales* added a reference to the iconoclast controversy, but also omitted the details of the debate in order to emphasise the unity of the Frankish bishops vis-à-vis the unruly Byzantines.[59]

The *acta* of the council itself present a similar view. Adoptionism was first on the agenda. The entire matter, however, had been condensed into a singular statement:

> concerning the matter of the impious and abominable heresy of Elipandus, bishop of the see of Toledo, Felix, of the see of Urgell, and their disciples, who, with wicked opinion, asserted adoption in the Son of God. All the above-mentioned most holy fathers rejected and unanimously denied adoption and decreed that this heresy must be wholly eradicated from the holy Church.[60]

To the members of the highest echelon of Frankish society, it was important that threats to the unity of the *ecclesia* were taken seriously. It was in the outcome that harmony and consensus were stressed, that collective action was shown.

The importance of showing how bishops and their king were working together to defend their version of orthodoxy may be revealed by looking at a letter denouncing Adoptionism written by Paulinus of Aquileia, representing the Italian delegation present at Frankfurt. In this letter, Charlemagne was called *rex et sacerdos*, underlining how in the person of the ruler both secular and ecclesiastical leadership were combined, and how he would be the 'most moderate governor of all the Christians'.[61] Normally, he would, with God's

Chronicles (Ann Arbor, 1970), pp. 37–125, at p. 73. M. Becher, *Eid und Herrschaft. Untersuchungen zum Herrscherethos Karls des Großen* (Sigmaringen, 1993), pp. 54–77; S. Airlie, 'Narratives of triumph and rituals of submission: Charlemagne's mastering of Bavaria', *THRS* 6:9 (1999), 93–119.

58 *Capitulare Francofurtense* (*a.* 794), cc. 3, 4, 6 and 7, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2.1, 165–71.

59 Noble, *Images*, pp. 170–2.

60 *Capitulare Francofurtense* (*a.* 794), c. 1, p. 165: 'de impia ac nefanda erese Elipandi Toletane sedis episcopi et Felicis Orgellitanae eorumque sequacibus qui male sentientes in Dei filio adserebant adoptionem: quam omnes qui supra [dicti sunt] sanctissimi patres et respuentes una voce contradixerunt atque hanc heresim funditus a sancta ecclesia eradicandam statuerunt'. Regarding the Council of Frankfurt, see also the contribution of Jinty Nelson in this volume.

61 Paulinus of Aquileia, *Libellus sacrosyllabus episcoporum Italiae*, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 130–42, p. 142: 'sit domnus et pater, sit rex et sacerdos, sit omnium Christianorum moderantissimus gubernator auxiliante domino nostro

help, combat the 'visible enemies' of the church, while the bishops took care of the invisible ones, but as they had concluded while 'residing in the sacred halls of the palace', the threat posed by Felix and Elipandus combined both. It therefore called for vigorous action of a ruler who could take charge of the *ecclesia* as a whole.[62]

It is tempting to think that Paulinus had Constantine on his mind here as well. As he comments in his poem *De regula fidei*, it had been a responsibility of the *cultores fidei*, the 318 fathers gathered at Nicaea, to 'cut off from the body of the mother Church' all those who doubted that Christ had been born from the Holy Virgin.[63] To Paulinus, councils such as the one held in Frankfurt presented a similar instance where bishops and kings were working together.[64] Charlemagne, for his part, seems to have had no problem with taking on this role and living up to the expectations implied by the dual role of the *rex* and the *sacerdos*.[65]

Iesu Christo'. Cf. M. Lauwers, 'Le glaive et la parole: Charlemagne, Alcuin et le modèle du *rex praedicator* – notes d'ecclésiologie carolingienne', in Ph. Depreux and B. Judic (eds), *Alcuin de York à Tours: Écriture, pouvoir et réseaux dans l'Europe du Haut Moyen Âge* (Rennes, 2004), 221–44, pp. 235–7. Ph. Depreux, 'L' expression *Statutum est a domno rege et sancta synodo*: annonçant certaines dispositions du capitulaire de Francfort (794)', in Berndt, *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794*, Vol. I, 81–123, p. 96, notes that Paulinus probably hearkened back to the *Admonitio generalis* when composing his *Libellus*.

[62] Paulinus of Aquileia, *Libellus sacrosyllabus*, p. 131: 'residentibus cunctis in aula sacri palatii'; and p. 142: 'princeps … pro nobis contra visibiles hostes pro Christi amore Domino opitulante dimicet, et nos pro illo contra invisibiles hostes'.

[63] Paulinus of Aquileia, *Carmen de regula fidei metrico*, ed. D. Norberg, *L' oeuvre poétique de Paulin d'Aquilée. Édition critique avec introduction et commentaire* (Stockholm, 1979), p. 94, lines 111–22: 'Et Dominum Christum natum de virgine sacra / Flamine de sancto, regemque, hominemque, Deumque / Corde negant pravo, labiis spumantibus acti / Impugnare student, casso sudore latrantes / De gremio avelli sancto, de corpore matris / Ecclesiae abscindi cultro decerno fidei / Quam Petrus Paulusque docent, quam concinit orbis / Quamque satis prisci clare cecinere prophetae. / Catholicos sanctosque viros Patresque beatos / Trecentos octoque decem, cunctosque perennis / Iudicis aequisonae cultores nempe fidei / Amplector, placidis strictim feliciter ulnis.' Note the pun between *cultro fidei* and *cultor fidei*.

[64] N. Everett, 'Paulinus of Aquileia's *Sponsio episcoporum*: written oaths and ecclesiastical discipline in Carolingian Italy', in W. Robins (ed.), *Textual Cultures of Medieval Italy* (Toronto, 2011), 167–216, pp. 173–4.

[65] Charlemagne, *Epistola ad Elipandum*, p. 158. See also A. Angenendt, 'Karl der Große als *rex* und *sacerdos*', in Berndt, *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794*, 255–78; and more generally, T. Struve, '*Regnum* und *Sacerdotium*', in I. Fetscher (ed.), *Pipers Handbuch der politischen Ideen*, Vol. II: *Mittelalter – von den Anfängen des Islams bis zur Reformation* (Munich, 1993), 189–240.

Six years after the Council of Frankfurt, Felix of Urgell lapsed into error once again, and Alcuin composed a work to combat his teachings. In its preface, he addressed Charlemagne, imploring him to read his work so that he might instruct his subjects, 'so that through you, the starving people who live in deserted places are sated with the Catholic faith'.[66] As much as he had faith in the teachings of the fathers and the apostles, Alcuin conceded that the realm needed the *sanctissima auctoritatis* of the king to keep them on the right path.[67] This was as applicable to the inner circle of the Frankish court as it was to Felix and his followers.[68] The bishops in Spain did not impart the correct knowledge to their flocks, and it was up to Charlemagne to shoulder the responsibility for their re-education.

The threat of Adoptionism thus provided a powerful impetus to remind the ruler of his responsibilities. This did not end with the death of Charlemagne in 814, or Felix of Urgell's death in 818, either. Around the same time, Agobard of Lyon (r. 816–40) claimed to have found a remnant of Adoptionist teachings in his diocese, and sent another refutation to Louis the Pious, whom he called the *rector* of the empire. Agobard requested that the emperor check, correct and approve the *opusculum* he composed and then 'recommend it to those, to whom it may be advantageous to read'.[69] After all, he continued, quoting Paul's letter to Titus, 'Those who would want to be a *sacerdos* "must hold firmly to the truths which have tradition for their warrant; able, therefore, to

[66] Alcuin, *Ep.* 203 (*Contra Felicem Urgellitanem episcopum libri VII*, 'Praefatio'), ed. Dümmler *MGH Epp.* 4, pp. 336–7 (p. 336): 'Hos quinque panes et duos piscuculos simul septenario numero consecratos de apostolicae fidei pera prolatos vestrae sanctissimae auctoritati direxi, domine mi David, ut Dei Christi benedictione multiplicati, per vos esurienti populo et in desertis locis habitanti ad satietatem catholice ministrentur.' On the dating of this work, see F. Close, 'L'itinéraire de Candide Wizo: un élément de datation des oeuvres anti-adoptianistes d'Alcuin? Note sur les lettres 41 et 204 de la correspondance d'Alcuin', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 103:1 (2008), 5–26.

[67] R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne. The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 311–15.

[68] Cavadini, *Last Christology*, pp. 87–8.

[69] Agobardus Lugdunensis, *Liber adversus dogma Felicis Urgellensis ad Ludovicum Pium imperatorem*, Prologue, ed. L. van Acker, *CCCM* 52 (Turnhout, 1981), 73–111, p. 73: 'domno gloriosissimo Ludovico imperatori, Agobardus quidam ex ultimis fidelibus servulis vestris, subter annexum opusculum sincerissimo ac subtilissimo sacro que acumini prudentiae vestrae diiudicandum direxi. Quia, si probatur, illis, quibus profuturum est, ad legendum commendatur; si autem improbatur, auctor eius per uos emendatur.' See also I. van Renswoude, 'Licence to speak: The rhetoric of free Speech in late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages' (Ph.D. dissertation, Utrecht University, 2011), pp. 299–303.

encourage sound doctrine, and to shew the wayward their error"'.[70] Agobard had a clear educational purpose here, which was to remind the emperor of his responsibility to impart knowledge about 'the son of God, who supports (his) *imperium*' to those who needed it.[71]

When the Adoptionist question first emerged in the late eighth century, Charlemagne's courtiers considered it a challenge to the concept of the *ecclesia*. In meeting that challenge, they showed that they were willing to enter into a dialogue with their Spanish colleagues. It proved to be an auspicious choice: a consequence of this controversy was that in the following decades the Spanish Church opened up to Carolingian influence – both liturgical and otherwise.[72]

Addressing Adoptionism also had implications for the Carolingian understanding of their own empire and the *ecclesia* at its basis. While establishing orthodoxy was of course paramount, the Carolingians also had to prove themselves worthy of their position continuously. Taking the lead in the fight against heresy was not only about doctrinal uniformity. It was also a way to gain credibility as a good Christian court, to show subjects and neighbours alike that they had what it took to be good rulers: kings (or emperors) who were able simultaneously to accept guidance from, and provide guidance to, their entourage. Even Agobard's book for Louis the Pious shows this: while his pretext for writing it was a concern that the Spanish heterodox movement still existed, his presentation of the issue at hand served to remind Louis that, like his father, he should possess the knowledge needed to meet any challenge to the *ecclesia*. Rather than being anxious about a resurgence of Adoptionism, Agobard seems to have latched on to a growing courtly self-confidence that was the result of an awareness that improving the *ecclesia* was not solely a matter of combating heterodoxy, but also of pre-empting dissent by providing

[70] Agobardus, *Adversus dogma Felicis*, Prologue, p. 73: 'Sacerdotem quoque esse vult "amplectentem eum, qui secundum doctrinam est, fidelem sermonem, ut potens sit exhortari in doctrina sana, et eos, qui contradicunt, arguere" [Tit. 1.9].'

[71] Agobardus, *Adversus dogma Felicis*, Prologue, p. 73: 'Pie igitur, rector et domne, caput orbis, decus mundi, catholicorum omnium insignis gloriatio, qui inlustratis fidem, propagatis et pacem, obsecro mansuetudinem vestram, ut in contemplationem Filii Dei, qui vestrum iuvat imperium, praefatum opusculum perlustrare non dedignemini, ut vestro acerrimo ingenio probetur aut improbetur.' On the concept of the *rector*, see M. Teeuwen, *The Vocabulary of Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 122–5.

[72] C. Chandler, 'The role of the Adoptionist controversy in Charlemagne's conquest of the Spanish March', *International History Review* 24:3 (2002), 505–27; P. Carmassi, 'Quomodo universalis ecclesia per totum mundum communi consuetudine … dicere solet: liturgische Traditionen Spaniens zwischen theologischen Kontroversen und karolingischer Ekklesiologie', in M. Maser (ed.), *Die Mozaraber. Definitionen und Perspektiven der Forschung* (Münster, 2011), 209–35.

the proper teaching to the right people – first among them the ruler of the empire. As the Carolingian episcopal discourse grew more pronounced, the stakes became higher as well.

Although at first sight a seemingly minor and rather petty rhetorical flourish in the exchange of arguments across the Pyrenees, the image of Constantine served both sides well as a reminder of these stakes. Among the many rulers who could serve as an exemplary *arbiter* to Charlemagne, Constantine's place in both Spanish and Frankish ecclesiastical history perhaps best represented the risks and rewards inherent in such an involvement.[73] Both sides in the Adoptionist controversy wanted to make sure that Charlemagne would follow in Constantine's footsteps without making the same mistakes. If all went well, he had nothing to worry about. After all, he had his bishops to guide him.

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[73] On this use of the term *arbiter*, see the contribution by Raaijmakers and Van Renswoude in this volume.

3

The ruler as referee in theological debates: Reccared and Charlemagne

Janneke Raaijmakers and Irene van Renswoude

In 799, Charlemagne organised a disputation at the palace of Aachen between his court theologian, Alcuin of York, and the Spanish bishop Felix of Urgell. The king had summoned the two men to his court to settle a contested theological matter in the presence of a council of bishops. The issue at stake was the correct use of the term *adoptio*, a question that had far-reaching christological implications that threatened to divide the bishops within Charlemagne's realm, on both sides of the Pyrenees.[1] According to the *Vita Alcuini*, written some twenty to thirty years after the event, Alcuin and Felix discussed the problem for several days, while the assembled bishops, much impressed, listened in silence.[2] In the version of the *Life of Alcuin*, Charlemagne had been present during the entire debate and was seated among the bishops. From this central position, he ordered Felix to engage in verbal combat with his champion Alcuin. Alcuin came out the winner and the council condemned Felix's teaching as heretical. According to the author of the *Vita Alcuini*, it was Charlemagne himself who had won the battle against heresy, by mouth of Alcuin. He exclaimed in admiration: 'O how bright and invincible was Charles' proof and defence of faith, by the authority of his teacher!'[3]

Charlemagne's role in the *Vita Alcuini* as a guardian of orthodoxy who sought to settle a controversy by organising *and* supervising a theological debate was striking, as settling a religious controversy was commonly

[1] On this Christological debate, see J. Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West. Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785–820* (Philadelphia, 1993); and C. Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era. Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge, 2001). See also the contribution of Rutger Kramer in the present volume.

[2] *Vita Alcuini*, c. 10, ed. W. Arndt, *MGH SS* 15:1, 182–97, p. 190. The *Life of Alcuin* was written after 821 and no later than 829 in Ferrières: D. Bullough, *Alcuin. Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden, 2004), p. 21.

[3] *Vita Alcuini*, c. 10, p. 190: 'O quam clara et inexpugnabilis Karoli cum auctoritate magistri sui fidei confessio atque defensio!'

considered to be the responsibility of bishops. None of his Frankish predecessors had ever assumed such a role. As the *Vita* was written between 821 and 829, one might reasonably suspect that the text reflects early-ninth-century, rather than late-eighth-century, ideals on the responsibility of a ruler in the proceedings of a debate on doctrinal issues. Contemporary witnesses, however, attest that Charlemagne indeed organised a disputation in the palace of Aachen to end the Adoptionist controversy, and that the debate was held in the presence of the king and before an assembly of bishops.[4]

At the disputation in Aachen in 799, but also at the Council of Frankfurt in 794, which earlier discussed the heresy of Adoptionism together with the contentious issue of iconoclasm, we see Charlemagne assuming a remarkably active role in the council's proceedings. While the formularies for the liturgical proceedings of councils prohibit laymen to take part in the deliberations of a council, King Charlemagne participated in the theological discussions of the bishops in the capacity of *auditor et arbiter*, hearer and judge.[5] It is this image of a ruler who took part in religious controversies, and presided over and intervened in meetings that he convened to end heterodox movements in his realm, that is the subject of this article. As Mayke de Jong has demonstrated in her work, Carolingian rulers believed that their right to rule derived from God and they considered themselves as protectors of the Church.[6] Although the Carolingian involvement in ecclesiastical affairs has been well studied, and

[4] These contemporary witnesses are the two contestants themselves: Alcuin and Felix. Alcuin, *Epistola ad Arnonem* (*a.* 800), in *Epistolae*, ed. E. Dummler, *MGH Epp.* 4, p. 344ff.: '… cum Felice heretico magnam contentionem in praesentia domni regis et sanctorum patrum habuisse'; Alcuin, *Adversus Elipandum* (*c.* 804), c. 16, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 101 (Paris, 1863), col. 252: 'Felix anno praefati gloriosi principis tricesimo secundo advocatus voluntarie veniens ad Aquis palatium ibique in praesentia domni regis et optimatum illius sive sacerdotum Dei rationabiliter auditus et veraciter convictus …'; Felix of Urgell, *Confessio Felicis* (*a.* 800), ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 221–5, p. 221, r. 10–18: 'postquam ad presentiam domni nostri ac piissimi gloriosique Karoli regis perductus sum et eius conspectui presentatus'. No acts have survived of the Council of Aachen, nor a capitulary, and neither is the council mentioned in the *ARF*.

[5] See *Ordines de celebrando concilio*, ed. H. Schneider, *MGH Ordines de celebrando concilio*, Vol. I: *Die Konzilsordines des Früh- und Hochmittelalters* (Hanover, 1996), *Ordo* 3 (composed between 675 and 711), cc. 14 and 15, p. 213; and for an earlier reference, see the *Acts of the Council of Ephesus*, in *Sacrosancta concilia ad regiam editionem exacta*, ed. P. Labbé and G. Cossart, 4 vols, Vol. III (Paris, 1671–2), col. 441. See below. Charlemagne, *Epistola ad Elipandum et episcopos Hispaniae*, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 157–64 (2.2.1, p. 163).

[6] See for example M. de Jong, '*Ecclesia* and the early medieval polity', in S. Airlie, W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (eds), *Staat im frühen Mittelalter*, FGM 11 (Vienna, 2006),

many have rightly noted the irrelevance of a distinction between 'Church' and 'State' in this period, few have zoomed in on the role of the kings as guardians of orthodoxy, steering discussions in the right direction in order to protect (or restore) the harmony of the Church and fight heresy.[7]

Why did Charlemagne take on this role, which was not part of a king's standard range of duties? Part of it was opportunity; there were religious controversies in Charlemagne's days that needed to be settled. And what better way to settle a religious dispute than a firm royal hand? But this is not a sufficient explanation; there had been doctrinal struggles in the past without any royal involvement. Merovingian kings did convene councils to decide on matters of orthodoxy or correct ritual, but they did not take part in doctrinal discussions.[8] Charlemagne's father, Pippin III, took on a more active role in theological controversies, but even he, as far as we know, never acted as arbiter of doctrinal conflict.[9] So what inspired Charlemagne in 794 and 799, and who were his models? Did he emulate the example of illustrious predecessors, and if so, who were they?

If scholars have considered possible models for Charlemagne's striking behaviour, they have thought of Constantine the Great. In 325 this emperor convoked a synod at Nicaea to discuss the views on the person of Christ as put forward by Arius, and to establish uniformity and orthodoxy in these matters.[10] According to late antique church histories, the emperor not only

113–32; M. de Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', in J. Story (ed.), *Charlemagne. Empire and Society* (Manchester/New York, 2005), 103–35.

7 Scholars who have studied the role of kings as guardians of orthodoxy are Ph. Depreux, 'L' expression *Statutum est a domno rege et sancta synodo*: annonçant certaines dispositions du capitulaire de Francfort (794)', in R. Berndt (ed.), *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794. Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur – Akten zweier Symposien (vom 23. bis 27. Februar und vom 13. bis 15. Oktober 1994) anläßlich der 1200-Jahrfeier der Stadt Frankfurt am Main*, Vol. I: *Politik und Kirche* (Mainz, 1997), 81–123; G. Koziol, 'Christianizing political discourses', in J. Arnold (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity* (Oxford, 2014), 473–89; De Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church'.

8 Depreux, '*Statutum est a domno rege*', pp. 90–1. Depreux also points to the involvement of Duke Tassilo III (748–88) in synods, suggesting Tassilo may have participated in the deliberations, but Depreux is not sure whether these synods/councils were ecclesiastical meetings or general assemblies, and whether these deliberations were doctrinal discussions.

9 We are preparing an article discussing the involvement of rulers in dogmatic debates and zooming in on the role of Charlemagne and his descendants as guardians of orthodoxy.

10 The background to Constantine's active performance at Nicaea is analysed by D. Hunt, '"Fellow servants of God": Roman emperor and Christian bishop in the

convened the bishops of the council, but also presided over their discussions and engaged with the conciliar process of establishing orthodoxy.[11] For this reason modern scholars have long assumed that Constantine, Rome's most famous Christian emperor, had been an important model for any ruler who connected the unity of the realm with unity of faith and who therefore worried about religious truth and correct ritual.[12] But did the authors who recorded the details of the Charlemagne's role at the Councils of Frankfurt and Aachen deliberately tap into the memory of the Council of Nicaea in order to present Charlemagne as a 'new Constantine'?

This need not be the case. For one thing, Constantine's remembrance was complex and his reputation as guardian of orthodoxy was not without blemish.[13] The late antique Church histories that lauded Constantine's role as

age of Constantine', in J. Richardson and F. Santangelo (eds), *Priests and State in the Roman World* (Stuttgart, 2011), 291–311.

[11] Theoderet, *Ecclesiastical History* I, c. 12, ed. P. Schaff and H. Wace, trans. B. Jackson, *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, second series, Vol. III (Buffalo, 1892), pp. 91–2; Socrates Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History* I, c. 8, trans. B. Jackson, in Schaff and Wace, *Nicene- and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. II; Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History* I, c. 20, trans. C. Hartranft, in Schaff and Wace, *Nicene- and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. II; Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, cc. 13 and 14, ed. and trans. H. Schneider, *Fontes Christiani* 83 (Turnhout, 2007); Cassiodorus-Epiphanius, *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita* II, cc. 12–14, ed. W. Jacob and R. Hanslik, *CSEL* 71 (Vienna, 1952). For a different version of the proceedings of the Council of Nicaea, see Rufinus of Aquileia, *Historia ecclesiastica* X, c. 2, ed. P. Schaff and H. Wace, trans. B. Jackson, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. III, second series 2 (Buffalo, 1890).

[12] E. Ewig, 'Das Bild Constantins des Groβen in den ersten Jahrhunderten des abendländischen Mittelalters', *HJ* 75 (1955), 1–46, pp. 1 and 36; J. Hillgarth, 'Historiography in Visigothic Spain', *La storiographia altomedievale*, Settimane 17 (Spoleto, 1970), 261–311, pp. 264, 280–3; J. Strickland, 'Charlemagne: founder of the first Christian empire in the West, c. 742–814', in D. Del Testa (ed.), *Government Leaders, Military Rulers and Political Activists* (New York, 2001), 35; J. Nelson, 'Translating images of authority: the Christian Roman emperors in the Carolingian world', in J. Nelson, *The Frankish World 750–900* (London, 1996), 89–98, p. 89; De Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', pp. 127–8. In the later Middle Ages people certainly did compare Charlemagne favourably to Constantine; see for example A. Latowsky, *Emperor of the World. Charlemagne and the Construction of Imperial Authority, 800–1229* (New York, 2013).

[13] Ewig, 'Bild Constantins', pp. 21 and 24–5. See also the contribution by Rutger Kramer in the present volume; and W. Pohl, 'Creating cultural resources for Carolingian rule: historians of the Christian empire', in C. Gantner, R. McKitterick and S. Meeder (eds), *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2015) 15–33.

the peacemaker of Nicaea also recorded the emperor's faults, including his later support of the Arian faction, which some took as a betrayal of the consensus of Nicaea.[14] Church father Jerome (c. 347–420) even blamed Constantine for the discord in churches all over the world 'up till the present time'.[15] The reported fact that Constantine was baptised towards the end of his life by an Arian bishop further compromised his orthodox reputation. The uncomfortable details of Constantine's life led to rather mixed reviews of his reign and complicated his reputation as exemplary emperor, both in the East and in the West.[16] Although the Council of Nicaea itself soon gained canonical status, its aura of orthodoxy therefore did not automatically extend to the emperor who convened it.[17]

Here we will argue that it was not necessarily Constantine who provided the model for Charlemagne's role as arbiter at the Councils of Frankfurt and Aachen – at least not directly, and certainly not exclusively. There were other traditions and other figures that provided models of behaviour for a ruler who wished to take on a more prominent role as president and referee of theological debates.[18] We will focus on just one strand of this rich transmission: the Visigothic conciliar tradition, with King Reccared (586–601) as its most significant proponent.

King Reccared is most famously remembered for having initiated the conversion of the Visigoths – the heretical 'barbarians' who had invaded the Iberian Peninsula in the mid-fifth century – to Catholicism. We will not concern ourselves here with Reccared's motives for embracing Catholicism, which according to some was part of a comprehensive programme of 'Romanisation' that had already started under his father, Leovigild.[19] What interests us is the ways in which Reccared prepared and staged his conversion, aiming not only at gaining general support for his deed but also wishing to turn the event

[14] Theoderet, *Ecclesiastical History* I, c. 30; Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History* II, cc. 17, 25 and 27; Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History* I, cc. 14, 25–27, 35; Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica* X, c. 12.

[15] Jerome, *Chronicon* (*c.* 380), trans. R. Helm, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, *Eusebius Werke*, Vol. VII, 2nd edn (Berlin, 1956). On fifth- and sixth-century Latin chronicles and histories following Jerome's *Chronicon*, see Ewig, 'Bild Constantins', pp. 24–5.

[16] P. Magdalino (ed.), *New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th centuries* (St Andrews, 1994). See our forthcoming article.

[17] Cf. Ewig, 'Bild Constantins', p. 5.

[18] In another article, currently under preparation, we analyse these different traditions, which found expression in narrative texts, collections of conciliar acts and iconography, and which together transmitted an image of a ruler as guardian of orthodoxy and referee in theological debates.

[19] E. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford, 1969), p. 109.

into a public display of the alliance between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* that characterised his rule. He was not the first king to convert from Arianism to Catholicism, but he was the first ruler to elaborate and formalise his conversion, and that of his magnates, at a general Church council.[20]

Contemporary historians describing the events of the 580s put Reccared forward as an energetic ruler who unwaveringly intervened in Church affairs and acted as an arbiter in dogmatic struggle. The *acta* of the council convened in 589 to celebrate the king's conversion and to establish orthodoxy sketch a similar picture of a ruler who actively interfered in the synodal proceedings and determined the meeting's agenda. Could Reccared have been a source of inspiration for Charlemagne?

In our analysis of Reccared's role as guardian of orthodoxy Constantine the Great pops up again, as the Visigothic and Frankish sources that discuss the role of Reccared as arbiter of theological debates use the image of Constantine at Nicaea as a frame of reference to understand Reccared's conversion to Christianity and participation in the Third Council of Toledo. Yet these sources also show that the memory of Constantine was complex. Moreover, Constantine was not the only 'orthodox emperor' who was remembered favourably for his commitment to the conciliar process.[21] Let us cast the net wider and explore other traditions, figures and paths of transmission that promoted the ideal of a ruler as arbiter of debates, beginning with the Visigothic King Reccared.

Reccared's conversion

In 587 Reccared converted to Catholicism.[22] Reccared's conversion brought his kingdom not only a new faith, but also a historiographical tradition, going back to Eusebius's *Chronicle*, which, following the example of Eusebius's *Chronicle*, interpreted the past and current events within the framework of Christian history.[23] Elaborating on Jerome's Latin translation and continuation of Eusebius's *Chronicle*, both John of Biclaro (*c.* 540–after 621) and Isidore of

[20] R. Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom: 589–633* (Ann Arbor, 2000), p. 59.

[21] Before the ninth century, Constantine was often paired together with Marcian, the emperor who presided over the Council of Chalcedon. Ewig, 'Bild Konstantins', p. 39. This fact is usually obscured because of the modern tendency to focus on Constantine as an exemplary guardian of orthodoxy.

[22] Regarding Reccared's conversion, see Thompson, *Goths*, pp. 91–4; R. Collins, *Visigothic Spain, 409–711* (Malden, MA, 2006), pp. 64–9; Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus*, pp. 64–8.

[23] K. Baxter Wolf, *Early Medieval Spain and Its Chroniclers* (Liverpool, 1999), p. 1.

Seville (*c.* 560–636) wrote a history about the peoples of Spain, providing us with a relatively rich information for the first years of Reccared's reign.[24] John of Biclaro, continuing his chronicle up to the year 590, focused on the meaning of the Third Council of Toledo, which Reccared convoked soon after his conversion.[25] Isidore of Seville used the king's embrace of Catholicism in his *History of the Kings of the Goths* as a watershed; while his Arian father had used violence to expand his kingdom, and had been very irreligious, Reccared, 'pious and outstanding in peace', had led his people 'to the cult of the correct faith, after having removed the blemish of their rooted error'.[26]

Our most elaborate source about the process of Reccared's conversion, however, was not written on the Iberian Peninsula itself, but in Frankish Gaul, by a foreigner, though a very well-informed one. Gregory of Tours (573–94) narrated the conversion of Reccared in the ninth book of his *Histories*. The story is important, not only for what it says about the involvement of rulers in religious controversies in the period before the Carolingians, but also because it may have been a source of inspiration for Charlemagne and his courtiers, when they set up the public debate between Alcuin and Felix described at the beginning of this chapter.

In his rendering of the event Gregory portrayed Reccared as an arbiter. According to Gregory, Reccared's conversion had been inspired by a public disputation, organised by the king himself to end the discord in his empire. Reccared arranged a debate between Arian and Catholic bishops, and agreed beforehand to commit his own choice of confession to the outcome of the debate. Gregory wrote:

> About the same time [i.e. 587] in Spain King Reccared was moved by the grace of God to call a meeting of the bishops of his own church [that is, Arian bishops] and to make the following pronouncement: 'Why does this schism continue on both sides …? I want you to meet together to debate the doctrine of the two sects. Only this way shall I discover where the truth lies. Either they must accept our faith and believe what you profess, or else you must recognize the truth of what they believe and subscribe to the tenets in their preaching.'[27]

[24] The sources include the *acta* of Toledo III and Gregory of Tours's *Histories* (for both, see below); and Gregory the Great's *Dialogi* III, c. 31, ed. A. de Vogüé, trans. P. Antin, *Grégoire le Grand. Dialogues*, SC 260 (Paris, 1979), pp. 384–90.

[25] See below, pp. 59–61.

[26] '[F]ide pius et pace praeclarus' and '… inoliti erroris labe detersa ad cultum rectae fidei reuocat'. Isidore of Seville, *Historia Gothorum*, c. 52, ed. C. Rodriguez Alonso, *Las historias de los Godos, Vandalos y Suevos de Isidoro de Sevilla. Estudio, edicion critica y traduccion* (Leon, 1975), p. 260.

[27] Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* IX, c. 15, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, *MGH SRM* 1:1, p. 429: 'Igitur eo tempore in Hispania Richaredus rex, conpunctus miseratione divina, convocatis episcopis relegionis suae, ait: "Cur inter vos et sacerdotes illus, qui se catholicus dicunt, iugiter scandalum propagatur …? Qua de re convenite,

Gregory describes the debate between the Arian and Catholic bishops as a process that proceeded in several stages.[28] First there was a disputation proper, which Gregory describes as an orderly altercation between 'the heretics' (the Arian party) putting forward their arguments and the Catholics responding with theirs. Then, King Reccared intervened in the discussion, confronting the Arian bishops with the lack of miracles performed by them.[29] After the disputation proper, the king summoned the Catholic bishops before him and submitted them to further questioning. When he received satisfying answers from the Catholic bishops, he made his decision:

> Reccared perceived the truth of what he had heard. He put an end to the dispute and submitted to the Catholic faith … He then sent messengers to the province of Narbonne to explain what he had done, so that the people of those parts might join him in his conversion.[30]

What is interesting about this story is Reccared's prominent role in a doctrinal disputation that took place in the context of a synod. Reccared not only convened the synod and organised the debate, he was also the arbiter who decided which faction told the truth. Interestingly, the disputation is presented as an open debate; the outcome was, at least in Gregory's account, not a foregone conclusion. The public debate between the Arian and the Catholic bishops had consequences on a national scale: Reccared's subjects were expected to commit themselves, like their king, to the outcome of the disputation and convert to the faith of the winning party.[31]

quaeso, simul et, discussis utriusque partes credulitatibus, quae vera sunt cognuscamus, et tunc aut accepta illi a vobis ratione ea credant quae dicitis, aut certe vos ab illis veritatem agnuscentes, quae praedicaverint vos credatis.' Trans. L. Thorpe, *Gregory of Tours. History of the Franks* (London, 1974), p. 497.

28 Cf. Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus*, pp. 60–1,who interprets Gregory's account of the debate as describing a series of informal Church councils instead of a disputation that proceeded in several stages.

29 It appears from Gregory's narrative that Reccared also proposed this question as a topic for discussion to be treated by both sides in the disputation. Regarding the failure of an Arian bishop to heal a blind man, see also Gregory of Tours, *In gloria confessorum*, c. 13, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1:2, 34–112, pp. 755ff.

30 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* IX, c. 15, p. 429–30: 'Tunc intellegens veritatem Richaredus, postposita altercationae, se catholicae lege subdidit … Deinde nuntius mittit ad provinciam Narbonensim, qui narrantes ea quae ille gesserat, simile credulitate populus ille conecteretur.' Trans. Thorpe, *History of the Franks*, p. 498.

31 Cf. Isidore of Seville, *Chronica maiora* c. 118, ed. J. Martin, *CCSL* 112 (Turnhout, 2003) – without mention of the disputation, however – and the *Chronicle* of a contemporary of Gregory, the Frankish author Fredegar: *Chronicae* IV, c. 8, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, 1–168, p. 125.

Although we need to take into account that Gregory's *Histories* are not always a reliable source, because, for one thing, Gregory's religious preference coloured his version of past events, we believe that Gregory's picture of Reccared as an arbiter in the religious disputation between Arian and Catholic bishops is not necessarily a Frankish fiction. We know that Gregory kept abreast of current events south of the Pyrenees; earlier he had attentively followed the whereabouts of Leovigild, Reccared's father, relying on reports of Frankish ambassadors who had visited the Visigothic kingdom.[32] Gregory's story about Reccared's conversion seems to rely on Visigothic sources as well. John of Biclaro did not describe Reccared's conversion in great detail, but he did mention a meeting with Arian bishops, organised by Reccared after his conversion.[33] John emphasised that Reccared convinced the Arian priests 'with a colloquium of wisdom and converted them to the Catholic faith through reason rather than force', suggesting that Reccared had had recourse to the same dialectical exercise to establish truth, the *disputatio*, that had been described by Gregory of Tours.[34]

The proceedings of the Third Council of Toledo, which took place a year before John wrote his chronicle, confirm that Reccared took the initiative to settle ecclesiastical and dogmatic matters. The king convoked the council and opened the meeting with a confession of his Catholic faith, which was presented in a *tomus* to the council. In his *confessio*, Reccared drew on the first four ecumenical councils to align the new religious unity of the Visigothic kingdom to that of the ecumenical Church, the *una catholica ecclesia*.[35] Reccared was present during the entire council and exerted his influence during the deliberations, instituting for example that all Christians in his realm should recite the Creed of the Council of Constantinople (the Second Ecumenical Council) before communion to strengthen their faith and to fight heresy.[36] In the speeches he delivered to the council, Recarred claimed for himself the role of protector of the Church and God's chosen ruler and agent. He had led the peoples of his kingdom to faith, he had ended heresy, he had revived the tradition of Church councils and he had restored peace.[37]

[32] Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* VI, c. 18.

[33] Also in Isidore, *Chronica maiora*, c. 118; and Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, c. 8. Neither Isidore nor Fredegar, however, mentions the disputation.

[34] John of Biclaro, *Chronicon*, c. 84, ed. C. Cardelle de Hartmann, *CCSL* 173A (Turnhout, 2001), 59–93, p. 78: 'et sacerdotes secte Arriane sapienti colloquio aggressus ratione pocius quam imperio conuerti ad catholicam fidem facit'.

[35] The *acta* of Toledo III (henceforth 'Toledo III'), in *Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos*, ed. J. Vives, with T. Marín Martínez and G. Martínez Diez, (Barcelona/Madrid, 1963), here pp. 108–16.

[36] Toledo III, pp. 125 (c. 2), 127 (c. 8), 128 (c. 10), 129 (c. 14), 130 (cc. 16–17), 132 (c. 21).

[37] Toledo III, pp. 123–4, 133. The council is extensively described by Thompson, *Goths*, 95–101. Cf. Koziol, who considers Reccared's contribution to Toledo III to have been modest. Koziol, 'Christianizing political discourses', pp. 477–8.

A new Constantine?

When John of Biclaro described the Council of Toledo in his chronicle, he emphasised that King Reccared himself had been present and had renewed (*renovans*) through his participation 'the example of the illustrious Constantine the Great, who illuminated the holy Nicene synod by his presence, and indeed the most Christian emperor Marcian, by whose perseverance the decrees of the synod of Chalcedon were strengthened'.[38] John continues to expand on the meaning of Nicaea, which condemned Arianism, and Chalcedon, which convicted the heresies of Eutychius and Nestorius.[39] He created a direct link with the Council of Toledo, which likewise restored peace within the Church in the present day and brought an end to Arianism, which had once cropped up in the days of Constantine.[40]

John was the first to compare Reccared to the emperors of Nicaea and Chalcedon.[41] Perhaps he had been inspired to link Reccared to the Roman emperors because of his experiences in Constantinople. John had studied seventeen years in Constantinople, arriving there in 559, so some six years after Emperor Justinian organised the Fifth Ecumenical Council (the Second Council of Constantinople).[42] In John's chronicle, which starts with the death of Justinian and the rule of his successor, Justin II, the Roman emperor took determined steps in religious and doctrinal affairs, introducing a Creed, determining the moment of its recital, opposing or confirming ecumenical councils.[43] This was, in the eyes of John, what rulers did.[44]

The question is if it was John who, inspired by his recent Byzantine experiences, casted Reccared in a role reminiscent of the emperors of old, or if

[38] '[R]enouans temporibus nostris antiquum principem Constantinum magnum sanctam sinodum Nichenam sua illustrasse presencia, nec non et Marcianum christianissimum imperatorem, cuius instancia Calcidonensis sinodi decreta firmata sunt.' John of Biclaro, *Chronicon* c. 91, p. 81.

[39] The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon were incorporated in the *collectio Hispana*. Hillgarth, 'Historiography in Visigothic Spain', p. 280, with reference to *PL* 84, pp. 161ff., 173–8.

[40] John of Biclaro, *Chronicon* c. 91, p. 81. See also Ewig, 'Bild Constantins', p. 27. Cf. Isidore, *Historia*, c. 53, p. 262.

[41] Isidore did not elaborate on this comparison; he does not mention Constantine or Marcian at all in this context.

[42] Baxter Wolf, *Early Medieval Spain*, p. 1; R. Collins, *Early Medieval Spain. Unity in Diversity, 400–1000*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke/London, 1995), p. 42.

[43] John of Biclaro, *Chronicon*, c. 2, p. 59.

[44] In his *Chronicle* even heretical rulers determined the course of their church. The Arian King Leovigild, as John recalled, convoked a synod of Arian bishops and changed the Church's policy regarding Catholic converts.

Reccared's active role as moderator and arbiter was itself inspired by Byzantine conciliar practice and/or by specific Roman emperors who were remembered for their participation in ecumenical councils. Historians have stated that since the last third of the sixth century the Visigothic rulers had turned to the example of the Byzantine emperors to shape their kingship, introducing, for example, imperial ceremony at the Visigothic court.[45] Jocelyn Hillgarth believes that the Acts of the Council of Toledo push forward Reccared as a new Constantine. Following Hillgarth, Rachel Stocking has argued that Reccared's role at Toledo is evidence for an increasing use of Byzantine imperial images at the Visigothic court.[46] In imitation of the Roman emperors who had presided over and participated in the ecumenical councils, according to Stocking, Toledo III presents Reccared as a religious leader who intervened similarly at Visigothic synods.[47] But is that indeed the case? Was there, in Reccared's days, an accepted tradition of Roman emperors presiding over, and participating in, ecumenical councils?

The rhetoric of Toledo is indeed punctuated with Christian imperial references, stressing Reccared's responsibility for the peoples entrusted to him by God and presenting him as a conqueror and recruitor (*conquisitor*) of new peoples for the Church.[48] Yet the acts never mention Constantine explicitly, nor Marcian as a matter of fact, nor do they evoke their contribution to the universal synods. We can find this particular comparison only in the descriptions of the proceedings of the council by John of Biclaro and Isidore of Seville, albeit with significant caveats (see below). In his confession of faith, Reccared recalls the four ecumenical councils and repeats their Creeds because he wished to prove his orthodoxy. He wanted to show, moreover, that his kingdom was part of the 'one Catholic Church', subscribing to the traditions that lay at the basis of the unity of this Church. His frame of reference was the Roman empire, the cradle of Christianity and the first state to define the boundaries of the Catholic sphere of influence. Instead of imitating a particular person, Reccared seems to have wished to place himself and his kingdom in a universal tradition.

The sources do not allow us to conclude with Stocking that Reccared imitated an established Roman model of emperors presiding over and participating in ecumenical councils. It was not standard practice for emperors to

[45] The chronology and extent of Byzantine influence need to be properly studied. This is a subject that unfortunately we cannot go into for the present chapter. See P. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 12–15; Hillgarth, 'Historiography in Visigothic Spain', pp. 261–311.

[46] Stocking, *Bishops, Councils and Consensus*, p. 59; Hillgarth, 'Historiography in Visigothic Spain', p. 282.

[47] Stocking, *Bishops, Councils and Consensus*, p. 27.

[48] Toledo III, p. 117. See also Hillgarth, 'Historiography in Visigothic Spain', pp. 264–70. Cf. Baxter Wolf, *Early Medieval Spain*, p. 10 n. 29.

preside over ecumenical councils in person, let alone participate in doctrinal discussions.[49] Rather, the active involvement of emperors in councils was subject to discussion and allowed for different interpretations. The sheer fact that so many different versions of Constantine's involvement in the Council of Nicaea circulated already attests that the emperor's engagement in ecclesiastical affairs was not uncontested.[50] This is also made plain by a letter of Emperor Theodosius, included in the acts of the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (431), in which the emperor informed the bishops of the instructions he had given to his representative. On no account was this representative to engage in the discussions of the bishops or judge the outcome of their deliberations. For it was a violation of divine law (*nefas*), Theodosius wrote, if a person who was not a bishop mingled in episcopal deliberations.[51] In fact, Constantine and Marcian were the only Roman Christian emperors to actively participate in an ecumenical council and engage in doctrinal discussions until Emperor Constantine IV imitated their example at the Third Council of Constantinople (680–1). There was, in other words, no single unbroken tradition of Roman emperors presiding over (ecumenical) councils from Nicaea onwards. Rather, their involvement in conciliar meetings and engagement in episcopal discussions was a contested and often discussed issue that each emperor addressed differently.

The involvement of rulers in councils appears to have been an equally delicate matter in Visigothic Spain. Isidore of Seville, for example, linked Reccared's restoration of peace and the revival of Church councils to Constantine the Great's role at Nicaea in his *Etymologies*, but was more hesitant in his *History of the Kings of the Goths*.[52] Although Isidore used John of Biclaro's chronicle as a source for his own story, he did not elaborate on John's comparison of Reccared with Constantine and Marcian in his account of the history of the Goths. Possibly uncomfortable with Reccared's active role at Toledo, Isidore slightly diminished Reccared's involvement. According to Isidore, the king had been present and had signed the outcome of the council, but did no

[49] It is often assumed that all ecumenical councils were presided over by the emperors in person, but this was not the case. See our forthcoming article, and E. Chrysos, 'Konzilspräsident und Konzilsvorstand: zur Frage des Vorsitzes in den Konzilien der byzantinischen Reichskirche', *Annuarium historiae conciliorum* 11 (1979), 1–17.

[50] See n. 11. In Rufinus's *Historia ecclesiastica*, for example, Constantine left the doctrinal discussions to the bishops and chose not to intervene.

[51] 'nefas est enim qui sanctissimorum episcoporum catalogo adscriptus non est, illum ecclesiasticis negotiis et consultationibus sese immiscere.' See the *Acts of the Council of Ephesus*, ed. Labbe, Cossart, *Concilia*, t. 3, col. 441.

[52] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX* VI, c. 16, ed. W. Linsday, *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri 20*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1911) *Etymologies*, book VI, c. 16.

more than that.[53] Even John of Biclaro toned down his glorious comparison of Reccared with Constantine and Marcian, when he emphasized that Bishop Leander of Sevilla and Abbot Eutropius of Servitanum had been responsible for most of 'the synodal business' at the Council of Toledo.[54] He promoted an image of Reccared as a guardian of orthodoxy and credited him with a significant influence at the council, but took care not to compromise the primacy of bishops in synodal gatherings. In Visigothic Spain, just as in late antique Roman tradition, the engagement of rulers with the proceedings of councils appears to have been a delicate issue that needed to be carefully balanced with the responsibilities and autonomy of bishops.

Never again did a Visigothic king take on the role of arbiter in a debate about doctrinal issues since Reccared's intervention in 587.[55] Considering themselves God's agents on earth, Reccared's successors did continue, however, to convene Church councils and made their influence felt in several ways.[56] Kings were present at general, kingdom-wide synods, at least during the opening session. Yet, their involvement did not last for long. After 681, court officials started to represent the king during the synods.[57] The Visigothic protocol for the proceedings of councils, moreover, drawn up in Toledo between 675 and 711, stipulated that the king was to leave before the bishops started to discuss doctrinal matters.[58]

[53] '[C]ui concilio idem religiosissimus princeps interfuit gestaque eius praesentia sua et subscriptione firmauit'. Isidore, *Historia*, c. 53, p. 262.

[54] John of Biclaro, *Chronicon*, c. 91, p. 81.

[55] According to King there was no doctrinal controversy in the seventh-century Visigothic Church. King, *Law and Society*, p. 125, n. 7.

[56] As Reccared had done at Toledo, they prepared a written *tomus* beforehand, in which they proposed the subject-matter of the council, thereby influencing the agenda of the meeting. See the opening of Toledo IV; Vives, *Concilios Visigóticos*, p. 186. Also King, *Law and Society*, p. 125. This had been the custom since 653. Thompson, *Goths*, p. 281; King, *Law and Society*, p. 126.

[57] King, *Law and Society*, p. 126; Thompson, *Goths*, pp. 294–5; E. Magnin, *L'église wisigothique au VIIe siècle*, Vol. I (Paris, 1912), pp. 58–9.

[58] For the dating of this Visigothic *ordo*, see Schneider, *MGH Ordines de celebrando concilio*, pp. 18–19. There are, nevertheless, also examples of doctrinal conflicts in which the king did interfere, be it not as arbiter or moderator. See for example Toledo XIV and XV; Vives, *Concilios Visigóticos*, pp. 441–74, initiated by the Visigothic king after the request of the pope for the Visigothic Church to confirm and subscribe the decisions of the Third Council of Constantinople (*a.* 680), and the king's involvement in the conflict between Julian of Toledo and the pope, which resulted from the Visigothic answer. Thompson *Goths*, pp. 240–1, 281; F. Murphy, 'Julian of Toledo and the condemnation of monothelitism in Spain', *Mélanges J. de Ghellink* 1 (1951), 361–73.

However short-lived it may have been, the Visigothic tradition of active involvement of rulers in councils did have a significant impact later on in the Frankish realm, as we shall argue in what follows.

Charlemagne

Let us now return to Charlemagne's performance as referee in theological debates at the Councils of Aachen and Frankfurt, with which we started this article. From early on in his reign, Charlemagne was presented as protector and defender of the Church in letters and documents pertaining to Church discipline.[59] He was not, however, put to the fore as a guardian or co-determiner of orthodoxy in the first two decades of his rule. Although Pope Hadrian did hold Constantine up as an example in his letters to Charlemagne, for the first time in 778 and again in 791, he referred to the Constantine of the *Legend of Sylvester* and the *Donation of Constantine*, not the Constantine of Nicaea; in other words, Hadrian invoked the emperor who gave his full support to the Church of Rome and its pope, not the emperor who presided over a council and participated in the discussions of the bishops.[60]

A major change in perception can be witnessed in the years around the Council of Frankfurt when the idea of the ruler as guardian of orthodoxy and referee in theological debates first popped up. In 792 Charlemagne presided over a council in Regensburg that discussed the teaching of Adoptionism, and in 794 he called a council (*synodus magna*) in Frankfurt, to discuss two religious controversies: Adoptionism and iconoclasm.[61] On the agenda were also a political matter, the deposition of Duke Tassilo of Bavaria, and some minor ecclesiastical and secular issues on which the council had to rule. At Frankfurt, bishops and priests from all over Charlemagne's realm were present: from

[59] *Karoli M. capitulare primum* (a. 769), ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 44–6, p. 44; and *Admonitio generalis* (*a.* 789), ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 53–61, p. 53; *Capitulare Baiwaricum* (*a.* 810?), ed. F. Maassen, *MGH Conc.* 1, 158–9, p. 158; and *Capitula francica*, ed. F. Maassen, *MGH Conc.* 1, 213–14, p. 213. See I. Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Royal Authority in the Carolingian World (c. 751–877)* (Leiden, 2008), p. 128; A. Angenendt, 'Karl der Große als *rex* und *sacerdos*', in Berndt, *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794*, Vol. I: *Politik und Kirche*, 255–78.

[60] *Codex Carolinus* 60, ed. W. Gundlach, *Codex epistolaris Carolinus*, *MGH Epp.* 3, 469–657 (p. 587) (*a.* 778); Hadrian I, *Ep.* 1, in *Epistolae selectae pontificum Romanorum Carolo Magno et Ludowico Pio regnantibus scriptae*, ed. K. Hampe, *MGH Epp.* 5, p. 39 (*a.* 791). On the *Legend of Sylvester* and the *Donation of Constantine*, see Ewig, 'Bild Constantins', pp. 10–18.

[61] On the debate on iconoclasm, see T. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians* (Philadelphia, 2009); and Chazelle, *The Crucified God*; for literature on Adoptionism, see n. 1 and Kramer's contribution to the present volume.

Aquitaine, Francia, Provence, Italy and the Spanish March, but also bishops and priests from England and two papal legates.[62] Judging by the range of the invitees, and the bishoprics and regions they represented, the council had the makings of an ecumenical council, albeit of the Latin West only.[63]

In the report of the council that was drawn up by Paulinus of Aquileia (776–802) at the request of the bishops of Italy, Paulinus describes how Charlemagne presided over the meeting:

> A multitude of priests and bishops came together, congregated in one assembly. On that day, when all resided in the hall of the sacred palace, and the priests, deacons and all the clergy took their position in a circle in the presence of the aforementioned king, a letter was brought forward sent by Bishop Elipandus, the instigator of this immoderate affair, bishop of the see of Toledo of the bordering region of Spain. When the letter had been read out loud, publicly, on the order of the king, the venerable ruler immediately got up from his royal chair, stood firm on his raised platform [*supra gradum suum*], and delivered a lengthy speech on the subject of faith.[64]

Charlemagne ended his speech, according to Paulinus, with an appeal to the assembly. He called on the bishops and priests to take action and put a stop to the heresy of Elipandus, as he feared that this 'pest' infected not only the regions of Spain, but also his own realm. It was necessary, the king urged the bishops, to apply the judgment of faith (*censura fidaei*) and cut away the cancer. Here, in Paulinus's report, we see Charlemagne actively engaging with a debate on heresy, admonishing the bishops to do the right thing, up to the point of telling them what to do: stop the heresy and apply judgment. After the king's speech, the bishops deliberated and drew up their sacred letters to condemn the teaching of Elipandus. We know that Charlemagne remained present while the bishops discussed the issues he had raised in his speech from a letter sent in his name to the Spanish bishops, written shortly after

[62] *ARF*, *s.a.* 794. On Charlemagne presiding over the Council of Regensburg in 792, see Alcuin, *Adversus Elipandum*, c. 16, col. 251 (*eodem gloriose principe presidente*).

[63] W. Hartmann, *Die Synoden der Karolingerzeit im Frankenreich und in Italien* (Paderborn, 1989), p. 106. For a nuanced view of the Council of Frankfurt of 794 as a universal council, see Noble, *Images*, pp. 178–80.

[64] Paulinus of Aquileia, *Libellus sacrosyllabus episcoporum Italiae*, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 130–42, p. 131: '… multitudo antistitum sacris obtemperando praeceptis in uno collegio adgregata convenit. Quadam die residentibus cunctis in aula sacri palatii, adsistentibus in modum coronae presbyteris, diaconibus cunctoque clero, sub praesentia praedicti principis allata est epistola missa ab Elipando, auctore inhormi negotii, Tolitanae sedis antistite Hispaliensi finitimae ruri. Cumque iubente rege publica voce recitata fuisset, statimque surgens venerabilis princeps de sella regia stetit supra gradum suum, adlocutus est de causa fidaei prolixo sermone.'

the Council of Frankfurt, to inform them of the council's decisions. In this letter, Charlemagne tells the bishops of Spain that he presided over the meeting at Frankfurt as *arbiter*, while the bishops were discussing Elipandus's doctrine: 'Behold, I sat as jury and judge [*auditor et arbiter*] in the meeting of the bishops and priests to satisfy your petitions [*vestris petitionibus satisfaciens*].'[65] This is an interesting turn of phrase. Does it mean that Charlemagne took on the role of judge because the Spanish bishops asked him to?[66] If we turn to the letter of the Spanish bishops addressed to Charlemagne shortly before the Council of Frankfurt, we can see that indeed this is the case.

In his letter of 792/93, Bishop Elipandus of Toledo, writing in the name of the Spanish bishops, not only commended his cause to the review of the bishops 'under the king's direction' (*sacerdotibus vestro regimini*), but particularly entrusted it to the judgement of Charlemagne himself. He asked the king to re-read and discuss (*relegendam atque tractandam*) his letter, and to sit in person as judge (*per te ipsum arbiter sedeas*) and bring forth a sentence with a pure and moral judgement (*casto et salubri iudicio*).[67] It would therefore seem that Elipandus was the first to present the idea of *arbiter* to Charlemagne.[68] No pope, bishop or counsellor had suggested this idea to Charlemagne before. Perhaps the archbishop of Toledo was thinking of King Reccared and his involvement in establishing orthodoxy at the meeting of 587 when he proposed Charlemagne to take on the role of *arbiter*. He was certainly not thinking of Constantine, for in the same letter, Elipandus warned Charlemagne not to follow the example of Constantine, who veered from the orthodox path

[65] Charlemagne, *Epistola ad Elipandum*, p. 161, r. 23–4: 'Ecce ego vestris petitionibus satisfaciens congregationi sacerdotum auditor et arbiter adsedi.' Noble, *Images*, pp. 174, 177.

[66] *Arbiter* can mean 'umpire', 'arbitrator' or 'judge' (the translation we chose here), but can also refer in a more general sense to a 'beholder' or 'witness': someone who goes to an event to see it. When Elipandus asked Charlemagne to sit as *arbiter*, however, he clearly used the word in the sense of judge, not witness, since he combined *arbiter* with the verbs *sedere* (sit as judge) and *dirimere* (interrupt), and the nouns *judicium* (judgement) and *sententia* (sentence).

[67] *Epistola episcoporum Hispaniae ad Karolum Magnum*, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 120–1, p. 120: 'nos indigni et exigui iuxta tenuitatem nostri sensus sacerdotibus vestro regimini subditis epistolam relegendam atque tractandam et vestris sacris obtutibus presentandam direximus … ut per te ipsum arbiter sedeas et inter Felicem episcopum, quem novimus ad ineunte etate in Dei servitio proximum partis nostre defensorem, et eos, qui sacrilegum et carnis flagitio saginatum iam dictum Antifrasium Beatum defendunt, casto et salubri iudicio dirimas'.

[68] Charlemagne had also presided over the Council of Regensburg in 792, which discussed the teaching of Adoptionism (see n. 63), but no mention is made of Charlemagne acting as *arbiter* at that time.

when he fell for the Arian heresy, as Rutger Kramer has also highlighted in his contribution to the present volume.

Charlemagne's role as *arbiter* at Frankfurt in 794 may also have been a reaction to the Second Council of Nicaea in 787. As this council was a complete failure in the eyes of the Carolingian court, it may have given Charlemagne cause to take the lead in doctrinal issues that threatened large parts of the *Christianitas* and to turn to the ecumenical councils of old as a source of inspiration for his role at Frankfurt. In the *Opus Caroli regis*, the first official response of the Carolingian court to the outcome of Nicaea II, Theodulf of Orléans seems to wonder why the Franks should not convene an ecumenical council.[69] The Byzantine Empress Irene and her son Constantine VI, at that time still a minor, had just proved with Nicaea II that they were unable to guard orthodoxy; the position of that so-called ecumenical council on the veneration of images was in the eyes of the Franks blatantly heretical. Could their own most Christian ruler Charlemagne not do a much better job?

Charlemagne may well have aimed to create an image of himself as an archetypical Christian ruler who presided over an (ecumenical) council. His main advisers on matters of theology and doctrine, Theodulf, Alcuin, Paulinus and Benedict of Aniane, all drew on the councils of the early Church during the debates on iconoclasm and Adoptionism.[70] They were thoroughly familiar with the acts of the ecumenical councils, and although they were well informed about Constantine's and Marcian's role at Nicaea and Chalcedon, they also knew that a ruler's active involvement in dogmatic issues was not self-evident.[71] In the late eighth century a new protocol for the proceedings of councils was written in the context of Charlemagne's liturgical reforms.[72]

[69] Theodulf of Orleans, *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum (Libri Carolini)*, c. 28, ed. A. Freeman and P. Meyvaert, *MGH Conc.* 2, *Suppl.* 1. D. Bullough, 'Empire and emperordom from late antiquity to 799', *EME* 12 (2004), 377–387, p. 385: 'The final chapter makes a case for the true "universality" of a council of western provinces which is proclaiming Catholic orthodoxy.' On the new conciliar theory that Theodulf developed in his *Opus Caroli regis*, see Noble, *Images*, pp. 178–80.

[70] Chazelle, *The Crucified God*, p. 69. See also the article of Jinty Nelson in this volume, p. 000: 'The bishops at Frankfurt … drew on the decrees of fourth-century councils.'

[71] The Latin Acts of the Council of Chalcedon reached the court of Charlemagne from Constantinople. *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, trans. R. Price and M. Gaddis, 3 vols, Translated Texts for Historians 45 (Liverpool, 2006), Vol. I, p. 85. Price and Gaddis do not mention when precisely the Acts arrived there.

[72] This Frankish *ordo* (*Ordo Romanus qualiter concilium agatur*) was based on a (probably seventh-century) Visigothic protocol and adapted to Roman liturgical customs. *Ordo Romanus qualiter concilium agatur*, ed. H. Schneider, *MGH Ordines de celebrando concilio*, Vol. I: *Die Konzilsordines des Früh- und Hochmittelalters*,

This Frankish *ordo* was based on a Visigothic example, composed between 675 and 711, which prescribed that the ruler should leave the council before doctrinal discussions start.[73] The new formulary made at the instigation of the Carolingian court, however, leaves out this protocol for the presence and role of the ruler, perhaps to provide the king with the opportunity to intervene if he pleased.[74] And this is what Charlemagne did at Frankfurt and again in Aachen.

It should be noted that Charlemagne never referred to himself as a second Constantine, nor did any of his contemporaries (apart from Elipandus in a warning vein).[75] As mentioned above, the image of Charlemagne as a guardian of orthodoxy did not emerge from the papal curia, which was more interested in promoting the image of the ruler as protector and benefactor of Rome and the pope. Yet in the years after the Council of Frankfurt, Rome also seems to have acknowledged Charlemagne in the role of protector of the orthodox faith and supervisor over conciliar discussions on heresy. At the Council of Rome in 798, when Felix of Urgel was led before Pope Leo III, the Acts mention the Council of Frankfurt as a most orthodox council, 'held under the survey of Lord Charles, the most shining and orthodox great king.'[76]

Epilogue: after Charlemagne

The way in which Charlemagne is portrayed in the *Vita Alcuini* is characteristic of a particular discourse that was developed at the Frankish court after the

44–53, esp. p. 50. Schneider dates this Frankish *ordo* to *c.* 800, but R. Reynolds ('Rites and signs of conciliar decisions in the early middle ages', *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale*, Settimane 33 (Spoleto, 1986), 207–44 p. 242) dates it to the 780s. According to Jinty Nelson in her contribution to this volume, the earliest Frankish *ordo* for the celebration of councils dates to 786.

[73] '[P]ost egressum igitur regis … introibunt omnes quique fuerint presbyteres, diacones vel religiosi universi, ad audiendam doctrinam'. *Ordo* 3, cc. 14 and 15, *MGH Ordines de celebrando concilio*, p. 213. For protests against the presence of the emperor or his representatives at councils in late antiquity, see Chrysos, 'Konzilspräsident'.

[74] *Ordo Romanus qualiter concilium agatur*, pp. 296–343.

[75] It has often been maintained that Pope Hadrian hailed Charlemagne as a second Constantine in his letter of 778 (*Codex Carolinus* 60, p. 587), but on closer inspection this is not the case. Hadrian promises Charlemagne that the people *shall* acclaim him as a *novus Constantinus* if he continues to support the Church of Rome.

[76] *Concilium Romanum* (*a.* 798), ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 202–4: *Actio secunda*, p. 204: '… almum et orthodoxum concilium, quod in conspectu domni Caroli praefulgidi et orthodoxi magni regis pro huiusmodi re gestum est'.

790s. Probably inspired by the debates on iconoclasm and Adoptionism and an intensified study of the Acts of the great ecumenical councils, Charlemagne and his court intellectuals revitalised the role of the ruler as guardian of orthodoxy. The Second Council of Nicaea, a thorn in the Carolingians' flesh, made the protection of orthodoxy suddenly an urgent matter, as the empress and her son in Constantinople had apparently failed at their job. In the same period another doctrinal issue, Adoptionism, also called for the king's attention. Spanish bishops invited Charlemagne to take on the role of *arbiter* – the model of Reccared was probably in their minds when doing so – while at the same time warning Charlemagne *not* to become a second Constantine, who restored the harmony of the Church, but later wandered from the right path and ended his life badly.[77]

Charlemagne was a vigorous ruler, taking his role as protector of the Church very seriously, instigating reforms that were aimed to create order and unity in his realm. He seems to have gladly taken on this new role as a guardian of orthodoxy, a moderator and arbiter in religious controversy, placing himself in the midst of his bishops. There were several traditions to which he and his courtiers could turn for guidance in fleshing out this new role; among them may have been Gregory of Tours's stories about Reccared as well as the Acts of Toledo, which arrived in Francia in the 780s. Another example could have been the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon.[78] In the latter Acts, Charlemagne and his court theologians could read how Emperor Marcian guarded the proceedings of the council, settled a theological controversy and was hailed as a new Constantine by the attendant bishops.

It is difficult to pinpoint precisely who and what Charlemagne's sources of inspiration were. Additionally, the question of when the example of the emperors of the great ecumenical councils became a model for rulers who wished to intervene in a theological debate is a topic that needs further investigation. What is clear, however, is that something changed in the late 780s and 790s. Charlemagne's role as moderator in the Adoptionist controversy generated an interest in stories about rulers as guardians of orthodoxy and raised discussions about a king's responsibilities. The king, soon emperor, and his intellectuals turned to old texts and images from the past, using them as compasses in this relatively new adventure.

In the early ninth century the *Historia tripartita*, which commemorated Constantine's role at Nicaea and glossed over (but did not silence) his faults,

[77] *Epistola episcoporum Hispaniae ad Karolum Magnum*, p. 121. For a discussion of this letter see the contribution of Rutger Kramer to the present volume.

[78] On the arrival of the Latin Acts of the Council of Chalcedon at the court of Charlemagne, see n. 71. The *collectio Hispana*, containing the Acts of the Councils of Toledo from 633 to 711, was available in Francia from the 780s. Reynolds, 'Rites and signs', p. 242.

started to circulate more widely. It was often quoted as a source of authority to refer to the decisions of the fathers of the first councils. No doubt the growing popularity of the *Historia tripartita* gave the image of Constantine as father of Nicaea and champion of orthodoxy a new boost, and promoted the status of Roman emperors as moderators in religious controversies.[79] So when the bishops gathered at the Council of Reims in 813, they declared that Charlemagne had convened them 'in the manner of the emperors of old' (*more priscorum imperatorum*).[80] In the days of the debates on Adoptionism and iconoclasm, however, King Reccared may have been considered a more suitable model, because he was a king, just like Charlemagne at that time. Yet it is precisely the example of Reccared that reminds us that we need to be careful not to draw hasty conclusions. The remembrance of past princes was never straightforward. Rulers from the past were used to define archetypes, representing particular traditions that fitted contemporary needs. If names of earlier kings and emperors were cited as models for rulers, it was rarely to bring the historical figures that once were called by these names into the present as concrete examples of human behaviour, but to evoke the traditions they represented to legitimise what were in fact new or indigenous practices of rulership.

In 869, Charles the Bald, Charlemagne's grandson, was acclaimed a 'novus Constantinus' in Metz in 869, well before he became emperor. The Constantine who was held up to him for imitation was, however, not the emperor of Nicaea, but a ruler 'chosen by God to rule the *gentes*'.[81] That said, Charles the Bald did consider himself to be a guardian of orthodoxy and performed the role of *arbiter* in theological debates with new vigour, like his grandfather before him. It is not clear if the king turned to other models too, for example to the Roman emperors who presided over the ecumenical councils. We do know, however, that he asked his adviser Hincmar of Reims to send him a copy of Gregory the Great's letter to Reccared, congratulating him on his conversion to Catholicism, which Hincmar then integrated into his mirror for Charles.[82]

[79] We can see this, for example, in the illustrations of the Vercelli codex from the first quarter of the ninth century, where Roman emperors are depicted as presiding over the ecumenical councils. For a discussion of these illustrations, see Reynolds, 'Rites and signs', pp. 212–15, and our forthcoming article.

[80] *Concilium Remense* (a. 813), ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 253–8, p. 254.

[81] Ewig, 'Bild Constantins', p. 46, with reference to Metz, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 351: 'Constantinus novus/ effulsit in mundum. Carolus praeclarus/ progenie sancta. Quem Deus elegit/ regere gentes/ Gaude civitas. Laetare polus. Exulta Mettis/ de adventu regis.' Note that this comparison with Constantine, as well as other references to Constantine in this period, does not relate to the role of a ruler as referee in theological debates.

[82] Hincmar of Rheims, *De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis*, ed. D. Nachtmann, *MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters* 16, pp. 114–18.

Yet the example of Charlemagne must have been closer to home. Hincmar reminded the king of his grandfather's role as judge at the Council of Aachen in 799.[83] Striving to become Charles's Alcuin, Hincmar studied the dossier of the Adoptionist controversy and looked with special attention to the Council of Aachen, where Alcuin disputed with Felix under Charlemagne's supervision.[84] The earliest extant copy of the *Vita Alcuini*, which describes the disputation, is included in a book commissioned by Hincmar, after he had become archbishop of Reims in 845.[85] Clearly, Hincmar drew inspiration from that particular debate where Charlemagne 'by the authority of his teacher Alcuin' judged in a religious dispute.[86] So when Charles the Bald took on the role of *arbiter* during discussions about the issue of predestination, a live topic in his days, he need not necessarily have been thinking of Constantine. Instead, he may have considered himself to be a 'novus Reccared' or, even more likely, a 'novus Carolus'.

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The authors would like to thank Mariken Teeuwen and Rutger Kramer for their valuable comments and suggestions. The present chapter is a companion piece to Rutger Kramer's contribution to this volume, which also deals with the religious controversy of Adoptionism and the ambiguous image of Emperor Constantine, but from a different point of view.

[83] Hincmar of Reims, *De praedestinatione, dei et libero arbitrio*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 125 (Paris, 1852), cols 65–474, at 55.

[84] Amongst Hincmar's personal manuscripts was a dossier of the Adoptionist controversy, Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, 385 (9th century), which included the texts we have discussed in this chapter: Elipandus's letter to Charlemagne, Charlemagne's reply and Paulinus's *Libellus sacrosyllabus*. See, for a description of this manuscript, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements – Tome XXXVIII. Reims*, Vol. I: *Fonds général*, digitised at http://ccfr.bnf.fr/portailccfr/jsp/ccfr/sitemap/ead_sitemap_view.jsp?record=eadcgm%3AEADC%3AD38A15174. For further evidence of Hincmar's special interest in the disputation between Alcuin and Felix in Aachen, see Hincmar of Reims, *De una et non trina deitate*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 125 (Paris, 1852), cols 473–618, here col. 527b; and Hincmar, *De praedestinatione*, col. 55.

[85] Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, 1395, fols. 89–113v. See Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 21; D. Bullough, 'Alcuino e la tradizione insulare', *I problemi dell'occidente nel secolo VIII*, Settimane 20 (Spoleto, 1972), 571–600.

[86] See the quotation at the beginning of this chapter and the references in nn. 3 and 4.

4

The ruler with the sword in the Utrecht Psalter

Bart Jaski

Introduction

Of all the extant Carolingian manuscripts, the Utrecht Psalter stands out for its rich iconographic programme in which all the 150 Psalms and sixteen additional cantica are illustrated in a dynamic, sketchy style, executed by eight draughtsmen. This style is typical for the Reims school of manuscript illumination, of which the Utrecht Psalter and the Eb(b)o Gospels are the primary representatives. The way the Psalms are visually brought to life was influential in the time of Charles the Bald (king of West Francia, 843–77), and the Utrecht Psalter itself was the direct example for the production of the Harley Psalter (*c.* 1010), Eadwine Psalter (*c.* 1160) and Anglo-Catalan (Paris) Psalter (*c.* 1190) in Canterbury, where other manuscripts were also produced that were indebted to its style and illustrations. Few medieval illustrated manuscripts have enjoyed such an artistic impact over the centuries.

The Utrecht Psalter has a number of other features that, combined, distinguish it from its contemporaries, such as its size (33 × 22.5 cm), the layout in three columns and the exclusive use of the *capitalis rustica* for the main text. For all intents and purposes it looks like a manuscript from the late Roman empire, and the measure in which late Roman, Byzantine and Carolingian influences defined its production is still a matter of debate. The manuscript itself gives no direct clues as to when it was produced, who ordered it, and for what purpose it was made. Because of the similarities in style with the Ebo Gospels, scholars have often dated it to the first period that Ebo was archbishop of Reims, namely from 816 to 834 (he was formally deposed in 835), rather than to his brief return from 840 to 841.[1] The archbishop of Reims is

[1] For Ebo's career, see primarily P. McKeon, 'Archbishop Ebbo of Reims (816–835): a study in the Carolingian empire and the Church', *Church History* 43 (1974), 437–47, although it is in some respects outdated. For Ebo's deposition, see B. Selten, 'The good, the bad or the unworthy? Accusations, defense and representation in the case

regarded as the most likely candidate to have commissioned the manuscript, while Louis the Pious or his son Charles the Bald usually figure as the intended recipient.

In 1996 the University Library of Utrecht and Museum Catharijneconvent in Utrecht organised the exhibition about the Utrecht Psalter, and in the accompanying publication and catalogue the latest research by a team of specialists was published.[2] Until that time, scholarship had concentrated on establishing the origins of the illustrations, a matter about which Koert van der Horst concluded: 'It is really very difficult indeed, if not impossible, to establish the dividing line between invented elements in the drawings of the Utrecht Psalter and borrowings from its probable model and from other sources of differing provenance and date.'[3] Yet around this time attention was shifting to the visual message contained in the Utrecht Psalter. In 1980 Robert Deshman had studied the royal symbolism in the ivories of the covers of the psalter and prayerbook of Charles the Bald, both probably made in the 860s, and contemplated whether this symbolism was not already present in the Utrecht Psalter, their exemplar.[4] The thought that the Utrecht Psalter could have functioned as a visual 'mirror of princes' was taken up by Celia Chazelle in 2004. She concludes:

> Like the written 'Fürstenspiegel' upholding David as the ideal king, the psalter scenes of his trust in God against soldier-adversaries and his own military struggles on God's behalf were possibly meant to exemplify the behaviour that Carolingian clergy, particularly in the 830's and later, sought from the rulers and aristocracy who fought so vehemently among themselves.[5]

Chazelle uses illustrations of David's anointment to support her view, published in 1997, that the Utrecht Psalter was not commissioned by Ebo but by

of Ebbo of Reims, 835–882' (M.A. thesis, University of Utrecht, 2010); available online at http://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/179343 (accessed 30 June 2014).

2 K. van der Horst, W. Noel and W. Wüstefeld (eds), *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art. Picturing the Psalms of David* ('t Goy, 1996). This publication is the starting point for any investigation into the Utrecht Psalter. For the annotated digitised version, see www.utrechtpsalter.nl.

3 K. van der Horst, 'The Utrecht Psalter: picturing the psalms of David', in Van der Horst *et al.*, *The Utrecht Psalter*, 22–84, p. 80.

4 R. Deshman, 'The exalted servant: the ruler theology of the prayerbook of Charles the Bald', *Viator* 11 (1980), 385–417, reprinted in A. Cohen (ed.), *Eye and Mind. Collected Essays in Anglo-Saxon and Early Medieval Art by Robert Deshman* (Kalamazoo, 2010), 192–219.

5 C. Chazelle, 'Violence and the virtuous ruler in the Utrecht Psalter', in F. Büttner (ed.), *The Illuminated Psalter. Studies in the Content, Purpose and Placement of Its Images* (Turnhout, 2004), 337–48, p. 348.

his later successor, Hincmar of Reims.[6] This new dating, around 850, rests mainly on her interpretation of the illustration of the so-called Athanasian Creed on the Trinity (which begins with *Quicumque vult*) as found in the Utrecht Psalter (fol. 90v). However, mainly from the illustration of Psalm 88 (fol. 51v), Dominique Alibert concluded that the Utrecht Psalter was made under Ebo *c.* 823 for Louis the Pious to commemorate the Viking embassy at Soissons at which Ebo assisted. Additionally, the manuscript also contains echoes from the voluntary penance of Louis at Attigny (to the north-west of Reims) in 822.[7] The opposite results in dating at which Chazelle and Alibert arrived should serve as a warning against reading too much into one specific illustration or motif. Yet their approach in singling out a number of illustrated Psalms and discussing their potential political background has yielded interesting results, and appears to support the interpretation of the Utrecht Psalter as a visual 'mirror of princes'.

A more general approach, by Kathleen Openshaw with reference to insular manuscripts, and by Heather Pulliam with regard to the Corbie Psalter, points in a similar direction.[8] Early insular psalters and the Corbie Psalter (*c.* 790–800) stress the importance of the *bellum spirituale* against evil and sin, and the illustrations (Psalms 1, 51 and 101 in insular psalters; the initials in the Corbie Psalter) specifically point to these psalters being used in a monastic

[6] C. Chazelle, 'Archbishops Ebo and Hincmar of Reims and the Utrecht Psalter', *Speculum* 72 (1997), 1055–77.

[7] I extrapolate this from D. Alibert, 'La victime unique et triomphante: remarques sur l'iconographie du Christ en croix à l'époque carolingienne', in J. Hoareau-Dodinau, G. Métairie and Pascal Texier (eds), *La victime. Définitions et statut* (Limoges, 2008), 127–51, p. 129; and from his 'Pécheur, avare et injuste: remarques sur la figure du mauvais roi à l'époque carolingienne', in W. Falkowski and Y. Sassier (eds), *Le monde carolingien. Bilan, perspectives, champs de recherches* (Turnhout, 2010), 121–42, pp. 123–4, where he refers to D. Alibert, 'Les Carolingiens et leurs images' (Ph.D. dissertation, Université de Paris IV, 1994), pp. 312–13, which I have not been able to consult. See D. Alibert, 'Moïse, David et autres Théodose. Le prince, Dieu et la Loi dans l'iconographie politique carolingienne', in J. Hoareau-Dodinau, G. Métairie and Pascal Texier (eds), *Le prince et la norme. Ce que légiférer veut dire* (Limoges, 2007), 51–68, pp. 55–6, for the argument that Hincmar probably based his ideas about royal consecration on Ebo's, of which written testimonials are now lost, but are still reflected in the Utrecht Psalter.

[8] K. Openshaw, 'Weapons in the daily battle: images of conquest of evil in the early medieval psalter', *The Art Bulletin* 75:1 (1993), 17–38; see also her article 'The symbolic illustration of the psalter: an insular tradition', *Arte medievale* 6:1 (1992), 41–60. H. Pulliam, 'Exaltation and humiliation: the decorated initials of the Corbie Psalter (Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 18)', *Gesta* 49:2 (2010), 97–115; see also R. Kahsnitz, 'Frühe Initialpsalter', in Büttner, *The Illuminated Psalter*, 137–55.

environment. The illustrations in the Corbie Psalter stress that the humble, who by penance and prayer hold fast to their trust in God amidst tribulations, will triumph in the end. The proud and evil are often visually entangled, caught in the web of their own deceit.

In the Stuttgart Psalter, produced in Saint-Germain-des-Près *c.* 820–30, about half of the extensive pictorial cycle contains depictions of men carrying arms, up to no good, and often threatening the psalmist, who visually mediates the Psalm to God.[9] Although God's hand may be in sight, there is no visible active help from his side.[10] The typological orientation of the Stuttgart Psalter and its iconography reflect the influence of early Byzantine psalters.[11] It is visually made clear that many Psalm verses foreshadow events from the life and Passion of Christ or other biblical narratives, thus reflecting not only the text but also the theological commentaries on the Psalms. This is intellectually challenging, but less suitable for bringing a general 'political' message across.

We know from the division of the text and the content of the cantica that the Utrecht Psalter had no liturgical function, and was not meant for monastic use.[12] Rather than having a visual mix of literal and typological explanations of the Psalms, the Utrecht Psalter concentrates on literal illustration – or charade illustration as William Noel calls it, since the drawings often tie various Psalm verses, phrases or words together to shape a new visual narrative.[13] Yet the Utrecht Psalter includes scenes from the Old Testament and the passion of Christ also.[14] These may refer to (contemporary) theological issues, but also

[9] Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. bibl., fol. 23; see B. Bischoff *et al.* (eds), *Der Stuttgarter Bildpsalter. Facsimile*, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1965–68). Alibert, 'Pécheur', p. 123, agrees that it was made under Archbishop Hilduin, but places it before 822, when Hilduin was still abbot of Saint-Denis, as he assumes that Louis the Pious's penance at Attigny would otherwise have been reflected in the illustrations.

[10] Pulliam, 'Exaltation', p. 98.

[11] Van der Horst, 'The Utrecht Psalter', pp. 68–9, 75–6; H. Mayr-Harting, 'Praying the psalter in Carolingian times: what was supposed to be going on in the minds of monks?', in S. Bhattacharji, D. Mattos and R. Williams (eds), *Prayer and Thought in Monastic Tradition. Essays in Honour of Benedicta Ward SLG* (London/New York, 2014), 77–99.

[12] Van der Horst, 'The Utrecht Psalter', pp. 36–7, 81.

[13] W. Noel, 'Medieval charades and the visual syntax of the Utrecht Psalter', in B. Cassidy and R. Muir Wright (eds), *Studies in the Illustration of the Psalter* (Stamford, 2000), 34–41.

[14] Van der Horst, 'The Utrecht Psalter', pp. 67–72; see also the motifs clustered in S. Dufrenne, *Les illustrations du Psautier d'Utrecht. Sources et apport carolingien* (Paris, 1978).

refer to the deeds of David, the perceived author of most if not all the Psalms, who is often depicted in the Utrecht Psalter, as the psalmist or otherwise.[15] As a visual 'mirror of princes' the Utrecht Psalter says much about David as a role-model of royal behaviour. His deeds and tribulations, and his unwavering reliance on God's grace, are of course expressed in the text of the Psalms itself, but are certainly underlined by what the draughtsmen illustrated. They set David's vicissitudes in the context of a cosmic battle between good and evil, where angels wield spears, swords and battle-axes just like the forces of evil, which are usually depicted as soldiers or are accompanied by them.[16] And true to this general theme, the Utrecht Psalter also depicts David's counterpart, his predecessor and rival Saul, even if he is not mentioned in the Psalm verses. This is notably the case in the illustrations to Psalms 51 and 151, where Saul is shown as a ruler seated with a sword flat on his lap. Less clear is the identity of a similar figure who appears in the illustrations to Psalms 13 and 52. He is likewise seated with a sword flat on his lap, but he does not appear to be Saul.[17]

The purpose of my study is to discuss this man with the sword on his lap as he appears in the Utrecht Psalter, and to discover what he stands for by comparing him with the same figure in other manuscripts. I shall argue that the use of this motif in the Utrecht Psalter supports the interpretation that the manuscript (also) functioned as a visual 'mirror of princes'. Of crucial importance are the illustrations to Psalms 13 and 52, which are much alike.

Psalms 13 and 52 in the Utrecht Psalter

Psalms 13 and 52 both begin with the sentence 'The fool has said in his heart: there is no God', and with a few minor differences present the same text, except that Psalm 13 includes extra lines added to verse 3, while verse 6 is also partly different.[18] In the Utrecht Psalter both psalms are visually translated in the same manner, with the same layout and virtually the same scenes, although the two draughtsmen have their own style. The draughtsman of Psalm 13 has used a bit more space and gives a fuller version of the scenes than the one who decorated Psalm 52, who has left out a number of details and has slightly altered others. Yet in both cases almost all of the key elements are presented in the same way (Figures 4.1 and 4.2).

In Psalm 13 (fol. 7v) the beardless Christ-Logos is seated within a globe-mandorla. Three angels are on each side of him, bearing bannered lances. This depicts 'The Lord hath looked down from heaven upon the children of

[15] For touching upon theological issues, see n. 63 below.

[16] Pulliam, 'Exaltation', pp. 98–9.

[17] Cf. n. 60 below.

[18] 'Dixit insipiens in corde suo: non est Deus.'

Figure 4.1 Utrecht, University Library, Ms. 32 (Utrecht Psalter), fol. 7v (Psalm 13)

Figure 4.2 Utrecht, University Library, Ms. 32 (Utrecht Psalter), fol. 30v (Psalm 52)

men' (v. 2). He sees that 'they are corrupt, and are become abominable in their ways: there is none that doth good' (v. 1, cf. v. 3). On the left are scenes full of violence. In the centre is a round canopy (or baldachin) supported by seven pillars. Two snakes coil around the two pillars in front, their mouths close to the face of the man sitting on a throne in the pillared structure, who has a sword on his lap, hand on the hilt. He looks at two men with swords, who each present him a decapitated head. A slain man lies near his feet. To the right a woman is protecting four children; they stand next to an open coffin. The snakes and the coffin reflect the addition to verse 3 in Psalm 13 which is

missing from Psalm 52, and characterise those who do no good: 'Their throat is an open sepulchre; with their tongues they acted deceitfully: the poison of asps is under their lips.'

In the front of this scene more violence occurs. Two men have a tug-of-war with a woman in the middle. One jabs a spear in the face of the other, who grabs it with his hand. In the middle, one man buries his sword in the belly of another. A man with spear and shield lies on the ground and is speared by another man, who in his turn is speared by a third man. The whole violent section is shown to the Christ-Logos by the psalmist. Apart from the snakes or asps and the coffin, the scene appears to depict verse 4: 'Shall not all they know that work iniquity, who devour my people as they eat bread?'.[19]

In the middle part we see three horsemen with spears and banners near a group of pleading women and children. These look towards a hill on which stands a man with shield and spear who is gesturing at them. This scene is related to verse 7: 'Who shall give out of Sion the salvation of Israel? When the Lord shall have turned away the captivity of his people, Jacob shall rejoice, and Israel shall be glad.'

The draughtsman of Psalm 52 (fol. 30v) had less space and his figures are smaller. The additions to Psalm 13.3 – the snakes around the pillars, the woman and four children and the coffin – are now missing. The man in the canopy now sits crossed-legged on a chair or throne and wears a mantle fastened with a brooch. To the riders in the middle another horseman and spear have been added, but a fourth horse is not in sight. Only three women make up the pleading group. In the heavens Christ looks down, standing with a crossed staff or lance with banners in his hand, and four angels in a row accompany him.

The illustration of Psalm 52 is Psalm 13 minus 52's extra verse, and for the rest it is somewhat simplified. Verse 6 of Psalm 52, 'For God hath scattered the bones of them that please men', is not depicted. As in Psalm 13, it is the violence on the left that catches the eye.

The man under the canopy

The most remarkable figure in the depictions of Psalms 13 and 52 is the man under the domed canopy. Ernest DeWald, in his description of all the 166 illustrations in the Utrecht Psalter, identifies him for Psalm 13 as 'a ruler', but for Psalm 52 as 'a judge or prince'.[20] This was taken over by Koert van der

[19] The Douai-Reims translation is not very clear. The King James Version translates 'nonne cognoscent omnes qui operantur iniquitatem' as: 'Have all the workers of iniquity no knowledge?'. Psalm 52.4 reads 'nonne scient omnes …', which has the same meaning.

[20] E. DeWald, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter* (Princeton, 1932), pp. 9 and 26.

Horst and Jacobus Engelbregt in their commentary volume to the facsimile edition of the Utrecht Psalter, except that the prince has inadvertently become a priest.[21] D. J. Gifford, however, takes him to be the earliest example of the 'prince-fool' current in medieval iconography.[22] Dominique Alibert regards the man as a representation of the *insipiens*, portrayed as a bad, cruel king.[23] Ahuva Belkin goes a step further and argues that the man under the canopy personifies the Antichrist.[24] She gives three main reasons. Firstly, in the Harley Psalter the draughtsman of Psalm 52 depicts him with a short beard and pagan hat. An angel on the left looks staight into his face, but on the right a devil hovers above him.[25] According to Belkin these additional attributes serve to clarify that this man is Antichrist. Secondly, in early Christian exegesis the description of Antichrist in Paul's Second Letter to the Thessalonians (especially 2.1–12), and related biblical texts (Dan. 11, Matt. 24, 1 John 2.18–27) was linked to John's prophecy of the Apocalypse and the two witnesses to the Day of the Lord who would be killed by 'the beast from the abyss' (Rev. 11.7), regarded as the Antichrist. Belkin argues that the two beheaded men illustrated at Psalms 13 and 52 are the two witnesses, commonly understood to be Elijah (see Mal. 4.5–6) and Enoch; both had not died, but had gone straight to heaven (2 Kings 2.11; Gen. 5.22–4, Sir. 44.16).[26] This is also expressed in Carolingian sources.[27] And thirdly, the snakes around the pillars in Psalm 13 are distinct emblems of the Antichrist.

[21] K. van der Horst and J. Engelbregt (eds), *Utrecht-Psalter. Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat der Handschrift 32 aus dem Besitz der Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht: Kommentar* (Graz, 1984), pp. 65 and 73.

[22] D. Gifford, 'Iconographical notes towards a definition of the medieval fool', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974), 336–42, p. 339.

[23] Alibert, 'Pécheur', pp. 134–5.

[24] A. Belkin, 'The Antichrist legend in the Utrecht Psalter', *Rivista di storia e litteratura religiosa* 23 (1987), 279–88; see also A. Belkin, 'Antichrist as the embodiment of the *insipiens* in thirteenth-century French psalters', *Florilegium* 10 (1988–91), 65–82, p. 72. At p. 75 n. 6, she notes that in Romanesque and Gothic art heretic and pagan regents such as Pharaoh or Herod are portrayed as sitting cross-legged; this was generally regarded as a posture expressing negative behaviour.

[25] Belkin, 'Antichrist legend', p. 282. Psalm 13 was drawn by artist 'A', Psalm 52 by artist 'H'. The latter especially made several changes to his copy or adaptation of the illustrations in the Utrecht Psalter; see W. Noel, *The Harley Psalter* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 53–6 and 113–20.

[26] W. Bousset, *Der Antichrist in der Überlieferung des Judentums, des Neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche. Ein Beitrag zur Auslegung der Apokalypse* (Göttingen, 1895), pp. 134–9; R. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1981), p. 97; P. Darby, *Bede and the End of Time* (Farnham, 2012), pp. 109–16.

[27] Emmerson, *Antichrist*, pp. 83, 99 and 162; see K. Hughes, *Constructing Antichrist. Paul, Biblical Commentary, and the Development of Doctrine in the Early Middle*

The last argument can easily be dismissed, for the snakes are a visual rendition of Psalm 13.3, as discussed above. The two heads presented to the man under the canopy are indeed of interest, for although the Utrecht Psalter is full of scenes of violence and killing, nothing equal can be found in the manuscript.[28] However, nowhere in the Bible or early exegesis is it specified that the two witnesses would be decapitated. From the middle of the tenth century onwards all Spanish Beatus manuscripts depict the killing of the two witnesses by the Antichrist in a similar way: one of them, often unclothed, is already decapitated; the other is on the verge of having his head cut off by the Antichrist himself.[29] This iconography, together with depictions of specific martyrs being decapitated (cf. Rev. 20.4), may have led to the interpretation by the artist of the Harley Psalter that the two severed heads refer to the two witnesses and the man under the canopy is the Antichrist. Yet this does not mean that this interpretation equally applies to the artists of the Utrecht Psalter. For this, it is the position of his sword that is significant.

Pharaoh

In other ninth-century (or somewhat later) Carolingian manuscripts a ruler with a sword on his lap is not attested, but there are a few examples from Byzantine illustrated octateuchs, of which the lost common model may be dated as early as the second half of the sixth century, but is most likely to belong to the tenth century.[30] In the illustration of Exodus 5.1–3 Pharaoh is seated on a throne under a round canopy or baldachin supported by two or three pillars, and with a roof with abstract floral motifs. He wears a simple pearl crown, a nimbus is around his head, and a mantle with a brooch (a costume like that of a Byzantine emperor) hangs from his shoulders. With his right hand he touches the place where his heart is; his left hand rests on his upper leg, holding an unsheathed sword on his lap, the point going over the

Ages (Washington, 2005), pp. 121–44, for the comments on 2 Thessalonians about Antichrist in the works of Hrabanus Maurus, Florus of Lyon and Sedulius Scotus, who all wrote in the ninth century and relied heavily on patristic writings.

[28] The illustrations of Psalms 33.5 (fol. 19r: Paul as martyr decapitated), 100.8 (fol. 57v) and 115.15 (fol. 67r) come closest.

[29] See, for example, New York, Morgan Library, M. 644 (Morgan Beatus), fol. 151r; Madrid, Bibliotheca National, Vit. 14-1, fol. 105v; Madrid, Bibliotheca National, Vit. 14-2, fol. 181r; London, BL, Ms. Add. 11695 (Silos Beatus), fol. 143r. See further R. Wright, *Art and Antichrist in Medieval Europe* (Manchester, 1995), pp. 31–59.

[30] J. Lowden, 'Illustrated octateuch manuscripts: a Byzantine phenomenon', in P. Magdalino and R. Nelson (eds), *The Old Testament in Byzantium* (Dumbarton Oaks, 2010), 107–52, pp. 132, 141 and 146.

right arm of his chair. Three soldiers, looking at each other, are behind him. Moses and Aaron stand pleading on the right-hand side.[31] In other depictions of Pharaoh in Byzantine illustrated octateuchs he is not holding a sword. Why this is an exception becomes clear in the text it illustrates. In the translation of the Latin Vulgate it reads: 'After these things, Moses and Aaron went in, and said to Pharao: Thus saith the Lord God of Israel: Let my people go, that they may sacrifice to me in the desert. But he answered: Who is the Lord, that I should hear his voice, and let Israel go? I know not the Lord [*nescio Dominum*], neither will I let Israel go.' That both Pharaoh in Exodus and the fool in Psalms 13 and 52 profess not to know God surely explains why they are depicted in the same way.

Saul

Another example appears in the Greek Sinai Psalter of *c.* 1075, in its illustration of Psalm 53: a crowned Saul, seated cross-legged on a throne, holds in his left hand a sword, which rests on his lap. He gestures to two soldiers in front of him (the Ziphites), who tell him that David is hiding among them, as related in 1 Samuel 23.19.[32] In similar or other scenes in earlier manuscripts Saul holds no sword, but again it is in the Utrecht Psalter, in its illustrations of Psalm 51 and the additional Psalm 151, that we find Saul depicted with a sword across his lap.[33] Before we address the question as to why Saul is so depicted, let us first consider the content and iconography of Psalm 53.

[31] K. Weitzmann and M. Bernabò, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint* (Princeton, 1999), Vol. I: *The Byzantine Octateuchs* (text), p. 153; Vol. II (plates), nos 628–31: Vatican City, Ms. Vat. gr. 746 (*c.* 1270–1300) and 747 (*c.* 1050–75); Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi, Ms. gr. 8, and Smyrna, Evangelical School Library, Cod. A.1, now lost (both *c.* 1125–55). The illustration in Vat. 747 (no. 628) is simpler: Pharaoh's head has been overpainted; he lacks the sword. I follow the datings in Lowden, 'Illustrated octateuch', p. 110.

[32] K. Weitzmann, 'The Sinai Psalter cod. 48 with marginal illustrations and three leaves in Leningrad', in K. Weitzmann (ed.), *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels* (London, 1980), Part VII, p. 7 and Figure 22 (with a wrong caption). The miniature is in St Petersburg, Public Library, Ms. gr. 267, fol. 3v.

[33] See, for example, the depictions of Saul in E. DeWald, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*, Vol. III: *Psalms and Odes* (Princeton etc., 1941–42); S. Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psaultiers Grecs du Moyen Âge*, Vol. I: *Pantocrator 61, Paris Grec 20, British Museum 40731* (Paris, 1966); S. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psaultiers Grecs du Moyen Âge*, Vol. II: *Londres, Add. 19.352* (Paris, 1970); J. Lassus, *L'illustration byzantine du Livre des Rois: Vaticanus Graecus 333* (Paris, 1973).

The text of Psalm 53 is sung by David, imploring God to deliver him from his enemies. In the Utrecht Psalter (fol. 30v) David is depicted with shield and spear, a sheep (as offering, v. 8) standing next to him.[34] He turns to the hand of God from above (vv. 3–4). On the left three horsemen attack him (v. 5), below him men and horses tumble about (v. 7). To the right a man stands at an altar with its fire burning, near a building and a table (v. 8). The Greek Sinai Psalter depicts Saul because he is mentioned in the heading, which in this Psalm explains the circumstances under which David composed it. The Utrecht Psalter has the same heading in Latin, but, as is usually the case, only depicts the Psalm verses, and thus not Saul. Yet for Psalm 51 (fol. 30r) the Utrecht Psalter does depict the heading, and hence Saul makes his appearance here, too. The heading reads: 'Unto the end, understanding for David; when Doeg the Edomite came and told Saul: David went to the house of Achimelech'.[35] This refers to 1 Samuel 21–2, which relates that when David fled for Nob he pretended to be on a mission from Saul. In the city of Nob the high priest Achimelech received him kindly. Doeg the Edomite, Saul's herdsman, told this to the king. Saul summoned Achimelech and his family, and accused them of treachery. Although Achimelech pleaded innocence, Saul ordered their execution. Yet his guards refused to kill the high priest, so Saul ordered Doeg to do the deed. He killed the priests, eighty-five in all, and afterwards he put the men, women, children and cattle of Nob to the sword. David later fled to Gat and afterwards to Ziph.

The Utrecht Psalter depicts Saul under a large building, crowned, on a throne, with his hand on his sword, which is on his side, over his lap. He points to the man with a spear standing in front of him, evidently Doeg; three soldiers stand to the left, next to the king, gesturing as if they are refusing something. The psalmist in the middle holds a razor, a symbol of deceit (v. 4) and stands next to a small olive tree (v. 10). He points at Christ seated on an orb in a mandorla, four persons on each side of him (Figure 4.3).[36]

We can compare this illustration of Psalm 51 in the Utrecht Psalter with two very similar ones in the Troyes Psalter and the Douce Psalter, both copied in or around Reims from the Utrecht Psalter or a closely related manuscript one or two decades later.[37] In both manuscripts we find coloured versions

[34] Compare the man with shield and spear (but without a beard) to the man on the right of the illustration to Psalm 52, who appears to be David as well.

[35] 'In finem intellectus Dauid; cum venit Doech Idumeus et adnuntavit Saul et dixit: Venit Dauid in domum Achimelech'.

[36] See also Alibert, 'Pécheur', pp. 128–9.

[37] Both manuscripts divide the 150 Psalms into 'three fifties' (Psalms 1–50, 51–100, 101–50), well known from Irish tradition. The double capitals in Psalms 1 and 101 in the Utrecht Psalter reflect a similar division; see Van der Horst, 'The Utrecht Psalter', p. 39. Of the Troyes Psalter, only the miniature of Psalm 51 survives; of the Douce Psalter, those of Psalms 51 and 101.

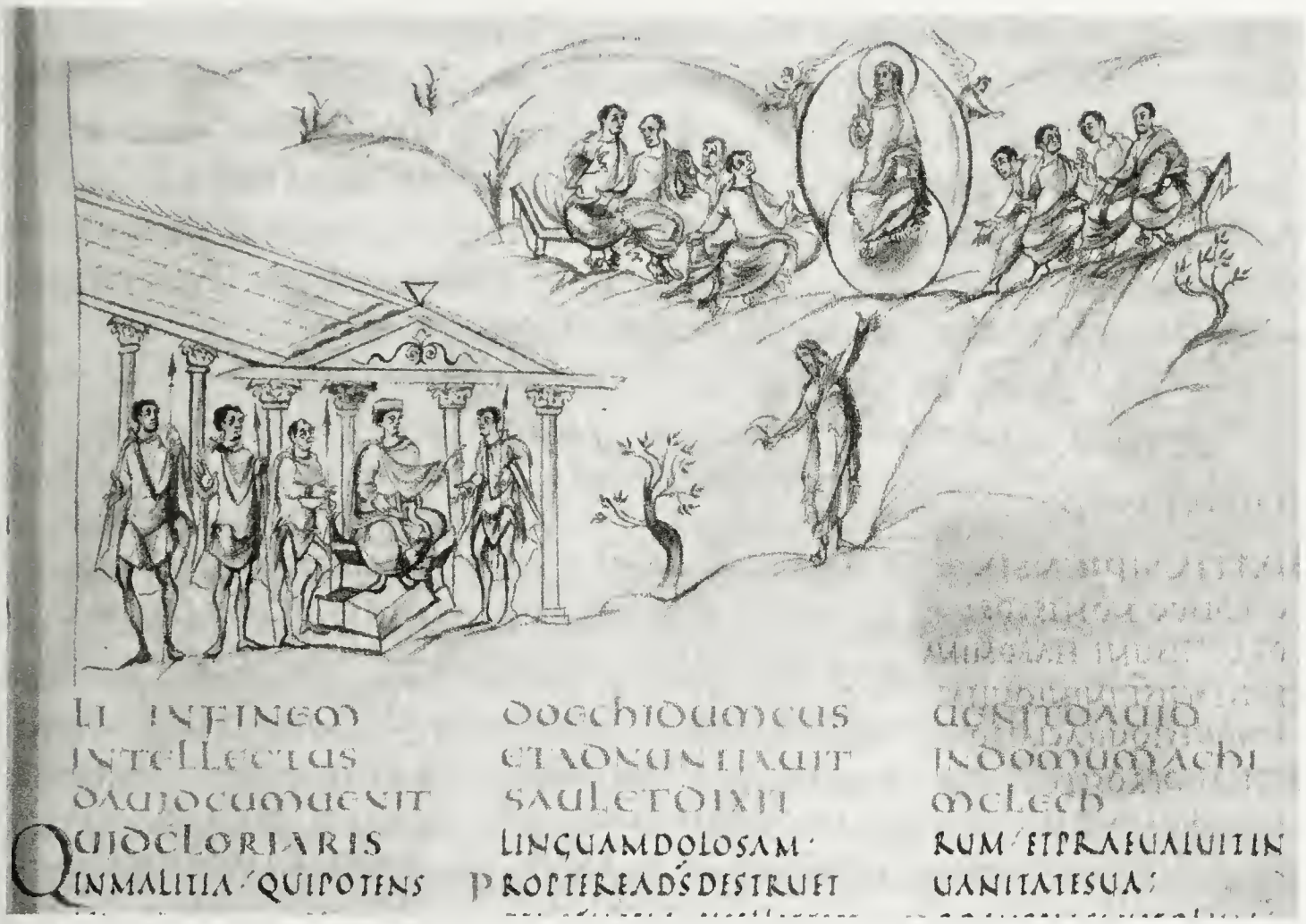

Figure 4.3 Utrecht, University Library, Ms. 32 (Utrecht Psalter), fol. 30r (Psalm 51)

of Psalm 51, but with some notable differences, even when considering the smaller space the artists had at their disposal. In the Troyes Psalter Saul has the sword over his lap, with the point to the viewer's right (rather than the left as in the Utrecht Psalter), and with a long sceptre in his hand, whereas Doeg is without a weapon. To the psalmist's side is now a broken tree (v. 7). The Douce Psalter has the broken tree also, but for the rest we only see the psalmist with his razor, pointing at the hand of God from above, while next to him are two men in white, one holding a scroll. Saul is without crown, seated on an elaborate throne; he has his hand on the hilt of his sword, which, over his lap, now points to the psalmist, as Doeg is absent. At his feet lies a dead body, either Achimelech or Doeg (vv. 7 and 9) – not unlike the body lying at the feet of the man under the canopy in the depiction of Psalm 52 in the Utrecht Psalter.[38]

The differences between the depictions of Psalm 51 in the Utrecht, Troyes and Douce Psalters have elicited many comments.[39] These same sorts of differences also concern Psalms 13 and 52 in the Utrecht Psalter itself. With regard

[38] Troyes, Trésor de la Cathédrale, Ms. 12, fol. 41v; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 59, fol. 51v. See further Van der Horst, Noel and Wüstefeld, *The Utrecht Psalter*, pp. 186–9 (catalogue).

[39] See, for example, D. Tselos, 'Defensive addenda to the problem of the Utrecht Psalter', *The Art Bulletin* 49:4 (1967), 334–49.

to Saul or the fool we see that the position of his sword may differ, or the sort of throne he sits on, and whether or not he wears a crown or a mantle with a brooch, holds a sceptre, or has his legs crossed. Whether the artists of the Troyes and Douce Psalters had the Utrecht Psalter in front of them, an earlier, perhaps more elaborate predecessor, or an intermediate copy is still a matter of debate. But we can see that for certain details in these scenes our interpretation relies on the individual whims of the Carolingian artists.

Antichrist

We now have to establish why Saul in the Utrecht Psalter (Psalm 51) and the Greek Sinai Psalter (Psalm 53) is depicted in the same way as the fool who denies God in the Utrecht Psalter (Psalm 13 and 52) and Pharaoh, who does not know God in the Byzantine octateuchs (Exodus). And this brings us back to the Antichrist, for he is the one that links them all together. Augustine explains that the first part of the title of Psalm 52, *In finem, pro Maeleth*,[40] 'At the end, for one in pain' (in Hebrew, following Jerome), refers to Christ, who is in pain when his followers are persecuted. Augustine says to his brethren that they, too, are in pain, as members of the body of Christ (*corpus Christi*: the Church), when they are amongst those who say 'There is no God.' Although it seems that few dare to say this, there are many evil and wicked people who sin habitually, and actually say, in their hearts if not with their mouths, 'There is no God.' For they wrongly think that they still please God. For if one thinks there is a God, God is just, and 'if He is just, injustice displeases Him, iniquity displeases Him; but you, when you think that iniquity pleases God, you deny God … you say nothing else than: "There is no God." '[41] And just as Christ has his members in the Church and the saints, so Antichrist has his agents of evil. Gregory the Great says in his *Moralia in Iob* that although Cain did not see the time of Antichrist, his deed marked him out as a member of Antichrist. Judas was likewise, as he was persuaded by avarice. Simon Magus perversely sought the power of miracles, even if he was far removed from the times of Antichrist. 'So the sinful body is joined to its head'; even if they do not know each other, they are joined by their wicked actions.[42] Even if the 'author of iniquity' (Antichrist) has not yet come, his secret works are already hidden in

[40] The Utrecht Psalter has '… pro Amalech …', like most Carolingian manuscripts with the text of the (Gallican) Vulgate.

[41] 'Si iustus est displicet ei iniustitia, displicet iniquitas; tu autem cum putas ei placere iniquitatem, negas Deum … nihil aliud dicis quam "non est Deus"'. Augustine of Hippo, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, ed. C. Weidmann, *CSEL* 93 (Vienna, 2011), p. 91; my translation.

[42] 'Sic iniquum corpus suo capiti … iunguntur.'

the hearts of the iniquitous, as John testifies (1 John 2.18). Gregory warns that even now iniquitous people are his members. For what else are envious, proud or power-hungry persons but members of Antichrist?[43]

That Psalm 51 was thought to refer to Antichrist is not so surprising, considering its beginning (addressed to Doeg): 'Why dost thou glory in malice, thou that art mighty in iniquity?'.[44] In Byzantine manuscripts we see this illustrated by Peter trampling on Simon Magus (Acts 8.18), while money falls on the floor (Psalm 51.9).[45] This is a typological interpretation, but Simon Magus (the magician) was considered to be a type of Antichrist, who also works wonders to deceive the faithful before he will be overthrown (2 Thess. 2.9–12).[46] Cassiodorus says that in Psalm 51 David is Doeg's adversary, just as Christ is that of Antichrist. The Psalm prophesies the coming of Antichrist, whose deceit by false miracles will be exposed by Elijah and Enoch.[47] In various Carolingian manuscripts Psalm 51 has the title *Vox propheta de Iuda vel de Antichristo*: 'The voice of the prophet about Juda or Antichrist'.[48] Agobard of Lyon (d. 840) relates Psalm 51 to Antichrist in his sermon *De fidei veritate*.[49]

Although Cassiodorus sees Doeg as David's counterpart,[50] in the iconography of the Utrecht Psalter it is Saul who resembles Antichrist. He is the tyrannical king who orders Doeg to kill the priests, and persecutes David after God has forsaken him in favour of David (1 Sam. 16.14, 18.9–12). The difference is significant, for it is the ruler, not the executioner, who is held responsible, and acts as a type of Antichrist. The similar iconography of Saul in Psalm 51

[43] Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 29.7, ed. M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 143B (Turnhout, 1979), p. 1444, of which parts are translated in Hughes, *Constructing*, pp. 111 and 135.

[44] 'Quid gloriaris in malitia, potens misericordia'.

[45] See DeWald, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*, Vol. III: *Psalms and Odes*, Part I: *Vaticanus graecus 1927*, p. 18 (fol. 93r), Plate 33; cf. Dufrenne, *L'Illustration des psaultier*, Vol. I, p. 26, Plate 8.

[46] Emmerson, *Antichrist*, pp. 27–8.

[47] Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, ed. M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 97–8 (Turnhout, 1958), Vol. 97, pp. 472 and 477; Darby, *Bede*, p. 115.

[48] P. Salmon, *Les 'Tituli Psalmorum' des manuscrits Latins* (Paris, 1959), p. 163. This series reflects the commentaries of Cassiodorus as summarised by Bede.

[49] Agobardus Lugdunensis, *De fidei veritate*, c. 17, ed. L. van Acker, *CCCM* 52 (Turnhout, 1981), 251–79, p. 270.

[50] See Pulliam, 'Exaltation', pp. 102–4, on Psalm 51 (fol. 46r) in the Corbie Psalter, who regards the man sitting backwards on a mule encircled by a snake as Doeg, Saul's keeper of mules, rather than Antichrist, as proposed by Emmerson, *Antichrist*, pp. 119–20. I think both are correct and that Doeg is depicted as a type of Antichrist here.

Figure 4.4 Utrecht, University Library, Ms. 32 (Utrecht Psalter), fol. 91v (Psalm 151)

and the fool in Psalm 52 on the next page is telling, although the small space the artist had at his disposal lessens the effect somewhat (the illustration of Psalm 13 offers a better basis for comparison in this respect). Both Saul and the fool look deceptively like ordinary rulers, and I think that this was done on purpose to stimulate contemplation on both scenes. Clear demonic attributes that would identify the fool as Antichrist, as done in the Harley Psalter, in a way spoil the message that any ordinary ruler can be a member of Antichrist, who deceives himself and others in thinking it is allowed to commit evil deeds, although by doing so he denies God. The implicit warning to any Christian ruler is not to go over to the dark side. So, Belkin was right, but she had missed the most important iconographical marker: the sword on the lap. We meet it again in Psalm 151.

Psalms 151 and 1

In the additional Psalm 151 (fol. 91v), *Pusillus eram*, young David is depicted four times in the Utrecht Psalter: behind an organ (v. 2), with sheep near him (vv. 1 and 4), anointed by God's messenger (here an angel rather than Samuel; v. 4), and decapitating Goliath the Philistine with the giant's own sword (vv. 6–7). Neither in the heading nor in the text do we find the figure on the left: a crowned man seated on a faldstool under a portico with a triangulate roof, his sword in his right hand flat on his lap, a sceptre in his left hand, a worried look in his eyes. Three soldiers are on one side of him, each holding two spears, looking somewhat dismayed at each other. Four are to the other side, also holding spears. One looks at the king, another gestures towards David. There can be no doubt that the king is Saul, who develops a mistrust and hate for David, whose greatness is unfolding before his eyes (Figure 4.4).

Although the text does not mention Saul at all, the depiction of Psalm 151 sets the deeds of David, favoured by God, against Saul, who rules by the might of his sword and his soldiers, but whom God has forsaken. This is also the theme of the depiction of Psalm 51. Celia Chazelle has noted that, unlike other psalters from the same period, the Utrecht Psalter places Psalm 151 after the canticles. She argues that this was meant to begin and end the psalter with parallel themes.[51] In the illustration of Psalm 1 (fol. 1v), on the whole page, we see the same message brought in more abstract terms. On the left is the blessed man (*beatus vir*), seated under a circular canopy with seven pillars. He studies God's law (vv. 1–2), with an angel behind him. Below him is a fruitful tree near the water streams, to which he is compared (v. 3). The blessed man 'hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the chair of pestilence' (v. 1). This is depicted to the right with a bareheaded man seated on a throne under a portico with a triangulate roof. In his right hand he holds an unsheathed sword up high, vertically, with the point on the pillowed arm of his throne. Soldiers surround him. Behind him stands a demon with snakes or asps around his head, hands and legs. Below him the wind blows the ungodly and sinners, most of them with spears (vv. 4–6), towards demonic winged figures who shove them with their tridents into a gaping pit or the mouth of hell. In the middle, between the blessed man and his opposite, stand two men conversing and pointing in both directions (Figure 4.5). They seem to be discussing the only two possible options: salvation to their right or damnation to their left.[52]

The motif of the sword

It is noteworthy that both the blessed man in Psalm 1 and David in Psalm 151 are accompanied by angels, while the ungodly man and Saul are surrounded by soldiers. Yet one feels that in Psalm 1 the blessed man and the ungodly man are not specifically David and Saul but rather archetypes. The demonic figure with the snakes appears to do more than define the 'chair of pestilence', and points to the ungodly man being (a type of) Antichrist. He is specifically depicted as a ruler, just as the fool in Psalm 52. Yet here he holds the sword in his right hand vertically with the point downwards – a counterpart to the book that the blessed man studies. It is a more aggressive posture than a sword resting on the lap. Interestingly, in the illustrated Old English Hexateuch (*c.* 1025–50) we see Pharaoh in a similar pose. He is seated and holds the sword vertically in his left hand, so that the point rests on his inner thigh. To the left are two Israelites and Moses and Aaron, asking him to be allowed to return to

[51] Chazelle, 'Violence', pp. 339–40; see also Alibert, 'Pécheur', pp. 133–4.

[52] For a more extensive description, see Van der Horst, 'The Utrecht Psalter', pp. 56–7.

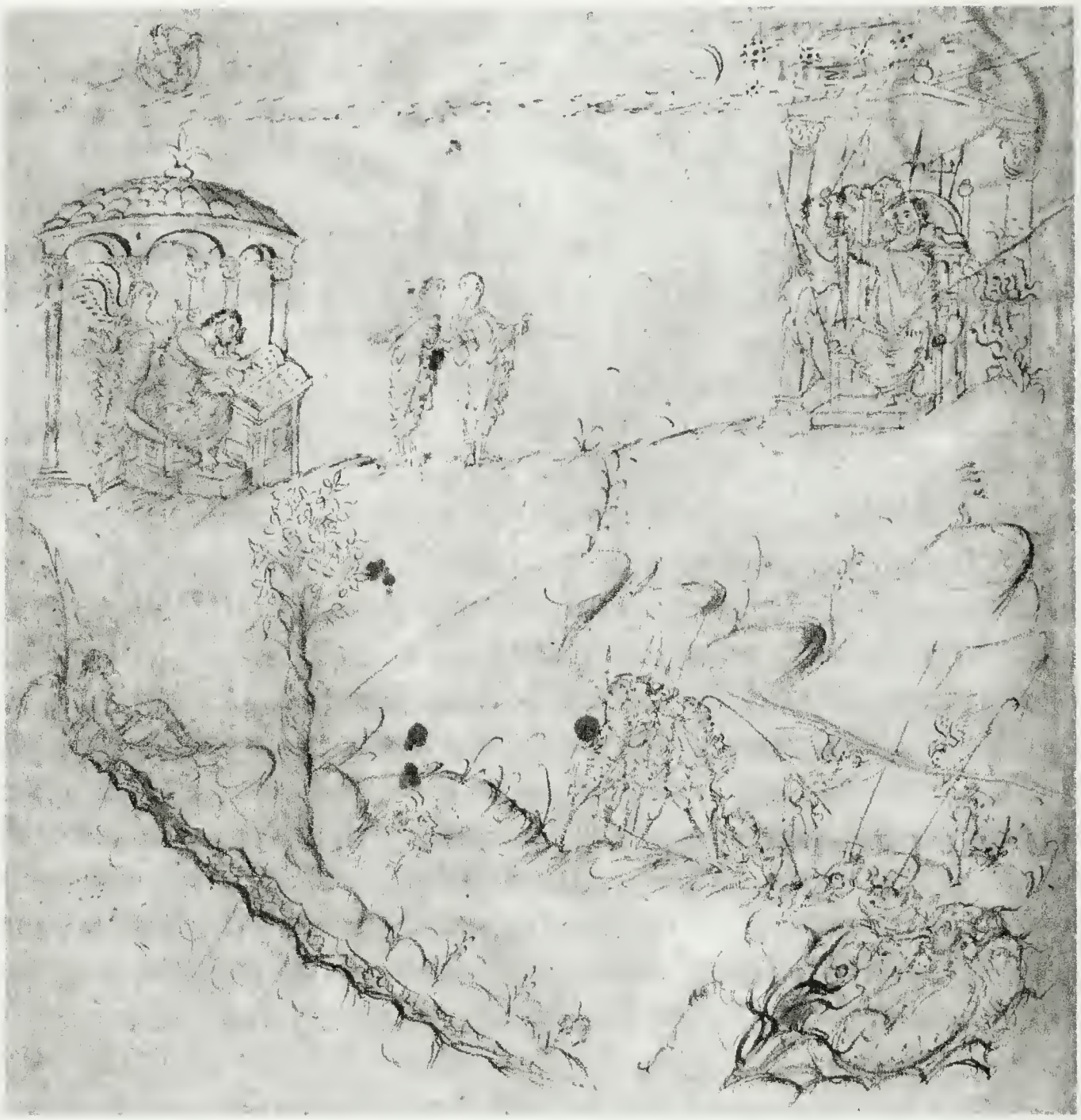

Figure 4.5 Utrecht, University Library, Ms. 32 (Utrecht Psalter), fol. 1v (Psalm 1)

Israel a second time. Moses carries a staff which will change into a serpent in an attempt to prove his miraculous powers (Exod. 7). Behind Pharaoh is a man with a sword in a sheath, hanging from his belt.[53] The same episode is already depicted in the late-sixth-century Asburnham Pentateuch from Italy, where Pharaoh (Exod. 7) has a sword on his hip, which he holds with his left hand.[54]

[53] London, BL, Cotton Claudius B. IV, fol. 79v. On this manuscript see B. C. Withers, *The Illustrated Old English Hexateuch, Cotton Claudius B.IV. The Frontier of Seeing and Reading in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 2007). It was produced in Canterbury, but without influence from either the Utrecht Psalter or the Harley Psalter.

[54] Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 2334, fol. 58r (in the illustration of Exodus 5 Pharaoh does not hold a sword; there are no soldiers either); see D. Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 12 and 158 for the date.

The origin of the motif of the sword on the lap is unclear. The Utrecht Psalter provides the earliest extant examples, and it appears a few times in later manuscripts, both western and Byzantine. However, it is likely that it was originally a late Roman or early Byzantine motif, one of many that influenced the Utrecht Psalter and indeed other manuscripts from the same period.[55] This may also explain why at first it does not appear outside the Utrecht Psalter and its later copies, as it was 'imported' and not part of well-known medieval iconographical conventions in the West.[56] Moreover, rulers holding a sword while seated, even at the hip, are a rarity in early medieval western manuscript illumination and other art.[57] Usually they are seated without a sword, even evil kings such as Herod, while ordering the massacre of the innocent children (Matt. 2.16–18), or Solomon at his judgement of the two women who both claim to be the mother of the same baby (1 Kings 3.16–28).[58] The ruler with a sword on his lap is, therefore, a rather specific motif that was never widely used. Perhaps we have to relate it to the story that Saul killed himself by falling on his sword

[55] See K. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 8–26; K. Corrigan, 'Early medieval psalter illustration in Byzantium and the West', in Van der Horst, Noel and Wüstefeld, *The Utrecht Psalter*, 85–103.

[56] A later example, Augsburg, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 36, fol. 2r (*c.* 1100–50), depicts Nebuchadnezzar ordering the burning of Jerusalem; see E. Sears, 'Portraits in counterpoint: Jerome and Jeremiah in an Augsburg manuscript', in E. Sears and T. Thomas (eds), *Reading Medieval Images. The Art Historian and the Object* (Ann Arbor, 2002), 61–74. Yet Dijon, Bibliothèque Communale, Ms. 14, fol. 122v (Stephen Harding Bible of Cîteaux, Vol. II, *c.* 1100) depicts Ahasuerus this way while he orders the hanging of the evil Haman; see Y. Załuska, *L'enluminure et le scriptorium de Cîteaux au XIIe siècle* (Cîteaux, 1989), Plate 34. The development of this motif deserves further study.

[57] For the exceptions, Charlemagne and Pippin (Modena, Archivio Capitolare, Ord. I, 2, fol. 110v: a copy of *Liber legum* made in 991) and Lothar (London, BL, Ms. Add. 37768, fol. 4r: the Lothar Psalter, 842 × 855) sitting with a sword hanging at the waist, see I. Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World (c. 751–877)* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 234–5, 239–40. When seated, a Carolingian emperor is usually holding other attributes of rulership or nothing at all; sometimes a man to the king's right holds his sword – see, for example, F. Mütherich and J. Gaedhe, *Carolingian Painting* (London, 1977), pp. 84, 106 and 118; see also D. Alibert, 'La majesté sacrée du roi: images du souverain carolingien', *Histoire de l'art* 5/6 (1988), 23–36.

[58] Herod depicted in Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23631 (Purple Gospels), fol. 24, perhaps of Augsburg, *c.* 800–25; see K. Bierbrauer, *Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, 2 vols (Munich, 1990), Vol. I (text), pp. 54–5, cat. no. 97; Vol. II (plates), p. 53, no. 187. Solomon depicted in the Stuttgart Psalter, fol. 83v (Psalm 71).

(1 Sam. 31.4), so that the sword across his lap signifies his impending doom.[59] Yet in the cases where Saul and, for example, Pharaoh and the fool are depicted as such, the association is with persecutions, tyranny, jealousy and other vices that pertain to the denial of God and being a type of Antichrist as explained by Augustine and Gregory the Great.[60]

Conclusion

If the symbolism of the man with his sword on his lap is interpreted correctly, the choice the viewer of the illumination of Psalm 1 in the Utrecht Psalter is given is not simply one of being either a good or a bad king, but of being a member of Christ (David) or a member of Antichrist (Saul). This choice is more extreme than has been recognised so far, but is supported by the general tenor of the illustrations in the Utrecht Psalter, with its emphasis on either submitting to God's law or suffering violence, disorder and damnation. There appears to be no middle ground. This message is brought in straightforward terms, clearly visualised, offering limited room for typological digressions. But when these occur, their impact is heightened. The motif of the ruler with the sword is one of these typological teasers. His ordinary looks are deceiving, yet the unusual position of the sword indicates that there is more to this man than would appear at first sight.

This interpretation may support the view that the Utrecht Psalter was a 'mirror of princes' in the 'Penitential State', as Mayke de Jong has typified the Carolingian empire under Louis the Pious.[61] Perhaps it even functioned as 'a meaningful gift in troubled times', similar to the biblical commentaries or other tracts that Carolingian scholars (often bishops or abbots) wrote for their emperor, king or queen.[62] Ebo of Reims certainly belonged to the intricate

[59] This is depicted in the Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura (made for Charles the Bald, *c.* 870), fol. 83v.

[60] For the fool in Psalm 52 being identified as Saul, see M. McNamara (ed.), *Glossa in Psalmos. The Hiberno-Latin Gloss on the Psalms in Codex Palatinus Latinus 68 (Psalms 39:11–151:7)* (Vatican City, 1986), p. 114; see pp. 41–5 for the relationship between these glosses with an insular background and those in the so-called 'Psalter of Charlemagne' (probably northern Francia, *c.* 795–800), Paris, BnF, lat. 13159. The gloss depends on the corrupt reading of the heading of Psalm 52 as '… pro Abimelech …' ('for Abimelech', the high-priest Achimelech of Psalm 51) instead of '… pro Amalech …'; cf. n. 40 above.

[61] M. de Jong, *The Penitential State. Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge, 2009).

[62] M. de Jong, 'The empire as *ecclesia*: Hrabanus Maurus and biblical *historia* for rulers', in Y. Hen and M. Innes (eds), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), 191–226, p. 208 (quote).

network of bishops and abbots who discussed theological and political matters – which tended to overlap each other – and felt they had the right and duty to admonish and correct the emperor, even to the extent that they rebelled against him in 833. The relationship between the illustrations in the Utrecht Psalter and Carolingian biblical commentaries and scholarship is still in need of research.[63] Yet both may have served a similar audience: one sufficiently versed in Christian scholarship and the theological questions of their day, but equally receptive to advice and even admonitions about good Christian rulership. Carolingian royal circles qualified as such, and they would certainly have contemplated the meaning of the motif of the ruler with the sword just as we do nowadays.

[63] Cf. Van der Horst, 'The Utrecht Psalter', pp. 71–2. See, for example, Dufrenne, *Les illustrations*, pp. 143–4, and Chazelle, 'Archbishops', pp. 1072–3, with regard to Psalm 115 (fol. 67r); and B. Raw, *Trinity and Incarnation in Anglo-Saxon Art and Thought* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 155, with regard to *Gloria in excelsis Deo* (fol. 89v) and the Apostles' Creed (fol. 90r). Interestingly, in all three cases there is a relationship with the works of Paschasius Radbertus, who was on Ebo's side in the revolt against Louis the Pious in 833. This is a matter that deserves further attention.

Part II

Royal power in action: *correctio*

5

Reform and the Merovingian Church

Ian Wood

The Carolingian Church has long been recognised as marking a highpoint in the religious history of the early Middle Ages, though our understanding of that Church has been radically and sympathetically transformed in recent years by a remarkable generation of (predominantly female) scholars, and not least by Mayke de Jong.[1] By contrast, the Merovingian Church has been rather less sympathetically treated. The standard picture is that from the end of the sixth century it was an institution that was in need of reform. Two figures in particular drive home the notion that reform was necessary: the first is the Irishman Columbanus, and the second the Anglo-Saxon Boniface – both of them outsiders, and the very fact of their not being Franks serves to highlight the supposed weakness of the Frankish Church before the Carolingian Age. At the same time the evidence relating to the Frankish churchmen themselves may seem to support the impression given by Columbanus, Boniface and those associated with them: it is easy to find in Gregory of Tours's writings examples of excessively political churchmen, and the impression is all the stronger when one compares the *Ten Books of Histories* with Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. The evidence of Gregory the Great's letters, particularly with regard to the question of simony, is also damning – although the pope did involve the Frankish Church in the Anglo-Saxon mission.[2] And the evidence of the Church councils reveals that Merovingian ecclesiastics themselves regularly found it necessary to debate and legislate on matters of episcopal appointment, both because of simony, and because of the ever-present threat of royal interference.[3] So too, although it is well known that the seventh-century Merovingian Church boasted numerous saints, and particularly martyrs, it is not difficult to read the *Vitae* of the period as texts steeped in politics, rather than in the virtues of the

[1] See, for example, M. de Jong, 'The State of the Church: *ecclesia* and early medieval state formation', in W. Pohl and V. Wieser (eds), *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat. Europäische Perspektive*, FGM 16 (Vienna, 2009), 241–54.

[2] R. Markus, *Gregory the Great and His World* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 168–77.

[3] O. Pontal, *Die Synoden im Merowingerreich* (Paderborn, 1986), pp. 225–34.

Christian gospel.[4] Merovingian hagiographers can, thus, appear to confirm the image of institutional failing to be found in Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Columbani* and in the letters of Gregory the Great and Boniface.

Yet, there are alternative ways of reading the evidence, and in what follows I wish to reinforce the challenges that have already been made to the model of a Church in almost constant need of reform, which derives above all from Gregory the Great, Jonas of Bobbio and Boniface. In particular, I wish to stress how unreliable Jonas is as a guide to understanding the ecclesiastical history of the Merovingian period. While Gregory of Tours presents us with a political Church in the *Histories*, and he himself is certainly a politician within that Church, his hagiography offers a very different picture, and one that has been increasingly recognised by Peter Brown, Raymond van Dam and Giselle de Nie, as revealing a world of remarkably intense devotion – as well, indeed, as a concern for episcopal oversight of the cult of saints.[5] Serious appreciation of such piety does not sit easily with a picture of spiritual decadence. So too, while Merovingian hagiography is rather more concerned with politics than are many of the saints' Lives from outside Francia, political hagiography is certainly not confined to the limits of the Frankish Kingdom: Stephen of Ripon's *Life of Wilfrid* fits into the mould of the *Passio Praeiecti* and the Lives of Leodegar. Nor are all Merovingian texts entirely political, even if none of them avoids politics altogether: religious standards matter a great deal in the Lives of Rusticula, Sadalberga, and Bonitus – not to mention the *Visio Baronti*.

In addition there is the matter that, like most reformers, the heirs of Columbanus and the circle of Boniface rather overemphasised what was wrong with the previous regime: the rhetoric of reform almost automatically involves the denigration of what has gone before. The extent to which the Anglo-Saxon missionary and his followers really marked a new departure has been the subject of discussion ever since Eugen Ewig published his groundbreaking 'Milo et eiusmodi similes'.[6] Certainly there is no denying that Milo, Gewilib, and indeed Hildegar of Cologne, were deeply involved in the affairs of the secular world, and that the first two, at least, were not particularly savoury characters.[7] Not much better were a number of political bishops, like Savaric of Auxerre,

[4] P. Fouracre, 'Merovingian history and Merovingian hagiography', *Past and Present* 127 (1990), 3–38; P. Fouracre and R. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France. History and Hagiography, 640–720* (Manchester, 1996).

[5] P. Brown, *Relics and Social Status in the Age of Gregory of Tours*, The Stenton Lecture 10 (Reading, 1976); R. van Dam, *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton, 1993); G. de Nie, *Views from a Many-Windowed Tower. Studies of Imagination in the Works of Gregory of Tours* (Amsterdam, 1987).

[6] E. Ewig, 'Milo et eiusmodi similes', in E. Ewig, *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien*, Vol. II (Munich, 1979), 189–219.

[7] J. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, 1983), p. 137.

in the territories further to the west: indeed, Charles Martel is seen as having to combat a world of excessive episcopal political independence.[8] Yet at the same time the Bavarian and Rhaetian Churches were not as moribund as the *Vita Bonifatii* implies: Vergil of Salzburg (*c.* 700–84), who gets a dreadful press from Boniface, is now seen as a bishop of considerable religious significance.[9] There are also hints that Thuringia was less 'pagan' than the image of Theoto and Heden provided by Willibald in his *Vita Bonifatii* suggests.[10] In particular, Heden can be shown to have had close links with Willibrord.[11] Of course the latter also points to outside influence, and his foundation of Echternach is best read as an amalgam of Irish, Anglo-Saxon and Frankish elements – though in this trio of influences we should not forget the Frankish.[12] In addition to the figures who appear to have been unjustly damned by Willibald, one needs also to remember that Corbinian (670–730), Emmeram (d. 752) and Pirmin (*c.* 700–53) were contemporaries of Boniface, and while it is not easy to uncover the historical reality behind the images of the first two, as presented by Arbeo, Arnold Angenendt has shed startling light on the career and impact of the last of the three.[13] Perhaps more impressive still is the figure of Chrodegang (d. 766), whose impact on the Rhineland is becoming increasingly apparent, not least through the work of Marty Claussen.[14]

That the early eighth century was actually a period of some religious vitality that was not entirely linked to the impact of Boniface (or of Willibrord) is also apparent from the manuscript evidence, which suggests that the pre-Carolingian Church was far more vibrant than is usually assumed, and not just because of the products of certain well-known centres. Indeed, well over 120 manuscripts can plausibly be described as belonging to the

[8] I. Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms 451–750* (Harlow, 1994), pp. 275–7.

[9] H. Wolfram, 'Virgil of St Peter's at Salzburg', in P. Ni Chatháin and M. Richter (eds), *Irland und die Christenheit. Bibelstudien und Mission; 3. internat. Kolloquium 'Irland und Europa im frühen Mittelalter', 27. bis 31.8.1984, Dublin. Ireland and Christendom* (Stuttgart, 1987), 415–20.

[10] I. Wood, 'Religion in pre-Carolingian Thuringia and Bavaria', in J. Fries-Knoblach and H. Steuer with J. Hines (eds), *The Baiuvarii and Thuringi. An Ethnographic Perspective* (Woodbridge, 2014), 317–29; V. Schimpff, 'Pagan? Arianisch? Katholisch? Zu welcher Religion bekannte sich das altthüringische Königshaus', *Concilium medii aevi* 16 (2013), 97–184.

[11] Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, pp. 309–10.

[12] N. Netzer, *Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century. The Trier Gospels and the Making of a Scriptorium at Echternach* (Cambridge, 1994).

[13] A. Angenendt, *Monachi peregrini. Studien zu Pirmin und den monastischen Vorstellung des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1972).

[14] M. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church. Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula Canonicorum in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge, 2004).

pre-Carolingian eighth century, and a further twenty-eight have been dated to the late seventh or early eighth. The majority of them are copies of either patristic or liturgical texts. There may be little here to suggest originality of thought, but there is more than enough to indicate that a good number of religious centres were concerned with the transmission of orthodox doctrine. It is a picture that is more than confirmed by the evidence of citations to be found in early-eighth-century texts, and above all in the remarkable *Liber scintillarum* of Defensor of Ligugé, from around the year 700, in which over thirty authors are cited.[15] We can see here something of what one might call the 'preconditions' of the Carolingian Renaissance (to steal a word from David Ganz).[16] At the same time, the survival of liturgical texts points to a remarkable interest in religious ritual. The role of the Franks in the development of the liturgy has been illuminated in recent years, particularly by Yitzhak Hen.[17]

If we turn to the seventh century the manuscript evidence is certainly less clear: there are thirty-nine manuscripts that have been dated as firmly seventh-century, and a further twenty where it is impossible to determine which side of 600 they were produced.[18] By comparison with what comes before (a mere dozen are ascribed with reasonable certainty to sixth-century Gaul), this is, nevertheless, a noteworthy haul. Again, the picture of patristic reading can be paralleled in the citations of religious texts to be found in the hagiographical works composed at the time. Turning to individuals, and leaving aside the Irish and their immediate disciples, it is true that we lack the equivalents of Pirmin and Chrodegang. This is, indeed, the golden age of political hagiography, though if we turn from the hagiography to some of the surviving letters of the age (written by Leodegar himself or Desiderius of Cahors) we occasionally get a glimpse of a rather more reflective and spiritual world.[19] We even get such a glimpse in one letter of Chrodobert of Paris, although his epistolary exchange with Importunus of Paris reveals a far less savoury character.[20]

[15] See the index in H.-M. Rochais (ed.), *Defensor de Ligugé, Livre d'étincelles*, 2 vols, SC 86 (Paris, 1962), Vol. II, pp. 321–44; I. Wood, 'The problem of late Merovingian culture', in R. Schwitter and G. Schwedler (eds), *Exzerpieren – Kompilieren – Tradieren. Transformationen des Wissens zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter* (forthcoming).

[16] D. Ganz, 'The preconditions for Caroline minuscule', *Viator* 18 (1987), 23–43.

[17] Y. Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul. To the Death of Charles the Bald* (London, 2001).

[18] Wood, 'The problem of late Merovingian culture'.

[19] Desiderius, *Epistolae*, ed. W. Arndt, *MGH Epp.* 3, 193–202; Leodegar of Autun, *Epistola*, ed. W. Gundlach, *MGH Epp.* 3, 464–7.

[20] Chrodebert, *Epistola*, ed. W. Gundlach, *MGH Epp.* 3, Epistolae aevi Merowingici collectae 16, 461–4; G. J. J. Walstra, *Les cinq épitres rimées dans l'appendice des Formules de Sens* (Leiden, 1962).

The tendency of scholarship has been to ascribe what virtues there are to be found in the seventh-century Merovingian Church to the impact of Columbanus, and to stress above all the expansion of monasticism. The explosion in the number of monasteries is unquestionably the most striking feature of Frankish Christianity in the seventh century – and it was mapped, quite literally, with extraordinary thoroughness, by Friedrich Prinz.[21] What the maps, and indeed the painstaking listing of Merovingian monasteries by both Prinz and Hartmut Atsma, show is the astonishing proliferation of monasteries in the Frankish lands from the sixth century onwards. According to the latter, there were around 220 monasteries in Gaul at the end of the sixth century, and around 550 by the early eighth century: this is a great success story, and a monument to the triumph of Christianity, as indeed is the simultaneous endowment of bishoprics.[22] At the same time, however, Prinz's maps, with their emphasis on the influence of particular individuals and centres (Martin, Lérins, Agaune and Luxeuil), reduce an extremely complex and varied set of connections to a limited number of lines of influence. As a result, it has been possible to present this extraordinary period of expansion as being almost entirely Irish-inspired, and thus as confirming the significance of the Columbanian reform. Prinz's basic classifications of *Altgallische*, *Irofränkische* and *Angelsächsische Karolingische* monasticism tend to imply that almost all seventh-century monasteries were Irish-influenced. Indeed, every indication of an Irish connection, however slight, is given equal weight. The term 'Irofrankish', when applied to monasticism, has come to be a catch-all that can mean little more than 'seventh-century Merovingian'. Yet it is by no means clear how much monastic practice in the period should be called Irish, even allowing for the fact that Columbanus himself was a catalyst who stimulated a new wave of monastic foundation.

At the heart of Irofrankish monasticism, as defined by Prinz, lie the figure of Columbanus and the monastery of Luxeuil. That Columbanus himself was a figure of extraordinary charisma we can deduce from his own writings and from the impact of his monastic foundations, although, if we leave aside charter references to the *Regula Columbani*, his name appears in relatively few seventh- and eighth-century sources – essentially the *Life* by Jonas and the *Chronicle* of Fredegar.[23] However, citations of Jonas in other hagiographical

[21] F. Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich* (Kempten, 1965), pp. 666–83.

[22] H. Atsma, 'Les monastères urbains du Nord de la Gaule', *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 62 (1976), 163–87, p. 168; I. Wood, 'Entrusting Western Europe to the Church, 400–750', *TRHS* 23 (2013), 37–73, pp. 41–5.

[23] Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, pp. 63–7. See M. Lapidge (ed.), *Columbanus. Studies on the Latin Writings* (Woodbridge, 1997); Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani*, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRG* 37, 1–294; Fredegar, *Chronica* IV, c. 36, ed. J. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar, with Its Continuations* (Edinburgh, 1960), pp. 23–9.

texts can also be taken as an indication of the influence of the image of the Irishman, if not of the man himself, and this certainly broadens the picture.[24]

It is important to register the extent to which we have to understand Columbanus and his impact in Francia through the eyes and impact of Jonas: it is not quite the same for Italy, and especially Bobbio, where Columbanus ended his days. It was there that he was buried, and that the intellectual traditions with which he was associated were best preserved. Moreover, Bobbio's Irish connections would seem to have been a good deal stronger than those of Columbanus's Frankish houses.[25] The continuation of Irish tradition at Bobbio can be seen above all in its manuscripts, whereas those from Luxeuil, for which the first certain evidence is 669, look rather to late antique tradition.[26] Curiously, although Jonas himself initially joined the Italian community, he has much less to say about Bobbio than he does about Luxeuil. Indeed, Bobbio gains little more attention than does Faremoutiers, the foundation of one of Columbanus's disciples.

There are demonstrable differences between Jonas's Columbanus and what we can learn of the saint through his own writings. In the writings we meet an extraordinarily learned and eloquent man, fiercely committed to the ascetic life, and to the practice of penance: concerned with the independence of his community, and determined to preserve the traditions that he had learned in Ireland (especially relating to Easter), but aware that being an outsider could put him at a disadvantage with the powers that be. He is certainly critical of the bishops of his day, but he scarcely emerges as a man promulgating a reform or revival programme, other than by example: he is first and foremost a *peregrinus pro Christo*.[27]

In all this, we get little idea of the political context in which he was operating, and which Jonas presented primarily in terms of conflict between the saint and the nearest Merovingian court, that of Theuderic and his grandmother Brunhild.[28] One might explain away Columbanus's silence on this by

[24] I. Wood, 'The *Vita Columbani* and Merovingian hagiography', *Peritia* 1 (1982), 63–80, pp. 68–9; A. O'Hara, 'The *Vita Columbani* in Merovingian Gaul', *EME* 17 (2009), 126–53.

[25] M. Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages. The Abiding Legacy of Columbanus* (Dublin, 2008).

[26] B. Tewes, *Die Handschriften der Schule von Luxeuil. Kunst und Ikonographie eines frühmittelalterlichen Skriptoriums* (Wiesbaden, 2010), pp. 41–2.

[27] Columbanus, *Sancti Columbani opera*, ed. G. Walker (Dublin, 1957); Lapidge, *Columbanus*; Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, pp. 63–7; P. Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom. Triumph and Diversity, AD 200–1000*, Tenth Anniversary rev. edn (Oxford, 2013), pp. 248–55; M. Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism. From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 158–60, 169–72.

[28] Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, cc. 18–20, pp. 186–98.

saying that he was in no position to air his grievances openly in his correspondence, even when referring to his exile – though he was critical of simoniac bishops, and consulted Gregory the Great as to whether he should be in communion with them.[29] Yet one might equally suggest that the picture of the problems faced by Columbanus is one constructed or perpetuated by Jonas in the aftermath of the deaths of Theuderic and Brunhild, and the rise of the rival Merovingian line, as represented by Chlothar II.[30]

In certain respects we can be sure that Jonas misrepresents Columbanus's period in Francia. He makes little of the extent to which Luxeuil, and the Irishman's earlier foundations, were royal.[31] His emphasis on the absence of true religion at the time of Columbanus's arrival can be challenged not just by recourse to the works of Gregory of Tours, Venantius Fortunatus and others, but also by the hagiographer's own words. Columbanus's initial community was saved by the intervention of a Breton/British abbot, Carantoc.[32] The standard history of Merovingian monasticism has no space for the Bretons/British, but in the generations before Columbanus they were clearly influential. Quite apart from Carantoc, there is the figure of Gildas, who is more likely than the Irishman to have introduced the idea of the penitential to the Continent: he was the author of such a handbook, perhaps the earliest to have survived, and he died on the borders of Brittany and Francia.[33] In addition, there is the now-shadowy figure of Samson, usually thought of in association with Dol on the fringes of Brittany, but in the mid-to-late sixth century no doubt regarded primarily as the founder of the monastery of Pentale at the mouth of the Seine – which would be eclipsed in the course of the seventh century by the houses of Jumièges and Saint-Wandrille.[34]

Jonas does admit the existence of Carantoc, so we cannot claim that he entirely ignores the Bretons/British. He is much more clearly misleading in his presentation of Luxeuil, which according to his account was a deserted site

[29] Columbanus, *Ep.* 4, ed. Walker, in *Sancti Columbani Opera*, pp. 26–37; Columbanus, *Epp.* 1, 6, ed. Walker, in *Sancti Columbani Opera*, pp. 8–9.

[30] I. Wood, 'Jonas, the Merovingians, and Pope Honorius: diplomata and the *Vita Columbani*', in A. Murray (ed.), *After Rome's Fall. Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History* (Toronto, 1998), 99–120, pp. 110–11; T. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 367–8.

[31] Wood, 'The *Vita Columbani* and Merovingian hagiography', pp. 76–8; Wood, 'Jonas, the Merovingians, and Pope Honorius', pp. 105–9; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, pp. 388–9.

[32] Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, c. 7, p. 165.

[33] R. Sharpe, 'Gildas as a Father of the Church', in M. Lapidge and D. N. Dumville (eds), *Gildas. New Approaches* (Woodbridge, 1984), 193–205.

[34] *Vita Samsonis* I, cc. 38, 59, 60, ed. and trans. P. Flobert, *La vie ancienne de saint Samson de Dol* (Paris, 1997), pp. 202–3, 232–3.

waiting to be re-colonised by Columbanus.[35] The recent archaeological work of Sébastien Bully has instead revealed an ecclesiastical centre that was apparently thriving before and after the arrival of the Irish saint, and which was the focus of a very substantial cemetery.[36] Clearly when Columbanus arrived, and also when Jonas wrote the *Vita Columbani* half a century later, this was not an isolated retreat. Squaring the archaeology with what both Columbanus and Jonas say is by no means easy, although the fact of a thriving society at Luxeuil that was not, apparently, cut off from the wider world is not incompatible with the idea of a particular *saepta* reserved for the monastic community. That 'secret enclosure', however, must have been physically adjacent to a more secular world, and may actually have been a limited area: Jonas only specifies the *refecturium*, which might suggest that the disputed space at Luxeuil was essentially those buildings in which the monks were expected to follow the ascetic life without distraction.[37] How the community, which certainly constituted part of the intended audience of the *Vita Columbani*, reacted to what appears at first glance as Jonas's misrepresentation of the site is an open question, although its members presumably understood the depiction as a statement of the ideal for which they should be striving. Jonas's cunning description indicates nothing more than a specific building or buildings, although he may seem to conjure up something like the vast forest area of the 648 diploma for the monastery of Stablo-Malmedy.[38] It was the second and third generation of Columbanus's disciples who most vigorously pushed the notion of monastic immunity, although neither they nor Columbanus himself initiated the concept, which had a longer history on the Continent even than in Ireland.[39]

The *Vita* by Jonas should not be seen as taking us back accurately to the days of Columbanus: it can best be read as a manifesto of a Gallo-Frankish reform group, active both in Francia and in Italy.[40] In exiling Columbanus and his insular followers (including Britons) Theuderic caused Luxeuil to be dominated by Gallo-Romans and Franks after the Irishman's exile.[41] Thus, the leaders of the

[35] Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, c. 10, pp. 169–70.

[36] S. Bully, A. Bully, M. Čaušević-Bully and L. Flocchi, 'Les origines du monastère de Luxeuil (Haute-Saône) d'après les récentes recherches archéologiques', in M. Gaillard (ed.), *L'empreinte chrétienne en Gaule du Ive au IXe siècle* (Turnhout, 2014), 311–55.

[37] Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, c. 19, p. 190.

[38] C. Wickham, 'European forests in the early Middle Ages', in C. Wickham, *Land and Power. Studies in Italian and European Social History 400–1200* (London, 1994), 155–99, pp. 177–8.

[39] B. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space. Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, NY, 1999), esp. pp. 64–6.

[40] Wood, 'The *Vita Columbani* and Merovingian hagiography'.

[41] Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, c. 20, p. 196. See also Columbanus, *Ep.* 4, pp. 26–37.

movement described by Prinz as *irofränkische* were without exception continentals, and for the most part they were Franks or Gallo-Romans: among them Amandus, Eligius and Audoin. The one exception was Jonas himself, who in geographical terms was Italian – although Susa, where he was born, was under Merovingian control at the time.[42] Because he was never elevated to the episcopate, and because detail is lacking on his abbatial position, he tends to be regarded as a mere hagiographer: in all probability he should be seen rather as a religious writer with his own reform agenda, which he presents primarily in the *Vita Columbani*, but which is also apparent in the account of the abbot of Reôme, *Vita Iohannis*.[43] These are blueprints for the monastic life that Jonas himself wished to promote, rather than accurate historical representations of their subjects.

It is easy to understand some of the divergences between Columbanus, as he appears in his own writings, and the image of him presented by Jonas. Following the Irish Easter mattered to the Irishman, but this was something that his disciples had to abandon early on.[44] They also shifted from his own monastic regulations to a blend of Columbanian, Benedictine and Caesarian monasticism. The exact chronology of this is unclear. Our main evidence for the use of mixed rules comes from a cluster of texts from the 640s or thereabouts, and from the monastic privileges beginning in the late 630s.[45] These do not reflect the state of monasticism in Columbanus's own lifetime, though right at the end of his life he may have become acquainted with the *Rule of Benedict*: rather they show us how monasticism had developed in the generation after his death.

Whether or not Columbanus in his last years became aware of the *Rule of Benedict* is unclear.[46] Nor is it certain that it was in Columbanian circles

[42] O'Hara, 'The *Vita Columbani* in Merovingian Gaul', p. 135 n. 50.

[43] Wood, 'The *Vita Columbani* and Merovingian hagiography'; O'Hara, 'The *Vita Columbani* in Merovingian Gaul'. See also A. Diem, 'Monks, kings, and the transformation of sanctity: Jonas of Bobbio and the end of the holy man', *Speculum* 82 (2007), 521–59; A. Diem, 'The rule of an Iro-Egyptian monk in Gaul. Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Iohannis* and the construction of a monastic identity', *Revue Mabillon* 80 (2008), 5–50.

[44] C. Corning, *The Celtic and Roman Traditions. Conflict and Consensus in the Early Medieval Church* (New York, 2006), pp. 51–3.

[45] A. Diem, *Das monastische Experiment. Die Rolle der Keuschheit bei der Entstehung des westlichen Klosterwesens* (Münster, 2005), pp. 239–72. See also A. Diem, 'Was bedeutet *regula Columbani*?', in M. Diesenberger and W. Pohl (eds), *Integration und Herrschaft. Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter* (Vienna, 2002), 63–89; E. Ewig, 'Beobachtungen zu den Klosterprivilegien des 7. und frühen 8. Jahrhunderts', in Ewig, *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien*, Vol. II, 411–26; Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, pp. 74–96.

[46] Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, pp. 383–8. Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism*, p. 171.

that the *Rule* was first noted: a letter of Venerandus of Altaripa to Bishop Constantius of Albi has been seen as the first indication of awareness of the *Regula Benedicti* in Francia: it has also been assumed that because Constantius was a correspondent of Desiderius of Cahors, and because Desiderius can be associated with the circle promoting 'Columbanian' monasticism, the letter is an indication of the importance of the 'Columbanian' circle in the initial circulation of the *Rule*.[47] Constantius attended the Council of Clichy in 626/7, and it would therefore follow that the *Rule* was available in Francia by the third decade of the seventh century.[48] The letter, however, has no known context, and it only survives in a fifteenth-century manuscript from St Gallen.[49] Moreover, even if we accept its authenticity and date, the link between Constantius and Desiderius is scarcely enough to prove that Venerandus and Altaripa were in the Columbanian network. It was not only connections with Luxeuil that the bishops and abbots of Chlothar II and Dagobert had in common. More obvious is their association with the court.[50] Moreover, a good number of them (including Praeiectus, Leodegar and Chrodobert of Paris) can be shown to have had an interest in canon law, the significance of which has become increasingly apparent not only through Hubert Mordek's work on the canon collection known as the *Vetus Gallica*, but also through the consideration of other, smaller, Merovingian canon collections, which have been studied by Ralph Mathisen.[51]

Reduction of the lines of religious affiliation among the leading seventh-century ecclesiastics to a simple Columbanian affiliation, even in Prinz's mapping of the lines of association, is to flatten out the complexities of the Merovingian Church. Certainly it is true that the *Rule of Benedict* came to be regarded as a text of importance in Francia in the mid-seventh century, as we can see in the Merovingian charters and privileges. So too, the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, with the *Vita* of Benedict that it contains, has a remarkable early transmission in the Frankish world, to judge by the manuscript evidence, and by citations of the text in Merovingian hagiography.[52] Equally certainly,

[47] Venerandus, *Letter to Constantius*, ed. L. Traube, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti* (Munich, 1908), 157–63; see the discussion in Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, pp. 384–5.

[48] J. Gaudemet and B. Basdevant, *Les canons des conciles mérovingiens (VIe–VIIe siècles)*, Vol. II, SC 354 (Paris, 1989), pp. 544–5.

[49] St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 917.

[50] Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, pp. 149–52.

[51] H. Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich. Die Collectio Vetus Gallica: die älteste systematische Kanonensammlung des fränkischen Gallien* (Berlin, 1975); R. Mathisen, 'Between Arles, Rome, and Toledo: Gallic collections of canon law in Late Antiquity', *Cuadernos 'Ilu* 2 (1999), 33–46.

[52] Wood, 'The problem of Late Merovingian culture'.

most (but not all) of those known to have been involved in promoting the Italian *Rule* can be linked to the circle associated with what is regarded as a Columbanian reform movement – but then this is a circle associated with court, where all the leading ascetics knew each other.

The development of the cult of Benedict in Francia is rather more intriguing than references to and citations of the *Rule* in charters and Merovingian *regulae* suggest. This, however, raises a problem that takes us far beyond the chronological limits of the Merovingian period. From the mid-eighth century we have incontrovertible evidence from a letter of Pope Zacharias that the relics of Benedict and Scholastica were stolen from Montecassino and taken to Fleury.[53] A full version of the event was set down by Adrevald of Fleury in the later ninth century, who claimed that the thief was a monk called Aigulf.[54] Further information on the theft, or rather on papal reactions to it, is to be found in a series of letters preserved in the *Epitome chronicorum Casinensium*, which used to be ascribed to Anastasius Bibliothecarius, but is now known to have been a work of the twelfth-century forger Peter the Deacon of Montecassino.[55] The fact that most of our evidence comes from the *Epitome* has rather obscured the fact that there is genuine evidence in the form of Zacharias's letter, even if it does not name the thief. Moreover, Adrevald's story is not incompatible with the other surviving traditions relating to Aigulf, who is presented (in admittedly questionable hagiographic sources) as a would-be reformer, who was supposedly murdered during his attempts to reform the community of Lérins.[56] Whether or not one believes that story, it is certain that Benedict Biscop, who would subsequently found Wearmouth, was present at Lérins at about the time of Aigulf's abbacy: Biscop was, moreover, a champion of the *Rule of Benedict*.[57] It seems, therefore, reasonable to think that there is some truth to Adrevald's later account. Fleury, where Aigulf took the relics of Benedict, leads us once again

[53] J. Hourlier, 'La lettre de Zacharie', with an appendix by J. Laporte, *Studia monastica* 21 (1979), 241–52; I. Wood, 'Between Rome and Jarrow: papal relations with Francia and England, from 597 to 716', in *Chiese locale e chiese regionali nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane 61 (Spoleto, 2014), 297–320, pp. 304–6.

[54] Adrevald, *Historia translationis sancti Benedicti*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 124 (Paris, 1852), cols 901–9.

[55] *Epitome chronicorum Casinensium*, ed. L. Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores* 2:1 (Milan, 1723), 345–70; P. Meyvaert, 'Peter the Deacon and the tomb of Saint Benedict: a re-examination of the Cassinese tradition', *Revue Bénédictine* 65 (1955), 3–70, pp. 25–36.

[56] *Vita Aigulphi*, *AASS*, September, Vol. I (Paris, 1868), pp. 743–7.

[57] Bede, *Historia abbatum*, c. 2, ed. C. Grocock and I. Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow. Bede's 'Homily' i. 13 on Benedict Biscop, Bede's 'History of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow', The Anonymous 'Life of Ceolfrith', Bede's 'Letter to Egbert, Bishop of York'* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 26–7.

to the fringes of the Columbanian movement. The will of the founding abbot, Leodebodus, which is unfortunately a text of uncertain authenticity, indicates that the house followed a combined Rule of Benedict and Columbanus, but with the installation of the Montecassino relics Fleury became more closely associated with the cult of the Italian monastic founder.[58]

Benedict Biscop, in fact, gives us a very interesting lead into the Merovingian Church. For his history we are almost entirely dependent on Bede, who provides a very different take on the Frankish Church from that which derives ultimately from Jonas, with its emphasis on the centrality of Columbanian monasticism and the dominance of Luxeuil. Bede has much to say about the Frankish Church, from the moment of Augustine's mission to England, and most of it is favourable. He reveals that in the second quarter of the seventh century, before many nunneries had been founded in the Anglo-Saxon world, English princesses entered nunneries on the Continent, and he names Brie, Chelles and Les Andelys.[59] The monastery of Faremoutiers in Brie was unquestionably Columbanian in origin, being the subject of a large section of Book II of the *Vita Columbani*.[60] So too Chelles, the foundation – or refoundation – of Balthild, who was apparently Anglo-Saxon by birth, can be placed in the orbit of Luxeuil.[61] Moreover, we can find other indications of Anglo-Saxon links with Columbanian houses, not least in the career of Agilbert, bishop initially of Wessex and subsequently of Paris, who belonged to the family that founded the Columbanian house of Jouarre.[62] Further, there is some reason for thinking that the foundations of the bishop of London, Erchinoald, also had associations with Columbanian houses.[63] Yet, despite these strong ties with houses that are definitely or plausibly regarded as belonging to the circle of Luxeuil, Bede considered Columbanus a heretic (because of his stance over the date of Easter), and completely ignored his promotion of monasticism – even though he may have had access to the *Vita Columbani*.[64] Of Luxeuil there

[58] Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, pp. 177–8, and esp. n. 131.

[59] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* III, c. 8, ed. B. Colgrave and R. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 236–41.

[60] Jonas, *Vita Columbani* II, cc. 11–22, pp. 257–79.

[61] Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, pp. 174–5.

[62] Marquise de Maillé, *Les cryptes de Jouarre* (Paris, 1971), pp. 74–7; I. Wood, 'The continental journeys of Wilfrid and Biscop', in N. Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid. Abbot, Bishop, Saint; Papers from the 1,300th Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013), 200–11, pp. 202–3.

[63] I. Wood, 'Ripon, Francia and the Franks Casket in the Early Middle Ages', *Northern History* 26 (1990), 1–19, pp. 14–15.

[64] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* II, c. 4, pp. 144–7; Wood, 'The *Vita Columbani* and Merovingian hagiography', pp. 68–9; Wood, 'Ripon, Francia and the Franks Casket', pp. 14–15.

is no mention, even though Bede's abbot, Ceolfrith, died at Langres, and was initially buried there, causing a small group of Northumbrians to stay in the region.[65] Langres had links with Luxeuil, but this did not inspire Bede to comment on Columbanus's foundation.[66] Insofar as Bede praises any Irishman on the Continent, it is Fursey, to whose *Vita* he had access.[67]

Like Columbanus, Fursey can be drawn into the grand narrative that sees the Merovingian Church as in need of stimulus from outside. Above all the *Transitus Fursei*, with its extraordinary Other World visions, is seen both as a monument to Irish spirituality and as a work of Anglo-Saxon hagiography.[68] Whether Fursey's visions should be seen as reflecting a specifically Irish tradition is, however, problematic. Visionary literature with similar concerns can be found in the late antique world, as well as the writings of Gregory of Tours and the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great.[69] As for the claim that the *Transitus Fursei* was written by an Anglo-Saxon, one can only note that that would make it easily the earliest work of surviving Anglo-Saxon hagiography. Moreover, the text was almost certainly composed at Péronne.[70] Only the assumption that a Frank could not have written decent Latin prevents it from being seen as a Merovingian work – and one that can best be paralleled by the equally Frankish *Visio Baronti*.[71]

Anglo-Saxons did have links with Columbanian houses, but these connections count for no more in Bede than do the centres with which Benedict Biscop was most firmly associated – Lérins and Vienne – but for the Rhône city we have no clear evidence of Columbanian influence.[72] Unfortunately what evidence we have for the monastic histories of Vienne and of the neighbouring city of Lyon in the seventh century is late, perhaps because of disruption in the region in the eighth century.[73] Yet the evidence of Bede provides a clear

[65] Bede, *Historia abbatum*, cc. 21–3, pp. 70–5; *Vita Ceolfridi*, cc. 32–40, ed. C. Grocock and I. Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, 78–121, pp. 112–21.

[66] Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, c. 20, p. 196.

[67] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* III, c. 18, pp. 268–76.

[68] M. Dunn, *The Vision of St Fursey and the Development of Purgatory* (Norwich, 2007); O. Rackham, *Transitus beati Fursei. A Translation of the Eighth-Century Manuscript Life of St Fursey* (Norwich, 2007), p. vi.

[69] I. Moreira, *Dreams, Visions, and Spiritual Authority in Merovingian Gaul* (Ithaca, NY, 2000).

[70] A. Dierkens, *Abbayes et chapitres entre Sambre et Meuse (VIIe–XIe siècles)* (Sigmaringen, 1985), p. 304 n. 147.

[71] *Visio Baronti*, ed. W. Levison, *MGH SRM* 5, 368–94.

[72] Bede, *Historia abbatum*, cc. 3, 4, pp. 26–7, 30–1; Bede, *Vita Ceolfridi*, c. 5 , pp. 84–5.

[73] I. Wood, 'A prelude to Columbanus: the monastic achievement in the Burgundian territories', in H. Clarke and M. Brennan (eds), *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism* (Oxford, 1981), 3–32, pp. 9–12. On Vienne see now N. Nimmegeers,

indication that the region boasted ecclesiastical centres of note. His account can be enriched from the *Life* of Wilfrid, Biscop's initial companion on his first voyage to Rome. Wilfrid decided to spend time in Lyon, where he found favour with Bishop Aunemundus.[74] The bishop, however, was to be martyred, and his 'persecutor' was Balthild, the Anglo-Saxon queen, who certainly had an interest in the monastic traditions of Luxeuil. As a result Prinz argued that the Lyon bishops, both Aunemundus and his predecessors, 'spielten in der Opposition gegen Luxeuil eine große Rolle'.[75] While it is possible to argue that there were pro- and anti-Luxeuil parties in Francia, the evidence is scarcely strong enough to characterise Aunemundus in this way. Moreover, Wilfrid's later contacts, including with Agilbert of Wessex and Paris, and with the region of Meaux, suggest that he developed strong 'Columbanian' links, while, as we have seen, despite Bede's stance on Columbanus, Biscop had links with Aigulf, and thus with Columbanian Fleury. The evidence does not divide as neatly as Prinz would have wanted. Yet, if we lack major early saints' Lives for the middle Rhône valley that elucidate the monastic life of the region, the manuscript evidence confirms the liveliness of religious life, and shows that, in particular, the region was a centre of activity in the field of canon law in the seventh century.[76] A reading of the Merovingian Church in the seventh century that sees its religious vitality as deriving largely from the impact of Columbanus (and to a lesser extent of Fursey) is incomplete, and indeed Prinz envisaged a confrontation between Lérinian and Luxovian traditions, with the latter being infinitely stronger.

Despite the pivotal position of the *Vita Columbani* in the grand narrative of the Merovingian Church, Jonas himself, who gives us the picture of a sixth-century world in need of reform, also provides us with reasons for thinking that the image he presents is inadequate. We have already noted that his references to a Breton/British community in the Vosges imply that Columbanus had predecessors who were already established in the region. In addition Jonas gives us a picture of a sixth-century saint, John of Reôme, whose life he was induced to write while

Évêques entre Bourgogne et Provence. La province ecclésiastique de Vienne au Haut Moyen Age (Ve–XIe siècle) (Rennes, 2014).

[74] Eddius Stephanus [Stephen of Ripon], *Vita Wilfridi*, cc. 4, 6, ed. B. Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 10–15; P. Fouracre, 'Wilfrid on the Continent', in Higham, *Wilfrid. Abbot, Bishop, Saint*, 186–99, pp. 187–91.

[75] '[P]layed a large part in the opposition to Luxeuil'; Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, p. 176.

[76] E. Lowe, *Codices Lugdunenses antiquissimi. Le Scriptorium de Lyon, la plus ancienne école calligraphique de France* (Lyon, 1924); R. McKitterick, 'The scriptoria of Merovingian Gaul: a survey of the evidence', in Clarke and Brennan, *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*, 173–207, pp. 177–84; Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich*.

staying at the saint's community.[77] He may well paint a verbal picture of John that was intended to present him as Columbanian *avant la lettre*, but there are hints that Jonas knew very well that the Burgundian abbot belonged to an earlier monastic tradition, and indeed that that tradition had not actually died out.[78] In the course of the *Vita Iohannis* Jonas mentions the *Regula Macharii*, referring, it would seem, to the *Rule of the Four Fathers*, a text that has now been firmly associated with Lérins.[79] It would, therefore, seem that we have a hint that Lérinian traditions were still flourishing in this Burgundian house, even if Lérins itself was in need of reform by the second half of the seventh century. Moreover, we may have one further piece of information on the monastery of Reôme: a sixth-to-seventh-century manuscript of Origen's homilies on Leviticus and Joshua and of Optatus of Milevis's treatise against the Donatists was provisionally assigned to Reôme, on the grounds of two Merovingian 'ex-libris' notes by E. A. Lowe in the *Codices Latini antiquiores*.[80] If the ascription can be accepted, we have evidence for a sophisticated interest in Mediterranean Christian tradition at Reôme long after John's death. Perhaps more important, Jonas's account of John makes it clear that he saw no conflict between the traditions of Lérins and Luxeuil, merely between good and bad standards.

The links with the south point to another aspect of the Merovingian Church that tends to be undervalued in the emphasis on Columbanus, Columbanian monasticism and its supposed importance as the conduit for Benedict: the legacy of Caesarius of Arles. Through the seventh century Caesarius's *Rule* is as important as Benedict's. Indeed, Merovingian charters link the Rules of Benedict, Caesarius and Columbanus, and all three can be found combined in the surviving *regulae mixtae*, as can the *Rule of Basil*, which also survives in two Merovingian manuscripts.[81] Caesarius, with his particular concern for female monasticism, was a major figure within Merovingian monasticism, and not just in those houses, like the Holy Cross in Poitiers, that attempted to follow his *Rule*.[82] Moreover, just as we can assess the significance of Benedict by looking at his *Rule* alongside his *Vita* in the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, so too we can add to citations of Caesarius's *Rules* the manuscript evidence of the circulation of his homilies: Caesarius's sermons are also central to Merovingian Christianity. Seven surviving Merovingian manuscripts contain homilies of

[77] Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Iohannis abbatis,* ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRG* 37, 326–44, p. 326.

[78] A. Diem, 'The rule of an Iro-Egyptian monk in Gaul'.

[79] Jonas, *Vita Iohannis*, c. 5, p. 332; A. de Vogüé (ed. and trans.), *Les règles des saints Pères*, SC 297–8, Vol. II (Paris, 1982), pp. 580–603. See Diem, 'The rule of an Iro-Egyptian monk in Gaul', pp. 11–16.

[80] E. Lowe, *CLA*, Vol. XI (Oxford, 1966), 1612, p. 9.

[81] Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, pp. 80–1; Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 249–52; *CLA*, Vol. VI (Oxford, 1953), 805, p. 31; *CLA*, Vol. XI, 1598, p. 5.

[82] Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, pp. 77–84; Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, p. 252.

Caesarius, placing him alongside the other great homilists of late antiquity in terms of his reception in the pre-Carolingian period.[83] The fact that Benedict came to be dominant in the eighth century should not lead us to forget the significance of an earlier body of monastic legislation than Benedict's, which was in many ways stricter, and certainly as carefully considered. Moreover, when considering the legacy of Caesarius, we need also to note the significance of his canonical legislation, which had continuing influence throughout the Merovingian period, and which can also be traced in the manuscript record.[84]

Such continuities should warn us against reading the history of the Frankish Church as the history of a depraved institution almost constantly in need of reform, and to see the reform as coming from outside (from the Irish and then the Anglo-Saxons). Of course, Columbanus, Fursey (and his brothers), Willibrord and Boniface had major contributions to make, not least as charismatics who had a divisive impact on the established institutions. And there were other outsiders who unquestionably had an impact (perhaps less divisive) on the Frankish Church: among them the Briton Samson and the Italian Venantius Fortunatus.

Nor should we deny that parts of the Merovingian Church probably needed a shake-up. Frankish bishops were aware that there were aspects of ecclesiastical life, above all relating to the episcopal appointments – an issue that was, of course, central to the relations between Church and State – that required regular debate and attempts at policing.[85] By contrast, up until the mid-eighth century, neither the bishops nor the hagiographers pause on what was arguably the development most likely to have been detrimental to ecclesiastical values: the acquisition of land. The Church, both monastic and episcopal, became monumentally wealthy – it would seem that between 500 and 750 over a third of Francia was given to the Church, much of it to monasteries.[86] From the point of view of a bishop or an abbot, of course, benefaction was a mark of the piety of the giver. Yet the acquisition of so much land was bound to attract attention of the wrong sort: not all bishops and abbots were drawn to the Church for reasons of piety. Ecclesiastical office could mean power, which surely led to politicisation, and also to a growing concern on the part of kings and *maiores* that too much had been allocated to religious institutions: a concern that would erupt into a call for the return

[83] *CLA*, Vol. VII (Oxford, 1956), 917, p. 24; Vol. VIII (Oxford, 1969), 1105, 1142, pp. 25, 35; Vol. IX (Oxford, 1969), 1330, p. 27; Vol. X (Oxford, 1963), 1547a, p. 31; Vol. XI, 1658, p. 23.

[84] W. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles. The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 97–104, 137–45; Mathisen, 'Between Arles, Rome, and Toledo'.

[85] Pontal, *Die Synoden im Merowingerreich*, pp. 225–34.

[86] Wood, 'Entrusting Western Europe to the Church', pp. 39–45.

of property to the military.[87] It is against the expansion of ecclesiastical and especially monastic property, which in origin was a religious success story, that we should read the history of eighth-century decadence.[88] Insofar as there had been reform in the Merovingian period it did not amount to anything like Carolingian *Renovatio*. Yet, for as long as there was a tradition of Church councils in Merovingian Francia (which was rather longer than Boniface allowed), bishops debated the failings of the institutions to which they belonged.[89] But those failings were not such as to merit the picture of religious decadence as painted by Jonas of Bobbio, which was an image set out in order to champion a particular style of religious life, which he and a few others shared. Nor is it particularly useful to describe that style as 'Irofrankish': the term fails to describe the range of influences present, or indeed their relative weight.[90] The Merovingian Church of the seventh century was too lively and complex to be adequately described in terms of a single line of influence, or even a limited number of them.

[87] I. Wood, 'Land tenure and military obligations in the Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian kingdoms: the evidence of Bede and Boniface in context', *Bulletin of International Medieval Research* 9:10 (2005), 3–22.

[88] Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, pp. 124–42.

[89] G. Halfond, *The Archaeology of Frankish Church Councils, AD 511–768* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 48–51, with a list of councils, pp. 223–45.

[90] Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, pp. 389–90.

6

'… but they pray badly using corrected books': errors in early Carolingian copies of the *Admonitio generalis*

Marco Mostert

Two of the founding texts of the Carolingian Renaissance are the *Epistola de litteris colendis* and the so-called *Admonitio generalis*.[1] Together with a letter to the lectors (*Karoli epistola generalis*, issued in the name of Charlemagne *c.* 786) they set out a policy for the control of the Christian faith through the control of the Latin in which the Faith was put into words.[2] *Correctio*, in the classical sense of amendment, improvement or correction, was considered necessary to counteract the corruption that had crept into the written tradition owing to the ignorance of the scribes.[3] The correction of individual believers depended on the correction of the texts in which the Faith was transmitted, and the correction of those texts depended in turn on the correct use of Latin in those texts. This is well known; it is stated clearly in the founding texts of the Carolingian Renaissance. To gauge the success of this exhortation to the *correctio* of Latin preached in the fourth quarter of the eighth century, however, it is necessary to look at the quality of the written Latin of copies of works, ancient and contemporary, as they were made in the monasteries and other centres of written culture after receiving the new language policy. What can we find out about the quality of the Latin in Carolingian manuscripts made until the end of the first quarter of the ninth century? Was there a fall in the

[1] Cf. M. Sot, '"Renovatio", renaissance et réforme à l'époque carolingienne: recherche sur les mots', in M. Balard and M. Sot (eds), *Au moyen âge, entre tradition antique et innovation. Actes du 131e Congrès National des Sociétés Historiques et Scientifiques, Grenoble, 2006* (Paris, 2009), 117–40.

[2] R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne. The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 315–20: '*Correctio*: language and control' summarises the current consensus.

[3] In the letter to the lectors, edited as *Karoli epistola generalis* by Alfred Boretius. *MGH Cap.* 1, 80–1, the key word is the *reparare* of the books of the Bible, which had been 'librariorum imperitia depravatos'.

number of mistakes made? And what can we say of the nature of the remaining mistakes? These questions can be answered only when we have some idea of the kind of Latin that was to replace the 'corrupt' Latin of the copies that were current on the eve of the call for *correctio*. If we nowadays consider the Latin of one copy of a text 'better' than that of another copy of the same text, we are (usually unconsciously) applying the norms of our school Latin. This school Latin may in fact be traced back to the written Latin of the Carolingian era, but it remains to be seen who, at the time, was able or willing to make the same value judgement on manuscript copies of a single text.

Clearly it is impossible to deal with this vast question in its entirety in a short article. We will confine ourselves to a consideration of the 'errors' made in the copies of one of the founding texts of the Carolingian Renaissance itself, the *Admonitio generalis*. In 2013 a new edition of this text appeared, edited by Hubert Mordek and Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, and completed after their demise by Michael Glatthaar.[4] In it, the text of the *Admonitio generalis* is edited on the basis of twenty of the oldest extant manuscripts, eight of which can be dated to the period before *c.* 825.[5] Unfortunately, the edition does not give variant readings from another fifteen manuscripts dating from the ninth to the sixteenth century, most of which can be dated between the ninth and eleventh centuries.[6] This means that it is hazardous to pursue the study of the 'errors' in the textual tradition of the *Admonitio generalis* beyond the first quarter of the ninth century. The editors themselves have made a start with the study of the scribal errors, but they do not address the question of *why* these errors were allowed to blemish a document 'of the level of the *Admonitio generalis*'.[7] They point to the fact that the date

[4] *Admonitio generalis*, ed. and trans. H. Mordek, K. Zechiel-Eckes and M. Glatthaar, *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen*, *MGH Fontes iuris* 16; further citations are to this edition. The text is also discussed by Els Rose in her contribution to this volume. She focuses on the influence of linguistic reform on prayers.

[5] They are Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Ms. 8654–72 (s. IX^{in}, or. St Bertin's); MS Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. XXXIV (s. IX, *c.* 830, or. northern Italy, the area of Pavia); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14468 (AD 821, ordered by Bishop Baturich of Regensburg); Paris, BnF, lat. 1603 (s. VIII^{ex}/s. IX^{in}, or. north-eastern France, 'wohl im Umkreis des Hofes' (*Admonitio generalis*, p. 69), only an excerpt); St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 733 (s. IX$^{1/4}$, or. south-western Germany, maybe St Gallen); Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 1202/501 (s. IX^{in}, or. Middle Rhine, Lorsch?); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 2232 (s. IX^{in}, south-eastern Germany, from Niederaltaich); Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Helmst. 496a (s. VIII/IX, or. Fulda). Cf. *Admonitio generalis*, pp. 63–74, with the main bibliography on these manuscripts.

[6] *Admonitio generalis*, pp. 74–81.

[7] *Admonitio generalis*, pp. 40–4 ('Adressen der Kapitel') and 44–7 ('Fehler beim Diktat').

of the promulgation of the *Admonitio generalis* is given as 23 March 789, in the palace at Aachen, and that possibly that very day scribes started making multiple copies to be sent to the four corners of the realm of Charlemagne.[8] 'Their quality ought not to have suffered from this circumstance – but who is beyond making any mistake?'[9] The answer to that rhetorical question is, of course, 'no one'. But it would have been possible, on the basis of the relatively wide reception of the text, to give an answer to another question: 'Who made which kind of errors, and can we explain why these errors were made?'.

It would have been preferable to add to our corpus of manuscripts also those of two other founding texts of the Carolingian Renaissance. Unfortunately, they only number two manuscripts each and therefore do not permit an examination of this kind. The letter to the lectors was edited by Boretius as *Karoli epistola generalis*, on the basis of the two surviving manuscripts.[10] This letter was in fact written by Paul the Deacon, on the orders of Charlemagne, and in both manuscripts accompany Paul's homiliary. Unfortunately, Boretius' edition does not give variant readings. The text edited by Boretius as *Epistola de litteris colendis* is known from two manuscripts, one of which perished during the Second World War.[11] Boretius only knew the twelfth-century manuscript

[8] *Admonitio generalis*, pp. 24–5.

[9] *Admonitio generalis*, p. 47: 'Ihre Qualität hätte darunter nicht leiden müssen – aber wer ist schon über jeden Fehler erhaben?'

[10] *Karoli epistola generalis* 30, pp. 80–1, on the basis of Karlsruhe, Badische landesbibliothek, Aug. 29 (s. IX$^{1/4}$, or. St Gallen; prov. Reichenau, possibly already s. IX$^{1/4}$), fol. 3ra–b; and Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vossius lat. F 4, fols. 1–3 (s. IX^{2}, or. northern France, prov. Saint-Denis (notes fols. 1r, 2r), fol. 1ra–b. Both manuscripts are described in H. Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta: Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrschererlasse*, *MGH Hilfsmittel* 15, pp. 186–7 and 206–7 respectively.

[11] *Karoli epistola generalis* 29, pp. 78–9. The oldest still extant manuscript is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud misc. 126 (according to E. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, 2nd edn, Vol. II (Oxford, 1972), no. 252, written *c.* 750 in northern France; according to B. Bischoff, 'Die Kölner Nonnenhandschriften und das Skriptorium von Chelles', in B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. I (Stuttgart, 1966), 16–34, pp. 20, 31, the manuscript was written in Chelles). The *Epistola* is written as an addition on fol. 1r (s. VIII^{ex}/IX^{in}). From the middle of the ninth century the manuscript was in Würzburg at St Kilian (see B. Bischoff and J. Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kiliani*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Bistums und Hochstifts Würzburg 6 (Würzburg, 1952)), after having probably sojourned at Fulda, where the addition may have been made. Metz, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 226 (s. XI or XII, or. Metz, Saint-Arnoul) was destroyed during the Second World War.

from Metz, and used that for his edition. In 1985 Thomas Martin provided a parallel edition of the text after both known manuscripts: the Oxford manuscript, to which it was added in the decade before or after AD 800, probably at Fulda, and the Metz manuscript.[12] The copies show such differences that Martin assumed that they represent two versions. Firstly, a letter was sent to Abbot Baugulf of Fulda; this must have taken place after 782. This version is represented by the Oxford manuscript. Later it was decided to turn the text into a circular letter, which had to be sent by an unnamed archbishop to his suffragan bishops and the abbots in his diocese: 'Huius itaque epistolae exemplaria ad omnes suffragantes tuosque coepiscopos et per universa monasteria dirigi non negligas, si gratiam nostram habere vis.'[13] The letter was originally addressed by Charlemagne to the abbot of Fulda. As abbot Baugulf was no archbishop, the request to an unmentioned archbishop to send copies of the letter to the bishops and abbots in his diocese must have been added later. Martin suggests that this second version may have been sent to Angilram of Metz, who from 16 July 784 possessed the dignity of archbishop. This would mean that the letter must have been sent to him for publication between the summer of 784 and the summer of 790.[14] It is this version that was represented by the (now lost) Metz manuscript.[15] Martin discusses the variant readings, which he considers under the headings of orthographic variant readings, linguistic variant readings (under which heading he distinguishes variant readings without semantic consequences for the message of the text from those variant readings that do have semantic consequences, and syntactic variant readings), and missing text.[16] The number of variant readings is quite astonishing for such a short text. They are due in part to syntactic simplification by the twelfth-century scribe of the Metz manuscript – and therefore ought not to be considered as 'errors', but, as Martin saw quite clearly, rather as 'intended' variant readings. The scribe of the Metz manuscript freely changed his exemplar's syntax, and therefore it becomes hazardous to compare the versions of the two manuscripts, as we cannot be certain whether the variant readings between the original letter to Baugulf and the circular letter sent to Angilram are due to late-eighth-century editorial work at Charlemagne's court, to the scribe who added the letter to Baugulf to the Oxford manuscript, or to the twelfth-century scribe who copied the letter sent to Angilram in the Metz manuscript.

[12] T. Martin, 'Bemerkungen zur "Epistola de litteris colendis"', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 31 (1985), 227–72, pp. 231–5.

[13] *Karoli epistola generalis* 29, p. 79, lines 43–4.

[14] Martin, 'Bemerkungen', p. 252, suggests that the *terminus post quem* of this version may even have been as late as the end of 786.

[15] Both versions continue with a stipulation that reads like an afterthought (see *Karoli epistola generalis* 29, p. 79, lines 44–6).

[16] Martin, 'Bemerkungen', pp. 235ff.

Martin observes that the number of manuscripts of the *Epistola de litteris colendis* does not suggest a wide circulation for the *Epistola* in its version as a circular letter.[17] It is not in dispute that the *Epistola* was written before the *Admonitio generalis*.[18] Glatthaar's edition of the *Admonitio* suggests '787/789?' for the writing of the *Epistola*, and '787' for the letter to the lectors, known as the *Epistola generalis*.[19] If we follow these dates, our three founding texts can be dated 787 (*Epistola generalis*), 787–23 March 789 (*Epistola de litteris colendis* – probably both the first version addressed to Baugulf, and the second version addressed to Angilram, although this version has the summer of 790 as *terminus ante quem*), and 23 March 789 (*Admonitio generalis*). Maybe the short period between the dates of the *Epistola de litteris colendis* and that of the *Admonitio* can explain the poor reception of the second version of the *Epistola*: after the publication of the *Admonitio* a similar publication of the *Epistola* as a circular letter may have been considered superfluous.

Let us now turn to the *Admonitio generalis*. In the introduction to the new edition the reader can find all known data on the historical context in which the *Admonitio* came to be, its name, date and form, the part Alcuin took in writing the text, the manuscripts and editions, the classification of the manuscripts and the stemma codicum, and last but not least the use of the *Admonitio* in the reign of Charlemagne. It would serve no purpose to summarise all the data provided by Mordek, Zechiel-Eckes and Glatthaar. Nevertheless it will be useful to draw the reader's attention to a few of the editors' observations.

There is some evidence to suggest that the *Admonitio* shows Bavarian influence, and more in particular that of Regensburg. Charlemagne was at Aachen when the *Admonitio* was being prepared. It may be that on Sunday *Exsurge*, which in 789 fell on 22 February, a Regensburg prayer was read there, which was to exert some influence on the wording of c. 6. If this was the case, the writing of the *Admonitio* may have taken roughly a month.[20] The promulgation of the text at Aachen, on 23 March of that year, is mentioned in the dating clause.[21] The same clause calls the text a *legationis edictum*. In its present form the *Admonitio* therefore seems to have been ready for promulgation after a period of possibly a month in which the text was drafted and polished for publication. Maybe the next month was deemed sufficient for the distribution of copies to the far corners of the realm, and Easter, which in 789 was to fall on 19 April, may have been considered an excellent date for the reading aloud of this text in all churches, with Charlemagne addressing 'omnibus ecclesiasticae

[17] Martin, 'Bemerkungen', p. 252.

[18] On occasion the wording of the *Epistola de litteris colendis* is close to that of the *Admonitio generalis* (cf. *Admonitio generalis*, lines 322–3 and 334–5).

[19] *Admonitio generalis*, p. 250.

[20] *Admonitio generalis*, pp. 11–13.

[21] *Admonitio generalis*, p. 238, lines 438–40.

pietatis ordinibus seu saecularis potentiae dignitatibus', and, through the 'orders of ecclesiastical piety', the faithful at large.[22] 'Few of Charles's capitularies may have demanded so much time and care as the *Admonitio generalis*.'[23]

The form and structure of the *Admonitio* happily marries elements taken from letters, charters, edicts and sermons.[24] Charlemagne created a type of capitulary that has the authority of a charter, the commitment of a letter and the persuasiveness of a sermon.[25] The *Admonitio* has been issued by Charlemagne; however, the influence on the text of clergy and counsellors is clearly visible.[26] Among this select group of collaborators, Alcuin was the most important.[27] Alcuin was clearly responsible for the wording of c. 70, where *scolae legentium puerorum* is a turn of phrase that also occurs in one of his letters:[28]

> *Et non solum servilis conditionis infantes, sed etiam ingenuorum filios adgregant sibique sociant. Et ut scolae legentium puerorum fiant. Psalmos, notas, cantus, compotum, grammaticam per singula monasteria vel episcopia et libros catholicos bene emendate, quia sepe dum bene aliqui deum rogare cupiunt, sed per inemendatos libros male rogant.*
>
> Let the clergy join and associate to themselves not only children of servile condition but also the sons of free men. And let schools be established in which boys may learn to read. Correct carefully the Psalms, *notas*, the chant, the calendar, the grammars in each monastery and bishopric, and the catholic books; because often some desire to pray to God properly, but they pray badly because of the incorrect books.[29]

The opposition between *perfectae aetatis homines* who can be trusted with copying the gospels, the psalter and the missal, and *pueros*, which can be found in the continuation of this chapter, also occurs in another letter of Alcuin.[30]

Let us now consider the 'errors' or 'variant readings' in the early Carolingian copies of the *Admonitio*. In 789, 23 March, the day the *Admonitio*

[22] *Admonitio generalis*, p. 180, lines 3–4.
[23] *Admonitio generalis*, p. 25.
[24] *Admonitio generalis*, pp. 26–7.
[25] *Admonitio generalis*, p. 29.
[26] *Admonitio generalis*, p. 180, lines 6–7: '… una cum sacerdotibus et consiliariis nostris …'.
[27] *Admonitio generalis*, pp. 47–63: 'Alkuins Anteil'.
[28] Alcuin, *Ep.* 209, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 4, 1–481, p. 347. Cf. *Admonitio generalis*, p. 59.
[29] *Admonitio generalis*, pp. 222–4, lines 318–23, trans. P. King, *Charlemagne. Translated Sources* (Kendal, 1987), p. 217.
[30] Lines 323–6: 'Et pueros vestros non sinite eos vel legendo vel scribendo corrumpere. Et si opus est evangelium, psalterium et missale scribere, perfectae aetatis homines scribant cum omni diligentia.' Alcuin, *Ep.* 19, p. 55. Cf. *Admonitio generalis*.

was promulgated, was a Monday, and quite possibly on that very day a coordinated effort was made to make copies for distribution in Charlemagne's realms by the *missi*. Probably this was done by dictation, as is suggested by the no-fewer-than-seven independent strands in the tradition of the text that can be traced back to the end of the eighth century.[31] These strands stand for independently made copies after the dictation of the authentic *edictum* that had been promulgated that day. That such care was taken for the immediate distribution of the text is extremely important. It means that certain textual variants among the extant early Carolingian copies may be due simply to the procedure of dictation. This seems to be the case with the use of the indicative where a conjunctive would have been expected. 'The remarkable weakness in conjugation is in striking contradiction both with the demands of the *Epistola generalis* and with those of the *Epistola de litteris colendis*, but also with the *Admonitio generalis* itself (c. 70).'[32] Similar weaknesses can be observed in assimilation, declension etc. 'If one considers all textual errors together … they cannot but surprise in the *authenticum* of a document of the level of the *Admonitio generalis*. They might, however, have occurred through dictation, and have contaminated the tradition from the very beginning.'[33]

Some errors in the extant copies are simply that: there is no excuse for the sloppiness of the scribe from Saint-Bertin responsible for Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Ms. 8654–72, who, at the beginning of the ninth century, in c. 70 copied *per emendatos libros male rogant*, where the *authenticum* read *per inemendatos libros male rogant*. He thereby changed 'they pray badly because of the incorrect books' into 'they pray badly because of the correct books'![34] The same mistake was made by the scribe of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 19416, fols 1–89, from the end of the ninth century (from Tegernsee in Southern Bavaria), but he realised his mistake and correctly changed *emendatos* to *inemendatos*. But in Saint-Bertin no one who read the sloppy scribe's work felt it necessary to correct the error, which of course ran counter to the sense of Charlemagne's (and Alcuin's) original text. The time of Saint-Bertin's scriptorium had not quite come yet, but any semi-literate monk would have seen the enormity of the mistake made, and might have pointed it out to the person in charge of the scriptorium.[35] This

[31] *Admonitio generalis*, pp. 109–10 and the stemma on p. 111 (the end of the contribution of Zechiel-Eckels, pp. 86–111, on 'Überlieferungsgeschichte und Klassifizierung der Tradition').

[32] *Admonitio generalis*, p. 45.

[33] *Admonitio generalis*, p. 47.

[34] *Admonitio generalis*, p. 225, line 323.

[35] It is associated with the so-called Franco-Saxon style. See B. Bischoff, 'Panorama der Handschriftenüberlieferung aus der Zeit Karls des Großen', in

did not happen. Why? Did the monks of Saint-Bertin fail to see the point of the *Admonitio*? This seems less likely, for if so, why did they copy the text at all? As far as I can see, there was no excuse either for making the error in copying in the first place, or indeed for not correcting it when a superficial reading would have been enough to point out the enormity of the scribe's error.

Most errors were not as glaringly obvious. These 'errors' could be seen only by comparing two or more copies of the *Admonitio* with one another. Some of the 'errors' may have been due to dictation, but others – and they seem to have been the majority – have their origin in what seems to be scribal indifference to the wording of the exemplar. Consider, for example, c. 76:

> *Item et pseudografia et dubiae narrationes vel quae omnino contra fidem catholicam sunt ut epistula pessima et falsissima, quam transacto anno dicebant aliqui errantes et in errorem alios mittentes, quod de celo cecidisset, nec credantur nec legantur, sed conburentur, ne in errorem per talia scripta populus mittatur. Sed soli canonici libri et catholici tractatus et sanctorum auctorum dicta legantur et tradantur.*[36]

In the edition this text occupies a mere seven lines, yet no fewer than seven variant readings that change the sense of the text occur in the early manuscripts:[37]

1 *quae omnino*] *omnino qu(a)e* Sg
2 *ut*] *et* W_1
3 *epistula pessima*] *epistulam pessimam* Sg
4 *falsissima*] *falsissimam* Sg
6 *catholici*] *canonici* Br; *catholicę* Sg
7 *tractatus*] *om.* T

Our Saint-Bertin manuscript (siglum Br) changes the *catholici tractatus*, which seems to refer to writings containing the exegesis of the *canonici libri*, the canonical books of the Bible, into *canonici tractatus*. This may be yet another sign of the scribe's sloppiness, and it might lead to the elevation of biblical exegesis to the level of authority of the Bible itself. The manuscript from St Gallen (Sg) makes at least two serious mistakes that show a less than adequate grasp of Latin grammar. It is probable that the scribe simply copied these mistakes

B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. III (Stuttgart, 1981), 5–38, p. 12.

[36] *Admonitio generalis*, pp. 228–30, lines 357–63.

[37] If 3 and 4, separated only by *et*, are considered to be a sole variant only, the number drops to six variants. For the shelf-marks of the manuscripts mentioned here, see above, n. 5.

from his exemplar (they are shared with a manuscript from northern Italy that comes from another branch of the transmission, and the mistakes therefore go back to an early common ancestor).[38] But why did the St Gallen scribe fail to correct them? The manuscript from Niederaltaich (W_1) puts the inauthentic writings and dubious stories that are *contra fidem catholicam* on a par with a letter from heaven that was reported the previous year, whereas the *ut* of his exemplar merely adduced the letter as an example. And the manuscript that may come from Lorsch (T) makes *canonici libri et catholici* out of *canonici libri et catholici tractatus*.

The example of the scribes' treatment of these seven lines of the text of the *Admonitio* is sobering. Scribes from some of the better-known intellectual centres of the Carolingian Renaissance seem unable to transmit one of the founding texts of the Carolingian Renaissance without the kinds of errors that very text warns against! But is this first impression justified? May we not be influenced in our assessment by notions of the Latin language, 'renaissance' and 'literacy' that were quite possibly alien to Carolingian monks? What if our own notions are obstacles to understanding what these monks were trying to do? To give tentative answers to these questions, we need to consider our own notions just as much as the corresponding notions of the scribes whose work we tend to censure so severely.

Let us start with the question of which kind of Latin the *Admonitio generalis* envisages for the *emendare* of *inemendatos libros*.[39] The notion of the 'Carolingian Renaissance', indebted as it is to that of the late medieval and early modern Renaissance, invites us to consider the Latin of the Latin classics as a model.[40] But what are these 'Latin classics'?[41] In publications dealing with the transmission of Latin literature, the term 'classics' is often used without further definition.[42] On inspection, these 'Latin classics' can be said

[38] Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Blankenburg 130 (s. IX, after AD 855). The *stemma codicum* of *Admonitio generalis* can be found on p. 111.

[39] *Admonitio generalis*, c. 70, p. 224, line 323.

[40] See, e.g., M. Landfester, 'Einleitung', in M. Landfester (ed.), *Renaissance – Humanismus. Lexikon zur Antikerezeption* (Stuttgart, 2014), ix–xiv, on the notions 'renaissance' and 'humanism' as they may be perceived in the period 1350–1630; and M. Korenjak, 'Latein', in Landfester, *Renaissance – Humanismus*, cols 511–19.

[41] The following is based on M. Mostert, 'The tradition of classical texts in the manuscripts of Fleury', in C. A. Chavannes-Mazel and M. M. Smith (eds), *Medieval Manuscripts of the Latin Classics. Production and Use* (Los Altos Hills/London, 1996), 19–40, pp. 23–25 ('The Latin classics').

[42] L. Reynolds and N. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars. A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1974), p. v; and see also L. Reynolds, 'Preface', in L. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1986), vii–viii, p. vii: 'It was decided to include all authors and

to share four characteristics. Firstly, they are written in Latin; Latin translations from the Greek are largely excluded. Secondly, they have literary value; they offer examples of how to write literature. For this reason, grammatical texts seldom make the grade.[43] When practical considerations force classicists to make choices, they revert to modern notions of 'literature', even if, when pressed, they would doubtlessly admit that in antiquity (and in the Middle Ages) those notions were quite different.[44] Then, if any texts were considered literary, it was texts written by a grammarian. Thirdly, the Latin classics date from antiquity. When does antiquity come to an end? Some stop at the beginning of the fourth century, with the rule of the Emperor Constantine;[45] others stop with the second century, allowing, however, for the inclusion of a number of later authors.[46] And others still continue beyond the fifth century. There can be no doubt that the traditions that had produced Caesar and Cicero still existed in some way in the fifth century, so that authors like Martianus Capella and Priscian can be included in any survey of the Latin classics.[47] One could even argue that, at least as far as the *forms* of the tradition are concerned, there was continuity until the advent of the Carolingians. The same cannot be said, of course, for the *content* of the tradition. Fourthly, the Latin classics as studied by modern scholars are 'pagan' in the sense that they were written by authors who shared in Greco-Roman religious traditions. These writers can profess any philosophical outlook, so long as it is not Christian. If Christian authors write texts that are religiously and philosophically neutral, they nevertheless are not reckoned to belong to the Latin classics. However, the fact that Agroecius was a bishop when he wrote his *De orthographia* did not influence his treatment of spelling. And Marius Victorinus wrote his works on grammar before becoming a Christian.[48]

texts down to Apuleius which had their own independent transmission, and to add to these a generous selection of later authors who might be regarded for one reason as belonging to the classical tradition. In this latter category there are no firm criteria, decision is often arbitrary.'

[43] Reynolds, 'Preface', in *Texts and Transmission*; B. Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XIe et XIIe siècle*, Vol. I (Paris, 1982), p. xii.

[44] R. Sprandel, *Gesellschaft und Literatur im Mittelalter* (Paderborn etc., 1982), pp. 9–16.

[45] Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques*.

[46] Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*.

[47] M. Banniard, *Genèse culturelle de l'Europe, Ve–VIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1989), p. 217: 'aucun des caractères essentiels qui … définit [la culture antique] depuis l'époque hellénistique n'est absent, ni transformé au point d'être méconnaissable'.

[48] Scholars of the Renaissance, on the other hand, have no compunction in including fathers of the Church such as Ambrose of Milan in a short survey on the art of poetry (B. Hinzen, 'Lyrik', in Landfester, *Renaissance – Humanismus*, cols 578–86),

The Latin of the Latin classics did not stay unchanged over the many centuries that produced these works. Incidentally, among the works cited by the *Admonitio generalis* itself, not a single 'classical' text can be identified.[49] This is understandable, as it is the emendation of *religious* texts that is one of the aims of the *Admonitio*. *Emendare* has a religious function, that of making sure prayer is not rendered inefficacious by the use of faulty texts. This marked attention to correct Latin can be traced to Alcuin in particular.[50] 'As a native speaker of English, Alcuin would have learnt a Latin free of the vulgarisms typical of the latinity of the Latin/Romance-speaking areas of the Continent.'[51] Half a century earlier, other clerics who had had to learn Latin as a foreign language, such as Boniface, had also been appalled at the kind of 'Latin' spoken not only in Gaul, but in Rome itself.[52] Having had to learn Latin from books whose grammar of legibility was ill suited to non-native speakers, insular scholars had introduced word separation in the manuscripts they copied.[53] Having crossed the Channel and finding himself unable to understand the Latin of the natives, Alcuin insisted on pronouncing each and every syllable. The books that Alcuin recommended, to do something about a situation in which native speakers of Latin were incomprehensible to Anglo-Saxon speakers of Latin as a second language, were not the classics but the grammars of late antiquity, such as Donatus and Priscian, who had tried to describe 'what actually happened in the language of the Latin texts they admired and respected'.[54] But since the fourth century of Donatus and

or mentioning St Augustine in a variety of contexts (see Landfester, *Renaissance – Humanismus*, index at col. 1074).

[49] *Admonitio generalis*, pp. 248–51.

[50] R. Wright, 'How Latin came to be a foreign language for all', in R. Wright, *A Sociophilological Study of Late Latin* (Turnhout, 2002), 3–17; R. Wright, 'Alcuin's *De orthographia* and the Council of Tours (AD 813)', in Wright, *A Sociophilological Study*, 127–46.

[51] M. Garrison, 'Alcuin of York', in M. Lapidge *et al.* (eds), *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford/Malden, MA, 1999), 24–5, p. 24.

[52] R. Wright, 'Foreigners' Latin and Romance: Boniface and Pope Gregory II', in Wright, *A Sociophilological Study*, 95–109.

[53] M. Mostert, 'Language learning and learning Latin: knowledge transfer and literacy in the European Middle Ages', in W. van Egmond and W. van Soldt (eds), *Theory and Practice of Knowledge Transfer. Studies in School Education in the Ancient Near East and Beyond* (Leiden, 2012), 25–37, pp. 32–3, drawing heavily on P. Saenger, *Space between Words. The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, 1997) and M. Parkes, *Pause and Effect. An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot, 1992).

[54] Wright, 'How Latin came to be a foreign language for all', p. 13.

Priscian the Latin language had undergone further developments. Beginning with Alcuin, Carolingian

> teachers assumed that what Donatus and Priscian had said was the case, was what they themselves ought to be doing, and, more significantly, that any variant which Donatus and Priscian had not mentioned was one which teachers ought not to be recommending, using or writing. By taking this extra step, they were introducing the moral dimension into grammar which has been so destructive and still tends to dominate linguistic teaching. Thus 'correct' Latin slowly came to be uniquely defined by this combined tradition, and the books of Donatus, his commentators, and Priscian were appealed to in order to instruct even the native-speakers about what others before them had, as a matter of fact, been doing when preparing texts.[55]

These developments in language teaching took time to take root, however. The Latin of continental monks of the first two generations after the *Admonitio*'s promulgation could not as yet be deeply affected by the insular views that were to produce the definitive breach between 'Latin' and 'Romance'. Nevertheless they, too, found fault with some of the written texts they had in their libraries. Their reaction was that of all fully literate persons confronted with 'errors': they felt no compunction in correcting the exemplars they found, to produce copies according to their own understanding of what the text ought to read.[56] In many cases it was not known who the author of a text had been. This is true for many sacral texts, particularly liturgical ones. The *auctoritates* were always mentioned, and because of the authority of Sts Augustine or Ambrose, works might be ascribed to them. But in dealing with texts without any authority whatsoever it proved unnecessary to know the names of their authors. That is why the stemmatic method, developed to reconstitute texts of high authority such as the books of the Bible or certain Latin classics in their pristine form, fails when it is used in the edition of most visions, saints' Lives or even legal texts. This method may require one to assume an astonishingly large number of lost copies – sometimes so many that it seems curious that such a text was not mentioned more often, as the sum total of manuscripts extant and 'lost', though indispensable for an edition, would lead one to suspect a larger than average interest in it. In cases of unauthoritative texts the variant readings that in the stemmatic method are only considered errors must be considered intended variants. The readings that the editor of a critical edition gives as proofs for his interventions can be considered as traces of a medieval textual

[55] Wright, 'How Latin came to be a foreign language for all', pp. 13–14.

[56] For the following I have re-used M. Mostert, 'Das Studium alter Handschriften als Beitrag zu einer modernen Kulturwissenschaft', in H.-W. Goetz (ed.), *Die Aktualität des Mittelalters* (Bochum, 2000), 287–315, in particular pp. 309–10.

criticism that was not always interested in the 'original' text. Omissions, insertions and even apparent scribal errors may provide valuable information on the adaptation of a text to new demands. And not only the presence of variant readings, but also their absence may provide information on the use envisaged for an old text in each new copy made of it.

The consequence of this is that the text of each manuscript is in principle as valuable as the text of the original version intended by its original author. In the case of the *Admonitio generalis* the scribes behave almost as if they were its authors. It seems unlikely, however, that they considered themselves the equals of Charlemagne, who promulgated the *Admonitio* in the form of a royal charter. This means that the large numbers of variant readings need to be explained in a different way. They may not be intended variants in the same way as the variant readings in unauthoritative texts. But they are not necessarily scribal errors either.

The early copies of the *Admonitio* are written by experienced scribes, who wrote clear hands.[57] These scribes have to be looked for among the elite of their monasteries' scriptoria. Whereas most monks after their formal education will have restricted themselves to reading liturgical texts in church, to reading texts during the communal meetings of the monastic community, to listening to texts being read or to private reading during the hours set aside for study – and we ought not to forget that there were also illiterates among the monks – only some of the elite of the scriptorium will have climbed the rungs of the intellectual ladder to the very top. They may have been allowed to make marginal notes when reading, to excerpt texts and to make collections of those excerpts for their own use and for publication, and sometimes even to write 'new' works. And those monks whose expertise in copying texts led to their being chosen for the work of writing and illuminating may also have had enough expertise in Latin to allow them to spot mistakes in their exemplars – and to correct them according to their lights. The Word of God was the highest authority in written culture; if it was blemished in its transmission by errors, then those errors were corrected, as the texts of God himself, the Author of everything, could not be allowed to remain in a state of imperfection.

Just as among other contemporary social groups, among these early Carolingian monks different degrees of literacy are noticeable. The simple opposition between 'literates' and 'illiterates' proves to be too imprecise to do justice to these degrees. Therefore I have proposed elsewhere a distinction

[57] *Admonitio generalis* provides after p. 264 a number of photographs, *inter alia* of Herzog August Bibliothek, Helmst 496a, fol. 4r, written in insular script; and of Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 2232, fol. 102r; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14468, fol. 101r; St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 733, p. 35; and Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 8654–72, fol. 121r, all written in Caroline minuscule.

among the illiterate, the semi-illiterate, the semi-literate and the literate.[58] 'Illiterates' have no idea of what writing is, and do not know, for instance, that writing is language rendered visible; they do not understand that the content of a written text is transmitted through the eyes rather than through the ears. By the unbecoming expression 'semi-illiterates' are meant those who, although they cannot read or write themselves (and therefore are functionally illiterate) nevertheless know what writing is, and in which ways the written word differs from the spoken word. 'Semi-literates' are those who know how to read and write, but who are yet unaware of the subtleties of written communication. Their mentality is therefore in some respects close to that of the semi-illiterates. Finally, those who are 'fully literate' can manipulate the culture of writing. Because of their thorough understanding of the techniques of the written word they are able to decide autonomously whether to avail themselves of the possibilities offered by the culture of the written word.

These distinctions are, however, not absolute. It is possible to be fully literate in some fields of written culture and to be semi-literate in others. It is useful to think of the four levels of literacy proposed not as absolutes, but rather as 'registers of literacy'. Just as there are speech registers and literary registers, just so there seem to be registers of literacy – and registers in the literate mentalities that come with them. If we agree that the intensive use of the written word may lead to changes in the notion of 'writing' entertained by literates – and similarly to changes in their notions about trust in writing and written texts, about words, and about truth – we may suggest that literates, whether they lived in antiquity, the Middle Ages or modern times, share certain aspects of these notions. At the same time, fully literate people must share at least some of their mental abilities and outlooks with their less literate contemporaries. Once notions related to the use of writing are set aside, there must have been considerable overlap in the mentalities of medieval literates and illiterates for them to be able to communicate. Much of these shared medieval mentalities has since become foreign to us. But where the understanding of writing is concerned – that is, in their literate mentality – medieval literates may be much closer to us than our own illiterate, semi-illiterate or semi-literate contemporaries.

The notion of what a 'word' is is shared to a large extent between Carolingian and modern literates. To both groups 'word' is a grammatical idea, developed in (late) antiquity. To both Carolingian and modern illiterates, semi-illiterates and semi-literates, however, 'word' refers to 'everything that can be said', irrespective of correct, grammatical forms – the notion of 'grammar' by its very

[58] M. Mostert, 'Forgery and trust', in P. Schulte *et al.* (eds), *Strategies of Writing. Studies on Text and Trust in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2008), 37–59, pp. 40–9, summarised below.

nature eludes illiterates. Everything that is said has to be 'true' in the sense that one ought to be able to rely on what is said. You have to stand by your word. Similar differences occur between the literate and the semi-literate and semi-illiterate notions of 'writing'. Experienced literates have learnt that writing does not fix the contents of written texts forever, even if writing can preserve meanings for shorter periods. Semantic developments imperceptibly increase the distance between the reader and the intentions of the author or the scribe. Words that the author used may have changed meanings when they are read, after ever increasing periods of time, by successive readers. Written texts require interpretation, exegesis; mistakes require rectification, and literates know that in time the same written text is interpreted in different ways – and even has to be interpreted differently, or else it will lose its meaning. To semi-literates, however, the written word is largely identical with the spoken word, and for them the topos of the charters' preambles mentioning the instability of human memory is the expression of an important truth. The written word has to outlive the centuries.

Perhaps the main difference between literates and the other groups of illiterates and semi-literates lies in the possibility for literates to compare oral statements with the written documents of those statements long after the original oral statements had been made. This led to an ever growing reliance on written documentation, which in time came to identify a person's identity with the document that stated who s/he was (a document that could be authenticated by those literates who had been trained to do so). By extension, different written documents could be compared as well, and the differences in meaning between written statements needed explaining. One common explanation was that of the 'error', but it was not the only one. Literates are able through the comparison of written documents produced at quite different times and places to distinguish developments in textual traditions. By keeping copies of the same text side by side, they can make their reading of them contemporaneous, allowing them to see that any text may be subject to change. Writing, they can see with their own eyes, may have fixed a statement in one copy, but its wording may be different in the next.

In the early Middle Ages such notions could only occur where more than one copy of a text was available. In the early Carolingian generations this was possible – with the exception of the court library – only in the larger, relatively well-provided scriptoria. It was there that readers could see the different readings between different copies of the same text. They could not but want to eradicate the threat to prayer that, as the *Admonitio* tells us, was lurking in incorrect books.[59] That is why scribes felt at liberty to change the text of their exemplars in their copies, even in those cases when they did *not* have multiple copies of single texts at their disposal. When our scribes laid themselves open

[59] See Els Rose's contribution to this volume, Chapter 7.

to the accusation of introducing further errors into their copies, at least they tried to the best of their abilities, and using the Latin they had been speaking at home as well as the Latin they read in their books, to arrive at the best possible text – as in the case of the *Admonitio generalis*. Surprisingly, it was their high level of literacy that led them to take liberties with the texts of their exemplars. But their literacy could not always prevent them from being as sloppy as the scribe of the Brussels manuscript of the *Admonitio*. And it remains unclear why none of that scribe's readers asked for the howler of the missing *in-* before '*emendatos libros*' to be corrected.

7

Emendatio and *effectus* in Frankish prayer traditions

Els Rose

The effectiveness of worship and prayer was a principle concern of the Franks and took a central position in their interpretation and design of the Christian religion. The Carolingians in particular are known for the way they accentuated a correct practice of worship, including a linguistically correct expression of ritual texts, in order to further the effectiveness of the Eucharistic liturgy and of prayer. As Mayke de Jong phrases it so poignantly: 'Obviously, the Carolingian God liked to be addressed only in correct Latin.'[1] The concern with a correct ritual-linguistic practice is embedded in the Carolingian programme of reform with a focus on *correctio* in a broader social sense. In the present chapter, I will focus on the Franks' attitude towards sacred language and address the question of to what extent their concern with the effectiveness of the religious ritual is visible in their liturgical books. Since the Carolingians were not the first to focus on the *effectus* of liturgical prayer, I will draw a longer line, starting in the early eighth century and comparing a liturgical book from this period with a source dated to the period of Charlemagne's reign.

Emendatio and *effectus*: some notes on terminology

The study of practices of correction in Frankish culture is a road that leads through a thickly grown terminological landscape. Similar concepts are indicated by a variety of terms, while one term can also refer to distinct phenomena and trends.[2] As Julia Barrow makes clear, early medieval documents

[1] M. de Jong, 'Carolingian monasticism: the power of prayer', in *NCMH*, Vol. II, 622–53, p. 630. Regarding the importance of correct Latin see also the contribution of Marco Mostert in the present volume.

[2] See J. Smith, '"Emending evil ways and praising God's omnipotence". Einhard and the use of Roman martyrs', in K. Mills and A. Grafton (eds), *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Seeing and Believing* (Rochester, NY, 2003) 189–223, p. 211.

reflecting attempts at reform use the term *reformare* as such only sparingly.[3] Barrow refers to epistles of Gregory the Great as an instance of reform-inclined discourse in which the terms *corrigere* and *emendare* are preferred to *reformare*.[4] For the Carolingian period she highlights *correctio* and *emendatio* as key words to describe the attempt at improvement. The object of *correctio* and *emendatio* is defined not only by renewal and reform of moral behaviour and the Christian way of life, but also by the written documents on which this way of life was based: Scripture as well as performative and adhortative texts – prayer books, homiliaries and collections of saints' Lives.[5]

The idea of *correctio* is not new in the age of the Carolingians and the pursuit of emendation is not the prerogative of this particular group of Frankish rulers; their Merovingian predecessors were just as well concerned with the moral improvement of their people.[6] Giles Brown suggests that the Carolingians were only relatively more focused on *correctio* and more systematic in their aims to programme their efforts in this direction.[7] Perhaps the Carolingians were innovative in the way they connected both forms of *emendatio*, by explicitly linking the moral welfare of king and people to the correctness and, if necessary, emendation of authoritative texts. Something similar is at stake with regard to the concept of *effectus*. The concern with the effectiveness of the liturgy is not new in the Carolingian period. On the contrary, it is reflected in the earliest liturgical prayer texts of the Latin Church, where the plea *piae petitionis concede effectum* – 'grant the effectiveness of our faithful prayer' – echoes in a number of variants.[8] Likewise, the notion of the necessity of powerful prayer to guarantee the welfare of the Christian community was prevalent in the Frankish understanding of religion before the Carolingians made it a focus of their reform policy.[9] What is new in the Carolingian period, as Mayke de

[3] J. Barrow, 'Ideas and applications of reform', in T. Noble and J. Smith (eds), *The Cambridge History of Christianity. Early Medieval Christianities c. 600–c. 1000* (Cambridge, 2008), 345–62.

[4] Barrow, 'Reform', p. 353, with reference to G. Ladner, 'Gregory the Great and Gregory VII: a comparison of their concepts of renewal', *Viator* 4 (1973), 1–31, p. 23.

[5] For a comprehensive overview of Carolingian *correctio*, see R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne. The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 292–380 (Chapter 5: '*Correctio*, knowledge and power').

[6] McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, Chapter 5.

[7] G. Brown, 'The Carolingian Renaissance', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture. Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1994), 1–51, p. 6.

[8] See W. Diezinger, *Effectus in der römischen Liturgie* (Bonn, 1961), esp. pp. 50–5 ('Effectus des Gebetes').

[9] McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 295, with reference to E. Ewig, 'Zum christlichen Königsgedanken im Frühmittelalter', in T. Mayer (ed.), *Das Königtum*, Vorträge

Jong makes clear, is the direct link between the correctness (*emendatio*) of liturgical texts and the effectiveness (*effectus*) of liturgical prayer: 'A strong belief in the efficacy of correctly performed ritual underpinned these strenuous efforts to improve the knowledge of Latin grammar in all those concerned with liturgy.'[10]

The *emendatio* of sacred texts recurs as a subject in a number of prescriptive sources linked to the name of Charlemagne. The letter addressed to Abbot Baugulf of Fulda and generally known as *De litteris colendis* (*c.* 784) is an exhortation to encourage the education of the monks.[11] The document reflects Charlemagne's concern about the monks' literacy and their ability to express correct Christian doctrine in impeccable Latin.[12] The *Admonitio generalis* (789), also discussed in Marco Mostert's chapter, addresses all ecclesiastics in the realm and explicitly mentions Charlemagne's concern that the copying of service books be controlled by senior clergy and performed with all possible care.[13] The same document urges bishops to see to it that their priests and clergy understand what they do when celebrating Mass and baptism, or when they recite the Creed or other key texts of Christian doctrine and worship:[14]

> To *sacerdotes*. That bishops are diligently to examine the priests throughout their dioceses as to their doctrinal beliefs, baptisms and celebration of the mass, to see that they hold right beliefs and observe catholic baptism and properly understand the prayers of the mass.[15]

The *Epistola generalis*, or 'Letter to the lectores' ('soon after 786'), speaks of the *correctio* of the books of the Bible when it presents the Homiliary for the

und Forschungen 3 (Constance, 1956), 7–73; and J. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 94–110. See also McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 306.

[10] De Jong, 'Carolingian monasticism', p. 630; cf. M. de Jong, 'Religion', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2001), 131–64, pp. 139–40; cf. A. Angenendt, *Geschichte der Religiosität im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 1997), pp. 383–7.

[11] McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 316.

[12] *Epistola de litteris colendis*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 79.

[13] As dated by McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 308; *Admonitio generalis*, c. 70, ed. H. Mordek, K. Zechiel-Eckes and M. Glatthaar, *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Grossen*, *MGH Fontes iuris* 16, pp. 222–4.

[14] *Admonitio generalis*, c. 68, p. 220.

[15] 'Sacerdotibus. Ut episcopi diligenter discutiant per suas parrochias presbiteros, eorum fidem, baptisma et missarum celebrationes, ut fidem rectam teneant et baptisma catholicum observent et missarum preces bene intellegant.' *Admonitio generalis*, c. 68, p. 220; trans. P. King, *Charlemagne. Translated Sources* (Kendal, 1987), p. 216.

night office compiled by Paul the Deacon and commends it to the attention of all clergy.[16]

The references given here are taken from prescriptive documents. In the present article I want to explore whether practices of *emendatio*, in the sense of textual corrections, are visible in the texts where they are most expected: liturgical prayers used in the context of Mass. To this end, I study two liturgical books. The first, *Missale Bobbiense*, is dated to the early eighth century and, therefore, precedes the Carolingian period.[17] The second one, the so-called Sacramentary of Prague, is dated to the 780s/790s[18] and is probably closely connected to the Carolingian rulers.[19] Both books contain the prayers to be recited by the priest during Mass, next to other material useful for a clergyman operating presumably in a non-urban, fairly isolated setting. They offer the opportunity to examine changes in practices of textual correction during the eighth century and to analyse the relation between *emendatio* and *effectus* from the perspective of the performance of prayer. This chapter is work in progress, and aims to contribute to the development of an approach that analyses patterns of textual correction in liturgical books, without claiming to provide definitive answers.

[16] As dated by McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 308; *Karoli Epistola generalis*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 80–1. See also the contribution of Mostert in the present volume.

[17] For general literature on the Bobbio Missal, see J. Legg (ed.), *The Bobbio Missal. A Gallican Mass-Book (Facsimile), Henry Bradshaw Society Publications 53* (London, 1917); E. Lowe (ed.), *The Bobbio Missal. A Gallican Mass-Book, Henry Bradshaw Society Publications 58* (London, 1920); A. Wilmart, E. Lowe and H. Wilson (eds), *The Bobbio Missal. Notes and Studies* (London, 1924); and additional bibliography in Y. Hen, 'Introduction: the Bobbio Missal – from Mabillon onwards', in Y. Hen and R. Meens (eds), *The Bobbio Missal. Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul* (Cambridge, 2004), 1–18, as well as in the other contributions to the same volume.

[18] See on the Sacramentary of Prague the edition with the multi-authored introduction in A. Dold and L. Eizenhöfer (eds), *Das Prager Sakramentar. Cod. O. 83 (Fol. 1–120) der Bibliothek des Metropolitankapitels*, Vol. II: *Prolegomena und Textausgabe* (Beuron, 1949); C. Hammer, 'The social landscape of the Prague Sacramentary: the prosopography of an eighth-century mass-book', *Traditio* 54 (1999), 41–80; and the articles in M. Diesenberger, R. Meens and E. Rose (eds), *The Prague Sacramentary. Culture, Religion, and Politics in Late-Eighth Century Bavaria* (Brepols, forthcoming 2016).

[19] See S. Airlie, 'Earthly and heavenly networks in a world in flux: Carolingian family identities and the Prague Sacramentary', in Diesenberger *et al.*, *The Prague Sacramentary*.

The books: *Missale Bobbiense* and the Sacramentary of Prague

The heritage of Latin liturgical prayer documented in early medieval manuscripts suffers from a paradox that has puzzled generations of scholars and that still stands as a pair of seemingly irreconcilable opposites. The books that I selected for this chapter are exemplary of this paradox. Both the Bobbio Missal and the Prague Sacramentary contain a collection of prayers for Mass, following the cycle of the liturgical year. These prayers combine an elevated style – poetic in the Bobbio Missal and sternly stylised in the Prague Sacramentary – with a manifest influence of the spoken language. Numerous characteristics of the kind of written Latin that is typical for the period between the Roman empire and Carolingian reforms of language appear in these books, such as orthographic and morphological shifts due to a growing influence of pronunciation in written language.[20] Such and similar features make the books pre-eminent examples of Latin in transition, traditionally indicated with the awkward label 'vulgar Latin'.[21]

The characteristic features of these liturgical documents did not remain unobserved by medieval users of the books. The concerns referred to above with regard to the quality of language in the liturgical service books and the ability of priests to understand the prayers they recite at the altar resulted in the creation of new books to replace the old ones: an immediate way of emendation. This is, however, not the only shape in which the programme of emendation appears. Textual correction, one of the most concrete forms of *emendatio*, was also applied in the old books themselves and also before the Carolingian period proper. Such emendation forms a source of knowledge in a twofold way: knowledge about the language employed in the early Middle Ages to express prayer and devotion, and knowledge about the problems these documents presented to contemporary and later generations of users with different views on Latin.

An inventory and analysis of textual corrections in the Bobbio Missal and the Prague Sacramentary enable us to classify the problems the users of these books encountered as well as to indicate where problems were left unnoticed or where it was considered unnecessary to intervene.

[20] An exemplary study of these and related phenomena in written Latin clearly explained from the perspective of the spoken language is offered by Roger Wright in his analysis of the moral-didactic texts included in the Bobbio Missal. See C. Wright and R. Wright, 'Additions to the Bobbio Missal: *De dies malus* and *Joca monachorum* (fols 6r–8v)', in Hen and Meens, *The Bobbio Missal*, 79–139, esp. pp. 124–39 ('The language of *De dies malus* and the *Joca monachorum* in the Bobbio Missal').

[21] See M. Banniard, 'Acrolecte et identité culturelle en Francia carolingienne (VIII^{e}–IX^{e} s.)', in W. Pohl and B. Zeller (eds), *Sprache und Identität im frühen Mittelalter* (Vienna, 2012), 109–20, pp. 110–11.

The material

Bobbio Missal

Even if a complete analysis of the Bobbio Missal is not feasible within the framework of this preliminary study – I concentrate here on the prayers for Mass from the beginning (*Missa Romensis cotidiana*, fol. 9r) up to and including Easter (fol. 136v)[22] – it is clear that the division of textual corrections in the sacramental part of this book is uneven. Numerous textual corrections are found in the first Mass *ordo*, *Missa Romensis cotidiana* (fols 10r–19v), but once this text is finished interventions of the corrector's hand occur only occasionally.

The diverse character of the emendations in the 209 prayers examined allows for a rough division in, on the one hand, interventions at the level of vocabulary, taking the shape of additions, deletions and replacements of groups of words and single words, and on the other, emendations related to spelling, which often affect the grammatical appearance of the text.

Vocabulary

Like all interventions in the Bobbio Missal, emendations related to vocabulary occur most frequently in the thirty prayers of the *Missa Romensis cotidiana* (4–33). They interfere with the content of the text in a variety of ways and take the shape of additions (either marginal, interlinear or over an erasure), deletions and replacements with alternative words.

In the *Missa Romensis cotidiana*, deleted word groups are often quite lengthy, such as the phrases scored through in [11] *Memento* (**2**)[23] and [12] *Hanc igitur* (**3**).[24] The same Mass gives a number of instances of the replacement of one

[22] *Missa Romensis cotidiana*, 4–33; *Aduentum domini*, 37–44, 47–52, 55–63; *Natale domini*, 66–70, 75–79; *Sancti Stefani*, 82–6; *Infantum*, 89–93; *Iacobi et Iohannes*, 96–100; *Circumcisio domini*, 103–7; *Epiphania*, 110–14; *Cathedra Petri*, 117–21; *Mariae solemnitate*, 124–8; *Adsumpcio Mariae*, 131–3; *Quadragesima*, 137–41; *Missa Ieiunii*, 144–8, 151–5, 158–62, 165–70; *In traditione symboli*, 189–93; *Cena domini*, 196–201; *Sabbato sancto*, 206–13; *Orationes in Vigilia Paschę*, 214–26; *Benedictio Caerei*, 227; *Ad christianum faciendum*, 228–33; *Ordo baptismi*, 234–54; *Vigilia Paschę*, 257–61; *Die Pasche*, 265–70; *Missa Paschalis*, 274–8, 282–7. Of these, I checked fols 9r–62v (nos 4–133) in the facsimile of the manuscript, and the remainder (nos 137–287) with the help of Lowe's notes in the 1920 edition.

[23] The original elaboration is only found in the Bobbio Missal; see *Canon missae Romanae*, ed. L. Eizenhöfer (Rome, 1954), p. 29. The deletion was perhaps applied in accordance with a preferred model. Figures in bold between brackets refer to the examples listed in Appendix 1.

[24] Cf. the versions of the *Canon missae* in the Stowe Missal and the *Missale Francorum*: Eizenhöfer, *Canon missae*, pp. 30–1.

phrasing by another. In some cases, the original layer is erased and cannot be deciphered any more (**4–5**). In other instances the original layer is scored through but still decipherable (**6–9**), such as the change of the group of saints mentioned in the [18] *Nobis quoque* (**6**)[25] or the entire rephrasing of the introduction to the [20–1] *Pater noster* (**7**). Additions and deletions of single words in this Mass are not very frequent and obviously not as far-reaching as the addition or deletion of word groups. Added words are mainly written above the line (**12–14**). Deletions are performed by erasure (**18**) or by scoring through (**17**, **19–20**); in the latter case the original layer is still decipherable but in the former case this is more problematic.[26] The insertion of alternatives for single words occurs frequently in verbs (**21**, **24–5**). In one case, a relative pronoun, *quae*, is replaced by a conjunction, *ut* (**22**). One emendation takes place in the abbreviation of a *nomen sacrum* (**23**).

Outside the *Missa Romensis cotidiana* emendation of vocabulary occurs less frequently but in similar categories. In the prayers checked, I found examples of the addition of single words (**15–16**) and of the replacement of single words (**26**) and word groups over erasure where the original is no longer visible (**10–11**). A few instances show the need to add standard formulas and closings or to complete the brief mnemonic aids given (**1**, **16**).[27]

Word endings: nouns

In nouns, emendation in endings first consists of the addition or deletion of word final consonants, apparently to improve the grammar of the phrase: word final -m (**27–8**) or word final -s (**33**, **35–6**). Likewise, most vowel-changes in the endings of nouns and adjectives are cases of grammatical *emendatio*. Intervention in the i/e-change in *sangues–sanguis* (**31**) stabilises the form of the nominative singular, as does the emendation of e/i-change in the adjective nominative plural *memoris–memores* (**38**), and the correction of the less common u/i-change in the gerund *creandis–creandus* (**46**). Similar corrections are applied in other cases to improve the morphological appearance of the word (**37**, **41**, **43**, **45**). However, the situation is more confusing in cases where the original layer is more in accordance with classical grammar than the emendation (**29**, **32**). The emendations that occur in endings on -o and -u, -os, and -us or -is all serve the purpose of bringing the orthography in line with regular grammar (**34**, **36**, **39**, **40**).

In some cases it is unclear whether the emendation of a vowel change is at stake, or a conscious adaptation of case or gender based on morphological knowledge.

[25] For other variants in different manuscripts see Eizenhöfer, *Canon missae*, p. 41.

[26] In (**18**), for example, it is unclear whether an additional saint's name is deleted or perhaps the conjunction *et*. Eizenhöfer signals the addition of the name *Quiryni* in one Gregorian sacramentary (Ms. Rome, Bibl. Rossiana lat. 204, Bavaria, s. XI): Eizenhöfer, *Canon missae*, p. 29.

[27] The same occurs in [182] 'Expositio Symboli: per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum' added (fol. 87r, line 23).

Examples are the emendation *hoc–hac* in the sentence *ut quotquod ex hoc altari participationis sacrosanctum filii tui corpus et sanguenem sumpserimus* (**42**): this change leaves unexplained to which noun the corrector relates the pronoun (*hoc* with *altari* was correct; *hac* does not grammatically match with *participationis*). The case *te–tu* (**30**) seems to be a conscious emendation of the personal pronoun in the vocative, while the u/a-change in *paenum–paenam* (**44**) seems to be based on a different opinion on the gender of the word.

Word endings: verbs

Emendations that affect the ending of a verb occur in the *Missa Romensis cotidiana* and show attempts to repair the ending in accordance with grammatical norms (**47**, **48**). In the emended form *audeamus* (**49**) the original layer has become indecipherable.[28] A complex emendation is the sentence *haec quociens cumque fecerites in mei memoriam faciates*, where the verb *faciates* is emended to *facietes* (**50**). In both forms representing the second person plural the endings on *-es* remain unchanged. This is not the only place that shows inconsistency in the patterns of correction, as I will discuss further below.

Outside the *Missa Romensis cotidiana* one emendation in verb ending is found: *tenes–tenens* (**51**).

Vowels within nouns and verbs

Emendations of vowels within nouns and pronouns usually apply corrections according to the regular form of the word (**53**, **54**, **55**). The uncommon a/u-change in *beutitudine* is emended (*beatitudine*) (**56**),[29] just as the e/i-change in *elictionis–electionis* (**57**) and the regular form *stella–stilla* (**58**). The latter case illustrates the strength of certain common phenomena in 'vulgar' Latin, in this case the trend to write -i for -e before a liquid (m, l, n, r); the spelling *stilla* for *stella* seems to have become the more common orthography.[30] The emendation of vowels in the stem of a verb is rare; we find one example: *bebite–bibite* (**52**).

Consonants within nouns and verbs

In the realm of consonants, the Bobbio Missal shows common processes in 'vulgar' Latin such as dissimilation and reduction (degemination),[31] emended in *adscriptam–ascriptam* (**59**) and *Melchissedech–Melchisedech* (**60**). Other common phenomena in 'vulgar' Latin are the devoicing of consonants,[32] such as emended in *suplimi–sublimi* (**61**), and the writing of *r* for an *l* between

[28] Lowe does not comment on this emendation.

[29] Lowe suggests that the form *beutitudine* is caused by a Visigothic model. Lowe, *The Bobbio Missal*, p. 27 n. 2.

[30] Cf. *Missale Gothicum e codice Vaticano reginensi latino 317 editum*, ed. E. Rose, *CCSL* 159D (Turnhout 2005), p. 40.

[31] Cf. Rose, *Missale Gothicum*, pp. 57–9 and 54–5 respectively.

[32] Rose, *Missale Gothicum*, p. 56.

two vowels or between a voiced consonant and a vowel,[33] emended in *inprorimus–inplorimus* (**63**).

The emendation of consonants does not always have a phonetic background; two examples are probably most convincingly explained from a palaeographic perspective: the emendation *cecis–celis* (**64**), as Lowe suggests,[34] and the emendation *adcequi–adsequi* (**62**),[35] which may be explained by the similarity of both letter forms in the uncial script.

Original layer indecipherable, and remaining cases

A number of emendations are difficult to interpret because the original layer has become indecipherable (**65–72**). In a number of other cases it is conceivable that the layer before correction is the result of a scribal error, for instance in the instances of diplography (**74**, **77**) and those where the omission of a single letter cannot be explained with a phonetic argument (**73**). Such scribal errors were often corrected by the scribe himself.

This preliminary survey of emendations gives the impression that *emendatio* in the sense of textual correction was applied in the Bobbio Missal to serve the purpose of *effectus* in two ways. The grammatical correctness of prayers certainly mattered to the user(s) of this book, and was expressed in the emendation of orthography and morphology according to grammatical models. This first impression, however, is modified by the inconsistency with which the correcting hand(s) operated, already noted above in the context of example (**50**). In many instances, examples of the same orthographic or morphologic categories are sometimes corrected and in other cases neglected. I will give only three examples here.

A first example is found in the phrase *Deus qui culpam offenderis penetenciam placaris* …: 'God, who is offended by our failure and appeased by our penance …' (cf. **27**). Both *culpam* and *penetenciam* are (instrumental) ablatives dependent on the passive forms *offenderis* and *placaris*. In both cases, the final -m (an abbreviation stroke in *culpam* and a written -m in *penetenciam*) is hypercorrect. The corrector intervenes in the word *penetenciam* but not in the word *culpam*. The second example is (**28**) discussed above, where in the ablative *totum orbem*: 'throughout the whole world', the noun *orbem* is corrected to *orbe*, while the adjective *totum* (for *toto*) remains unchanged. The third, most striking example is the phrasee …*concedas ut in omnibus protecccionis tuae muneamur auxilium* (**29**): '… and grant that we be strengthened in all things by the help of your protection'. While the intervention in the genitive *proteccionis* (*proteccionis–protecciones*, see above) is a 'vulgarisation' rather than an emendation in accordance with grammatical norms, the form

[33] Rose, *Missale Gothicum*, pp. 61–2.

[34] 'If the copy had a "broken" form of *l*, this would explain the origin of the error.' Lowe, *The Bobbio Missal*, p. 82 n. 4.

[35] Not noticed by Lowe.

auxilium, functioning as an instrumental ablative dependent on the passive verb *muneamur*, is not emended. These examples, to which a number of similar cases could be added, do not suggest that the patterns of textual correction in the Bobbio Missal worked (solely) in the direction of a more regular grammar. Obviously, for the users of this sacramentary the *effectus* of prayer was not only dependent on grammatical correctness. This conclusion is also prompted by the relatively small number of corrections throughout the book, particularly if we consider it as the possession of a priest who probably did not have access to many other books – its use must have been intensive.[36]

The number of emendations in the prayers of the *Missa Romensis cotidiana* – particularly the prayers of the so-called *Canon missae* ([9–22]) – is much larger, and related not only to orthography and morphology but also to whole words and phrases. These emendations seem to have been modelled on an alternative version of the *Canon missae*, an assumption that is supported by Leo Eizenhöfer's critical apparatus accompanying his edition of this text.[37] Did the priest own another model text for these prayers? And is the number of emendations related to the qualification of the Canon as an *oratio periculosa*? Arnold Angenendt indicates that 'extensive penance would be required of anyone who spoke them [the words of Institution of the Last Supper] incorrectly'.[38] Here, we seem to touch most tangibly on the concern to serve the effectiveness of the liturgy with a correct wording of the prayers, particularly the prayers that accompany the most central and holy rite of Mass: the Eucharistic prayer itself.

The Sacramentary of Prague

In the Prague Sacramentary, textual corrections are much more numerous and distributed more evenly than in the Bobbio Missal. Emendations occur on practically every folio, though in some texts the correcting hand is more active than in others, for example in the second Mass for Martin (206).[39] I will present here in general terms the character of the textual corrections in the Prague Sacramentary. Again, I shall concentrate on the 'sacramentary part'

[36] See R. McKitterick, 'The scripts of the Bobbio Missal', in Hen and Meens, *The Bobbio Missal*, 19–52, pp. 50–1.

[37] See Eizenhöfer, *Canon missae*.

[38] A. Angenendt: 'Sacrifice, gifts, and prayers in Latin Christianity', in T. Noble and J. Smith (eds), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. III: *Early Medieval Christianities c. 600–c. 1100* (Cambridge, 2008), 453–71, p. 457; see R. Kottje, '*Oratio periculosa*: Eine frühmittelalterliche Bezeichnung des Kanons?', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 10 (1967), 165–8.

[39] This Mass is left out of consideration here because I studied its textual corrections in E. Rose, 'The sanctoral cycle of the Prague Sacramentary', in Diesenberger *et al.*, *The Prague Sacramentary*.

of this composite book,[40] concentrating on the first half of the liturgical year (Christmas Vigil to Easter Vigil, Masses 1–96, fols 1r–38r).

Vocabulary

The category of added word groups comprises both brief interventions to emend a syntactic construction, such as the accusative-cum-infinitive construction in (**81**), and the addition of entire phrases, for example (**82**), where the original layer probably suffered from an *Augensprung*. In a number of cases, mnemonic aids are added or elaborated (**83–6**). These additions are often inserted by a later cursive hand (**83–5**), while one of them (**86**) is added in, according to Dold and Eizenhöfer, 'beinahe unlesbarer und stark gekürzter Schnörkelschrift' ('an almost illegible and strongly abbreviated script with many flourishes').[41]

Most cases of added single words seem to concern obviously forgotten words (**87–93**). Deletion of single words is found in one case of diplography (**94**), whereas the preposition *a* before an ablative is deleted twice (**95–6**). The deletion of *hominibus* in the phrase *apis caeteris quae subiecta sunt hominibus animantibus* (**97**) could be an unfinished emendation, where the corrector perhaps wanted to replace *hominibus* with *homini*.[42]

Emendation in the sense of the substitution of single words replaces words with a preferred synonym or with a word of different meaning (**98**, **101**, **103**). Some examples in this category are complex, such as the phrase *cuius summus carnali consortio repeteret* → *reparati* (**100**). This emendation is an improvement of the grammar, although it seems to be incomplete: the corrector did not correct *summus* to *sumus*.[43] Did he overlook the abbreviation mark on the first *u*, or was the double *m* no problem in the understanding of this form as the auxiliary verb *sumus*? It is indeed difficult to read the layer before correction as a coherent sentence, whether *summus* was understood as the first person plural of *esse* or as the superlative adjective first person singular masculine. A similar complex case is the emendation of *muneris–muneri* (**99**), interpreted by Dold and Eizenhöfer as an attempt to form an infinitive passive (*muniri*) in the sentence *fac quaesomus domine* [*nos eius*] *perpetua diuinitate muneris*. The final -s is outdotted, but the i/e-change in the stem of the verb is not affected by the corrector – it was apparently overlooked or, perhaps more probably, not seen as a problem. The emendation of abbreviated *non–nos* (**102**) in the sentence *Caelesti lumen quaesumus domine semper et ubique non praeueni* clearly restores the coherence of the phrase and seems to correct a scribal

[40] See n. 18 above.

[41] Dold and Eizenhöfer, *Das Prager Sakramentar*, p. 45*.

[42] See the variants in the notes given by Dold and Eizenhöfer, *Das Prager Sakramentar*, p. 56*.

[43] Dold and Eizenhöfer transcribe *sumus* without comment; Dold and Eizenhöfer, *Das Prager Sakramentar*, p. 8*.

error. The same is valid for the emendation *implent* for *impl&ent* (*impletent*) (**104**). The question of whether the emendation of *Praepare nobis quaesumus domine–Praepare nos quaesumus domine* (**105**) repairs a scribal error or confusion in the system of cases remains unanswered.[44]

Word endings: nouns

Emendations in noun endings seem to aim often at grammatical improvement. Examples are the erasure of word final -m in ablatives (**106**, **112**) and emendations like *inaestimabiles–inaestimabilis* (**114** – a nominative singular is meant) and *archana–archanae* (**107** – a genitive singular is meant; see further **109**, **111**, **113**). But the intervention in noun endings is not always caused by deviant grammar. Thus, the correction *auxili–auxilio* (**110**) in the phrase *auxili a peccatorum nostrorum nexibus* might repair a reading error (*auxilia* for *auxilio*) prompted by the fact that the words are written almost continuously as *auxiliapeccatorumnostrorum nexibus*.

Word endings: verbs

The emendation of verb endings seems to be directed at grammatical improvement in (**118**), where *ueneramus* is corrected to *ueneramur*, perhaps in the awareness that *ueneror* is a deponent verb, while it was often treated in 'vulgar' texts as active.[45]

Vowels within nouns and verbs

Emendations of vowels within nouns and verbs are rare: there is the addition of a (forgotten?) *cauda* in *praconium–praeconium* (**119**)[46] and the emendation of a form of u/o-change common in 'vulgar' Latin (**120**).[47]

Consonants within nouns and verbs

Emendation of consonants within nouns or verbs comprises the emendation of hypercorrect *h* (**121**). The emendation *pecatum–peccatum* (**125**) perhaps intervenes in a tendency to simplify geminated consonants not perceived in pronunciation.[48] The emendation of *insonet* (**124**), where the *s* is erased, is incomplete; did the corrector want to give *intonet* instead?

Original layer indecipherable, and remaining cases

Relatively many cases of emendation are difficult to classify because the original layer has become indecipherable (**127–38**). In addition, there are some cases where the corrected layer is difficult to interpret (**139–40**). Finally, there

[44] Not noticed by Dold and Eizenhöfer.

[45] Rose, *Missale Gothicum*, pp. 89–91.

[46] Not noticed by Dold and Eizenhöfer.

[47] Cf. Rose, *Missale Gothicum*, p. 43 for many instances of u/o-change before liquida, particularly *-l*.

[48] Reduction or degemination: Rose, *Missale Gothicum*, p. 55.

are a number of cases where emendations are made that cannot be easily explained as grammatical improvements. Some of them seem to be the corrections of scribal errors (**141–6**).

Emendation after a preferred model?

In some more elaborate cases the corrector seems to adapt his text to a certain model rather than intervening in individual (grammatical) phenomena that he tries to improve. Thus, [13.3], the preface for Epiphany, is most probably adapted to a preferred model and therefore given here in full.

[13.3] Layer before correction:	[13.3] Corrected layer:
VD Te laudare mirabilem d*eu*m in omnib*us* operibus tuis, quibus sacratissima regni tui mysteria reue̲llasti. Hanc[que] /6v/ festiuitatem index puerpera uirginali stella p*ro*cessit, qui natum in terra, caeli d*omin*um magis stupentibus denuntiaret …	VD Te laudare mirabilem d*eu*m in omnib*us* operibus tuis, quibus sacratissim**i** regni tui **miracula** reue**l**asti. **Huncque enim** /6v/ festiuitatem **quae preuenim*us*** index puerpera uirginali stella p*ro*cessit, **que**[49] natum in terra, caeli d*omin*um magis stupentibus denuntiaret …

The emendation in the ending of *sacratissima* does not necessarily have a grammatical background, but links the adjective to a different noun: *regni* instead of *mysteria/miracula*. The emendation in *hanc* is difficult to explain, since the corrector obviously considered *festiuitatem* feminine, given the added relative clause *quae preuenimus*. The phrase *index puerpera uirginali stella processit* also causes problems. Dold and Eizenhöfer transcribe *index puerpera uirginali<s> stella precessit* with a reference to a sermon by Augustine.[50] However, other witnesses give *puerperae uirginalis*, which can be explained by the ae/a-change that occurs more often in the Prague Sacramentary, and the overlap of word final -s in *uirginalis* and word initial -s in *stella*. Since the emendations are not all 'improving' the text in a grammatical way, it is more probable that the corrector followed a preferred model here.

Whereas textual corrections occur more frequently in the Prague Sacramentary than in the Bobbio Missal, there are proportionally fewer emendations that can be classified as either emendations of vocabulary or corrections of vulgar tendencies than in the Bobbio Missal. Rather, the corrector seems to follow a preferred model in more cases than in the Bobbio Missal. Here, the differences in context of production and use of both books seem to be illustrated: while the Bobbio Missal is considered the work initially of a

[49] Dold and Eizenhöfer give *que*, but I discern an abbreviation mark above the correction *que*. However, an accusative masculine here is difficult to explain. See Dold and Eizenhöfer, *Das Prager Sakramentar*, p. 10*.

[50] Dold and Eizenhöfer, *Das Prager Sakramentar*, p. 10*.

single scribe and user (perhaps the same man),[51] the Prague Sacramentary is seen as a co-production in a context where probably more books and, thus, more authoritative models, were available.[52]

Conclusion

The layers of correction in two sacramentaries of different periods in the eighth century show a concern with the effectiveness of prayer. They also make clear that effectiveness, at least in the two cases I studied, is not only – perhaps not even primarily – dependent on grammatical correctness. Not only are the numbers of textual corrections aimed at the improvement of grammar (particularly orthography and morphology) rather limited in comparison with narrative sources for the liturgy, such as hagiographic collections in late-eighth-century codices (e.g. Montpellier H 55) where grammatical emendation dominates.[53] More striking is the inconsistency of corrective interventions, of which I gave some examples. More work needs to be done to offer a full survey of problematic passages that are *not* corrected, however difficult it is to proceed here without value judgements.[54]

The patterns of correction in the Bobbio Missal and the Sacramentary of Prague, however different, have one trait in common. Both books, even if produced and used presumably in a non-urban, peripheral community of prayer, betray the importance of authoritative models and a tendency to apply textual correction in the sense of the adaptation of content (mainly vocabulary, sometimes also sentences and parts of sentences). The *Missa Romensis cotidiana* in the early Bobbio Missal is the most illustrative example of this way of *emendatio* in liturgical prayers, clearly applied in order to enlarge their *effectus*.

[51] See McKitterick, 'The scripts', pp. 50–2.

[52] For the most recent state of the art, see R. McKitterick, 'The work of the scribes in the Prague Sacramentary, Prague Archív Pražkeho Hradu, MS. O 83', in Diesenberger *et al.*, *The Prague Sacramentary*; and R. McKitterick, 'The scripts of the Prague Sacramentary, Prague Archivio O 83', *Early Medieval Europe* 20 (2012), 407–27.

[53] The correction patterns in this manuscript have been investigated by Evina Steinová in an internship within the project 'The Dynamics of Apocryphal Traditions in Medieval Religious Culture' (unpublished internship report, Utrecht University, 2011).

[54] Elsewhere I have studied the problematic way in which the Bobbio compiler seems to have cut and pasted his examples into abbreviated prayer forms with a sometimes inexplicable lack of coherence. Precisely in these instances the hand of the corrector is miles away. E. Rose, 'Liturgical language in the Bobbio Missal', in Hen and Meens, *The Bobbio Missal*, 67–78, pp. 72–6; and E. Rose, 'Getroost door de klank van woorden: het Latijn als sacrale taal van Ambrosiaster tot Alcuin', in G. Rouwhorst and P. Versnel-Mergaerts (eds), *Taal waarin wij God verstaan. Over taal en vertaling van Schrift en traditie in de liturgie* (Heeswijk, 2015), 63–88.

Appendix

	Bobbio Missal	Sacramentary of Prague
I Vocabulary: word groups added	**1** f. 93v, l. 4: *saluatur mundi* added on the line (189 *In traditione Symboli*)	**81** f. 5r, l. 2–3: *fac quaesumus domine perpetua diuinitate muneris* → *fac quaesomus domine nos eius perpetua diuinitate muneri* (10.1) **82** f. 5r, l. 21: *et preputium quae etiam saluator et dominus noster* (10.3) **83** f. 11v, l. 21: *per dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum filium tuum* added (30.3) **84** f. 13v, l. 5: *dominum nostrum* added (35.5) **85** f. 14v, l. 21: *per dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum* added (41.1) **86** f. 29v, l. 21: *dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum filium tuum qui* added (85.1)
II Vocabulary: word groups deleted	**2** f. 12v, l. 20–2: *qui per uniuerso mundo passi sunt propter nomen tuum domine seo confessoribus tuis* scored through (11 *Memento*) **3** f. 13r, l. 8–9: *quam tibi offerimus in honorem nominis qui deus* scored through (12 *Hanc igitur*)	
III Vocabulary: alternative replaces word groups	**4** f. 11r, l. 10–12: *[po]/testates caeli caelorumque uirtutis ac beata serpahin socia exul/ [tacione]* over erasure (8 *Contestacio*) **5** f. 17v, l. 8–9: *propter magna gloriam tuam domine deus rex celestis* over erasure (26 *Gloria in excelsis*) **6** f. 15v, l. 10–13: *Perpetuae Agne Cicilia Felicitate Anastasia Agathe Lucia Eogenia* → *Felicitate Perpetuae Agathe Agne Cicilia Anastasia* (18 *Nobis quoque*)	

Table (*cont.*)

	Bobbio Missal	Sacramentary of Prague
	7 f. 16r, l. 9–12: *Diuino magisterio aedocti et diuina institutione audemus dicere Pater* → *Oremus praeceptis salutaribus moniti et dina* (for *diuina*) *institutione formati audemus dicere* (20–1 Introduction to *Pater noster*)	
	8 f. 16r, l. 14–16: *omni malo preterito presenti et futuro* → *omnibus malis preteritis presentibus et futuris* (22 *Libera nos*)	
	9 f. 16r, l. 18–19: *uirgene Maria* → *uirgene dei genetrice Maria et* (22 *Libera nos*)	
	10 f. 113r, l. 3: *sub titulus* over erasure (229 *Ad Christianum faciendum*)	
	11 f. 114r, l. 9: *omnipotentis et in nomine* over erasure (234 *Ordo baptismi*)	
IV Vocabulary: single word added	**12** f. 13v, l. 9: *suis* above the line (13 *Quam oblacione*)	**87** f. 3v, l. 3: *qui* added (5.1)
	13 f. 16r, l. 14: *quaesumus* above the line (22 *Libera nos*)	**88** f. 3v, l. 6: *per* added (5.1)
	14 f. 16v, l. 4: *semper* above the line (22 *Libera nos*)	**89** f. 9r, l. 14: *te* added (21.3)
	15 f. 35r, l. 20: *angeli* on the line (70 *Contestatio* Christmas Vigil)	**90** f. 10r, l. 3: *in* added in *Deus qui nos [in] tantis periculis* (25.1)
	16 f. 45v, l. 4: *cuy me* → *cuy merito* on the line (93 *Contestatio Infantum*)	**91** f. 15v l. 16: *deus* added in *Da quaesumus [deus] fidelibus tuis* (44.1)
		92 f. 33r, l. 5: *nature* added (91.2)
		93 f. 37v, l. 12: *uicem* added (95.7)
V Vocabulary: single word deleted	**17** f. 11v, l. 16: *deuotissimo* scored through (9 *Te igitur*)	**94** f. 11r, l. 12: *Fiant tua domine tua gratia conspectui munera supplicantis aecclesiae* (28.2): the second *tua* is deleted[a]
	18 f. 12v, l. 13: erasure between *Crisogoni* and *Iohannes* (11 *Memento*)	**95** f. 22r, l. 1: *Quod ore sumpsimus dominus a mente capia[mus]* (65.3): *a* is deleted
	19 f. 14r, l. 4: *sancti* scored through (13 *Quam oblacione*)	**96** f. 31v, l. 8: *ut hoc idem a nobis* (89.3): *a* is deleted
	20 f. 15r, l. 8: *et* scored through (15 *Supplices*)	**97** f. 37v, l. 8–9: *apis caeteris quae subiecta sunt hominibus animantibus* (95.7): *hominibus* is deleted

Table (*cont.*)

	Bobbio Missal	Sacramentary of Prague
VI Vocabulary: alternative replaces single word	**21** f. 13r, l. 10–11: *accipias* → *suspias* (for *suscipias*) (12 *Hanc igitur*) **22** f. 13v, l. 1: *quae* → *ut* (13 *Quam oblacione*) **23** f. 13v, l. 4: *dei* → *domini* (abbreviation) (13 *Quam oblacione*) **24** f. 14v, l. 8: *aspicere* → *respicere* (14 *Unde et memores*) **25** f. 16v, l. 9: *mundemur* → *emundemur* (23 *Post comunione*) **26** f. 107r, l. 22: *uigiliis* → *uingoliis* (for *uinculis*) (215 *Orationes in vigiliis Pascę*)	**98** f. 3v, l. 17: *reseruasti* → *reserasti* (6.1) **99** f. 5r, l. 3: *muneris* → *muneri* (10.1) **100** f. 5r, l. 4: *cuius summus carnali consortio repeteret* → *reparati* (10.1) **101** f. 7r, l. 8: *montibus* → *moribus* (14.3) **102** f. 7r, l. 18: *non* → *nos* (15.3) **103** f. 8v, l. 12: *expendiat* → *expediat* (20.1) **104** f. 14r, l. 4: *impletent* → *implent* (37.1) **105** f. 15v, l. 19: *Praepare nobis quaesumus domine* → *Praepare nos quaesumus domine* (44.2)
VII Word endings: nouns and pronouns	**27** f. 10v, l. 8: *Deus qui penetenciam* → *penetencia placaris* (5 *Collectio*) **28** f. 11v, l. 15: *et regere digneris totum orbem* → *totum orbe terrarum* (9 *Te igitur*) **29** f. 13r, l. 3: *ut in omnibus proteccionis* → *protecciones tuae muneamur auxilium* (11 *Memento*) **30** f. 13r, l. 17: *te* → *tu* (13 *Quam oblacione*) **31** f. 13v, l. 3: *sangues* → *sanguis* (13 *Quam oblacione*) **32** f. 13v, l. 5: *qui pridie* → *pridii quam pateritur* (13 *Quam oblacione*) **33** f. 13v, l. 9: *in celos* → *in celo* (13 *Quam oblacione*) **34** f. 14v, l. 8: *uulto* → *uultu* (14 *Unde et memores*) **35** f. 14v, l. 15: *summus sacerdo* → *summus sacerdos* (14 *Unde et memores*) **36** f. 14v, l. 15: *sacerdo tuos* → *sacerdos tuus* (14 *Unde et memores*) **37** f. 14r, l. 16: *beate* → *beatę* (14 *Unde et memores*) **38** f. 14r, l. 13: *memoris* → *memores* (14 *Unde et memores*)	**106** f. 3v, l. 3: *in sanguinem* → *in sanguine* (5.1) **107** f. 5r, l. 6 *archana natiuitatis* → *archanae natiuitatis* (10.2) **108** f. 10r, l. 4: *sancti fragilitatis* → *sanctis fragilitatis* (25.1) **109** f. 12v, l. 13: *medicinalibus … ieiunis* → *medicinalibus … ieiuniis* (33.2) **110** f. 13v, l. 10: *intercessionis eius auxili* → *intercessionis eius auxilio* (36.1) **111** f. 23r, l. 8: *Da plebe tuae domine pie semper deuotiones* → *deuotionis effectum* (69.4) **112** f. 29v, l. 10: *ex eam* → *ex ea* (85.1) **113** f. 33v, l. 3: *Adesto … plebem tuam* → *Adesto … plebi tuae* (91.5) **114** f. 37r, l. 8: *inaestimabiles dilectio* → *inaestimabilis dilectio* (95.5)

Table (*cont.*)

	Bobbio Missal	Sacramentary of Prague
	39 f. 14r, l. 19: *in celos* → *in celis* (14 *Unde et memores*)	
	40 f. 15r, l. 1: *in conspecto* → *in conspectu* (15 *Supplices*)	
	41 f. 15r, l. 1–2: *diuini maiestates tuae* → *diuinę maiestates tuae* (15 *Supplices*)	
	42 f. 15r, l. 3: *ut quotquod ex hac* (*hoc* a.c.) *altari participationis sacrosanctum filii tui corpus et sanguenem sumpserimus* (15 *Supplices*)	
	43 f. 16v, l. 7: *Quos celeste domine dono saciati* → *Quos celesti domine dono saciati* (23 *Post communione*)	
	44 f. 16v, l. 20: *paenum* → *paenam* (24 *Consummacio misse*)	
	45 f. 58v, l. 6: *gaudi* → *gaudii* (128 *Contestatio Mariae sollemnitate*)	
	46 f. 114v, l. 9: *creandis* → *creandus* (235 *oracio, Ordo Baptismi*)	
VIII Word endings: verbs	**47** f. 11v, l. 5: *petem[us]* → *petim[us]* (9 *Te igitur*)	**117** f. 5r, l. 7: *purificate mentes…consequamur* (for *purificati mentis*) → *purificatis mentibus … consequamur* (10.2)
	48 f. 14v, l. 8: *dignare* → *digneris* (14 *Unde et memores*)	
	49 f. 19v, l. 9: ? → *audeamus* (32 *Collectio post aios*)	**118** f. 5r, l. 10: *ueneramus* → *ueneramur* (10.3)
	50 f. 14r, l. 12: *faciates* → *facietes* (13 *Quam oblacione*)	
	51 f. 80r, l. 9: *tenes* – *tenens* (170 *Contestatio Quadragesimae*)	
IX Vowels within nouns and verbs	**52** f. 14r, l. 2–3: *bebite* → *bibite* (13 *Quam oblacione*)	**119** f. 4v, l. 17: *praconium* → *praeconium* (7.1)
	53 f. 14r, l. 6: *misterium* → *mysterium* (13 *Quam oblacione*)	**120** f. 35v, l. 9: *famolo* → *famulo* (93.1)
	54 f. 14v, l. 17: *inmacolatam* → *inmaculatam* (14 *Unde et memores*)	
	55 f. 39r, l. 8: *debeta* → *debita* (75 *Natale domini*)	
	56 f. 40v, l. 10: *beutitudine* → *beatitudine* (79 *Contestatio in Natale domini*)	
	57 f. 46r, l. 14: *Elictionis* → *Electionis* (96 *Iacobi et Iohannes*)	
	58 f. 52v, l. 9: *stella* → *stilla* (114 *Contestatio Epyphaniae*)	

Table (*cont.*)

	Bobbio Missal	Sacramentary of Prague
X Consonants within nouns and verbs	**59** f. 13r, l. 19: *adscriptam* → *ascriptam* (13 *Quam oblacione*) **60** f. 14v, l. 15–16: *Melchissedech* → *Melchisedech* (14 *Unde et memores*) **61** f. 14v, l. 32: *suplimi* → *sublimi* (15 *Supplices*) **62** f. 47r, l. 3: *adcequi* → *adsequi* (98 *Post nomina, Iacobi et Iohannes*) **63** f. 54v, l. 14: *inprorimus* → *inplorimus* (119 *Post nomina, Cathedra Petri*) **64** f. 130v, l. 21: *cecis* → *celis* (274 *Missa Paschalis*)	**121** f. 7r, l. 13: *inthus* → *intus* (15.1) **122** f. 9v, l. 1: *tangis* → *tantis* (22.3) **123** f. 24r, l. 17: *eccesiam* → *ecclesiam* (74.1) **124** f. 36r, l. 20: *insonet* → *in.onet* (95.1) **125** f. 37r, l. 10: *pecatum* → *peccatum* (95.5) **126** f. 38r, l. 13: *regessus* → *regressus* (95.8)
XI Emendations where the original layer is indecipherable	**65** f. 14r, l. 7: *nobis*[b] (13 *Quam oblacione*) **66** f. 14v, l. 9 and 10: *acceptum abere* (14 *Unde et memores*) **67** f. 15v, l. 8: *Barnaban* (18 *Nobis quoque*) **68** f. 33v, l. 19: *tibi* (66 *In vigiliis natalis domini*) **69** f. 40r, l. 22: *salute* (from *solute*?) (79 *Contestatio in Natale domini*) **70** f. 46r, l. 16–17: *congregacionis* (96 *Iacobi et Iohannes*) **71** f. 55r, l. 11–12: *plasmam* (from *plasma*?) (121 *Contestatio, Cathedra Petri*) **72** f. 55v, l. 2: *reuelacionis* (from *reuelationis*?) (121 *Contestatio, Cathedra Petri*)[c]	**127** f. 3v, l. 17: *nobis in (?) archana* → *nobis archana* (6.1) **128** f. 4v, l. 18: *gra[.]tias* → gra tias (9.3) **129** f. 5v, l. 18: *inlustrat (?)* → *inlustret* (12.1) **130** f. 7v, 001: *tuum in splendore (?)* → *tuum splendore* (15.4) **131** f. 7v, l. 19: *nosquęe (?)* → *nosque* (17.2) **132** f. 19v, l. 5: *cons[..]ta* → *consu ta* (58.2) **133** f. 23r, l. 12: *cr[.]eatus* → reatus (69.4)[d] **134** f. 24r, l. 12: *sub[…]tus* → *subiecus* (73.3) **135** f. 24r. l. 14: *pro regenerandis (?)* → *pro generandis* (73.3) **136** f. 28r, l. 20: *fonte d (?)* → *fonte* (84.5) **137** f. 36v, l. 6: *misericordiam […]* → *misericordiam* (36v) **138** f. 38r, l. 2: *collectis […] nectar* → *collectis nectar* (95.7)
XII Emendations where the corrected layer is unclear		**139** f. 9r, l. 12: *sancti martyris Agnae* → *sanctae (?) martyris Agnae* (21.3) **140** f. 16r, l. 14: *dispons* → *disponis?* (45.3)

Table (*cont.*)

	Bobbio Missal	Sacramentary of Prague
Remaining emendations	**73** f. 17r, l. 14: *diunis* → *diuinis* (25 *Dicitur post aios*) **74** f. 18v, l. 20–1: *spiritum spiritum* → *spiritum* (30 *Post prece*) **75** f. 34v, l. 2: *Genia* → *Eogenia* (69 *Ad pacem in vigiliis natalis domini*) **76** f. 67r, l. 11–12: *ienunancium* → *ieiunancium* (141 *Contestatio Quadragesimae*) **77** f. 77r, l. 19: *conconsequantur* → *consequantur* (166 *Secreta Quadragesima*) **78** f. 94r, l. 21: *flagare* → *flagrare* (192 *Ad pacem, In traditione symboli*) **79** f. 106v, l. 8: *captiuata..* → *captiuatus* (212 *Die sabbato*) **80** f. 112v, l. 17: *to* → *tuo* (228 *Ad christianum faciendum*)	**141** f. 9v, l. 1: *tangis* → *tantis* (22.3) **142** f. 24r, l. 17: *eccesiam* → *ecclesiam* (74.1) **143** f. 30r, l. 11: *sumen* → *lumen* (86.3) **144** f. 31v, l. 17: *diuitionae* → *diuinationae* (90.1)[e] **145** f. 32v, l. 12: *mura* → *munera* (90.5) **146** f. 38r, l. 13: *regessus* à *regressus* (95.8)

[a] Dold and Eizenhöfer transcribe *tuo*: *Das Prager Sakramentar*, p. 17*.
[b] Not noted by Lowe.
[c] Lowe does not comment on the two emendations in this prayer.
[d] Dold reads *creatus* after correction, but the c is clearly erased. Reading before correction is difficult. Dold reads *cretus*, but a letter between *cr* and *etus* has clearly been erased. Cf. Dold and Eizenhöfer (eds.), *Das Prager Sakramentar*, p. 36*.
[e] Transcribed as *deuotione* by Dold and Eizenhöfer. Dold and Eizenhöfer (eds.), *Das Prager Sakramentar*, p. 48*.

8

Alcuin, Seneca and the Brahmins of India

Yitzhak Hen

Sometime between 800 and 804, Alcuin of York, the retired adviser of the Frankish king, presented Charlemagne with a small compendium of two unique treatises – the apocryphal correspondence between St Paul and Seneca, and the letters supposedly exchanged between Alexander the Great and Dindimus, king of the Brahmins. Alcuin also added a short poem of his own, in which he introduces this gift as a didactic compendium for the benefit of the Frankish king:

> Here one can read on the *gens* of the Brahmins, which stands out with its astonishing habits; let the reader judge [their] faith. Here we read briefly the letters of Paul and Seneca; to which each of them added his own name. To you, the greatest ornament of the world and most illustrious Caesar, your Albinus sends these [treatises] as a small token.[1]

Although kings and high officials were often the dedicatees of works of art and letters throughout late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, Alcuin's

[1] Alcuin, *Carmen* 81, ed. E. Dümmler, *Carmina*, *MGH Poet. lat.* 1, 160–351, p. 300:

> Gens Bragmanna quidem miris quae moribus extat
> Hic legitur: lector mente fidem videat.
> Hic Pauli et Senecae breviter responsa leguntur:
> Quaenam notavit nomine quisque suo.
> Quae tibi, magne decus mundi et clarissime Caesar,
> Albinus misit munera parva tuus.

On this poem, see D. Schaller and E. Könsgen (eds), *Initia carminum Latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum* (Göttingen, 1977), no. 5562, p. 252; *Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam <quae vocantur>*, ed. and trans. C. Barlow, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 10 (Rome, 1938), pp. 95–6; M. Steinmann, *Alexander der Große und die 'nackten Weisen' Indiens. Der fiktive Briefwechsel zwischen Alexander und dem Brahmanenkönig Dindimus* (Berlin, 2012), pp. 83–4.

exceptional choice of two peculiar apocryphal texts is not self evident, and it certainly cannot be taken to represent a standard gift for an early medieval ruler.[2] In what follows, I should like to explore the content of the volume sent by Alcuin to Charlemagne, in an attempt to get a better understanding of Alcuin's aims and objectives in making this gift. I shall then look at the sole direct manuscript copy of Alcuin's compendium (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, lat. 2839–43) in order to strengthen my conclusions.

Alcuin's gift

Throughout his career at court, and subsequently as the abbot of Saint-Martin of Tours, Alcuin presented Charlemagne with numerous poems and treatises.[3] The most illustrious of these gifts is, no doubt, Alcuin's revised edition of the Latin Bible, a copy of which was prepared for Charlemagne around 800, and a second copy was presented to him during Christmas 801 for the royal chapel at Aachen.[4] At about the same time, or shortly afterwards, Alcuin presented Charlemagne with the unique compendium with which we are concerned here.

[2] On the patronage of culture in the early medieval West, see Y. Hen, *Roman Barbarians. The Royal Court and Culture in the Early Medieval West* (Basingstoke, 2007); Y. Hen, 'Court and culture in the Barbarian West: a prelude to the Carolingian Renaissance', in *Le corti nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane 62 (Spoleto, 2015), pp. 627–50, and see there for further bibliography. See also the various papers in R. McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture. Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1994); *Committenti e produzione artistico-letteraria nell'alto medioevo occidentale*, Settimane 39 (Spoleto, 1992).

[3] The amount of literature on Alcuin and his work is enormous, and cannot be listed here. A useful summary is provided by J. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 205–16. See also the seminal studies by D. Bullough, 'Alcuin and the kingdom of heaven: liturgy, theology and the Carolingian age', in D. Bullough, *Carolingian Renewal. Sources and Heritage* (Manchester, 1991), 161–240 [originally published in U.-R. Blumenthal (ed.), *Carolingian Essays. Andrew Mellon Lectures in Early Christian Studies* (Washington, DC, 1983), 1–69]; D. Bullough, *Alcuin. Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden/Boston, MA, 2004). See also the papers in L. Houwen and A. MacDonald (eds), *Alcuin of York. Scholar at the Carolingian Court; Proceedings of the Third Germania Latina Conference Held at the University of Groningen, May 1995*, Germania Latina 3 (Groningen, 1998); Ph. Depreux and B. Judic (eds), *Alcuin de York à Tours. Écriture, pouvoir et réseaux dans l'Europe du haut Moyen Âge* (Tours, 2004).

[4] See D. Ganz, 'Mass production of early medieval manuscripts: the Carolingian Bibles', in R. Gameson (ed.), *The Early Medieval Bible. Its Production, Decoration and Use* (Cambridge, 1994), 53–62, esp. pp. 55–6. See also R. McKitterick, 'Carolingian Bible production: the Tours anomaly', in Gameson (ed.), *The Early Medieval Bible*, 63–77.

Numerous prefatory poems, which Alcuin composed as presentation inscriptions to accompany the gifts he made during his lifetime, survive.[5] The poem cited above is precisely that kind of a prefatory piece, and luckily it provides a clear timeframe for Alcuin's gesture. The *terminus post quem* is set by the fact that Alcuin addresses Charlemagne as *Caesar*, which implies that the poem was composed after Charlemagne's imperial coronation of 800, and before Alcuin's death in 804.[6] Other, much earlier dates were suggested in the past, but none of them is supported by the evidence.[7]

What is remarkable about the gift sent by Alcuin to Charlemagne is not so much the fact that it was made in the first place, or that Alcuin presented it with a personalised dedicatory poem. It is the content of this compendium that makes the gift conspicuous, and curious, and compelling. Alcuin chose two exceptional apocryphal texts – the so-called *Collatio Alexandri and Dindimi* and the correspondence between St Paul and Seneca – both of which were composed at the dawn of the patristic era.[8] Since Alcuin's compendium is the first substantial evidence for the circulation of both texts in the early medieval West, it is impossible to ascertain whether we owe their existence to some exercise in a rhetorical school, as suggested by Claude Barlow with reference to the correspondence between Paul and Seneca, or to some initiatives associated with the rising ascetic movement and its opponents.[9] Moreover, it is impossible to gauge whether Alcuin knew or suspected these texts to be apocryphal, although it would only be fair to assume that he believed them to be

[5] See, for example, Ganz, 'Mass production', pp. 55–6; D. Dales, *Alcuin: Theology and Thought* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 199.

[6] On the various nicknames used by Alcuin, see M. Garrison, 'The social world of Alcuin: nicknames at York and at the Carolingian court', in Houwen and MacDonald (eds), *Alcuin of York*, 59–79. See also M. Garrison, *Alcuin's World through His Letters and Verse* (Cambridge, forthcoming). On Charlemagne's imperial coronation, see R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne. The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 114–18, and see there for further bibliography. On Alcuin's death, see Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 17–19.

[7] See, for example, K. Dowden, 'The Alexander romance', in P. Bryan (ed.), *Collected Ancient Greek Novels* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1989), 652–735, p. 653. On the date, see also Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 379 nn. 147–8; Steinmann, *Alexander der Große*, pp. 74–5.

[8] See below for a fuller discussion of these treatises and their dates of composition.

[9] In the case of Seneca and St Paul, brief references to the correspondence can be found in Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, one of Augustine's letters and Pseudo-Linus's *Passio Petri et Pauli*. See *Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam*, ed. Barlow, pp. 110, 91–2. The association with the ascetic movement is suggested by numerous references to ascetic lifestyle and stoic/cynic philosophy in the texts themselves. See Steinmann, *Alexander der Große*, pp. 60–6.

authentic.[10] The fact that he had picked them and sent a copy of them to the Frankish king is significant in itself, and one has to acknowledge that by doing so Alcuin tried to send a certain message to the king and his court, and maybe to disseminate a specific political ideology. Let us, then, take a closer look at these texts and the lesson they may have conveyed to a Carolingian ruler.

The *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi*, which is dated to the first quarter of the fifth century, contains five letters supposedly exchanged between Alexander the Great and Dindimus, king of the Brahmins.[11] In the first letter, Alexander the Great approaches Dindimus, after hearing about the Brahmins' unusual way of life and customs, asking him to explain his philosophy without delay.[12] In a lengthy response, Dindimus elucidates the ascetic nature of the Brahmins' life, their philosophy, their pacifistic ideology and their critical views of Alexander's polytheistic religion.[13] Throughout his answer, Dindimus compares with much contempt and condescension the 'pure' and 'superior' habits of the Brahmins with Alexander's mundane and human world. Alexander is not impressed, and in a short letter he clarifies that the Brahmins' self-declared superiority is a false paradigm. 'It is my opinion', he writes at the very end of his letter, 'that your life and customs are closer to stupidity than to wisdom'.[14] The fourth letter is Dindimus's attempt to refute Alexander's accusation that the Brahmins think of themselves as gods, or have some grudge against Alexander's gods.[15] Yet again, Alexander is not convinced, and in his final response to Dindimus, Alexander reiterates his contention against the Brahmins' extreme way of life.[16] 'I insist that your life is not blessedness but punishment', he hurls at the Brahmin, wrapping up his argument with an impatient burst full of verve and panache:[17]

[10] Medieval authors certainly believed these texts to be authentic. For a list of testimonies, see *Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam*, ed. Barlow, pp. 110–12; Steinmann, *Alexander der Große*, pp. 83–96.

[11] For a superb edition of the *Collatio* with a German translation, a lengthy introduction and a detailed commentary, see Steinmann, *Alexander der Große*, and see there pp. 51–81 for the date of composition. An earlier edition was published by T. Pritchard, 'The *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi*', *Classica et mediaevalia* 46 (1995), 255–83. Throughout this chapter I cite Steinmann's edition.

[12] *Collatio* 1, pp. 126–8.

[13] *Collatio* 2, pp. 130–68.

[14] *Collatio* 3, p. 170: 'Haec iudicio meo dementiae potius quam philosophiae numeranda sunt.' I cite the English translation from R. Stoneman, *Legends of Alexander the Great*, rev. edn (New York, 2012), 57–66, p. 64.

[15] *Collatio* 4, pp. 172–6.

[16] *Collatio* 5, pp. 178–88.

[17] *Collatio* 5:2, p. 180 (trans. Stoneman, *Legends*, p. 65): 'Verius ergo non beatitudinis, sed castigationis esse confirmo, quod vivitis.'

> Given that we have all the good fruits of the earth, and the abundance of the fish of the sea, and the delicacies of the birds that fly, your wish that we should abstain from all things will lead to your being judged either over-proud, for despising all these gifts, or envious, because you think I have been endowed with better gifts than you.[18]

Although cast in an epistolary mould, the *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi* reads more like a heated face-to-face debate between Alexander and Dindimus on the right way to live one's life.

Why would Alcuin choose such a text for Charlemagne? And where could he find it? One cannot answer these questions with any amount of certainty before some more evidence is unearthed. However, some observations can be made. The *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi* stands at the crossroads of two intellectual traditions that swept the Christian world in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. On the one hand, the Brahmins of India and their ascetic way of life fascinated numerous patristic authors from a fairly early stage, a fascination that was intensified with the rise of monasticism and its critics.[19] A long list of patristic authors – Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, Hippolytus of Rome, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine and Prudentius – dealt in passing with the wisdom of the Brahmins of India. None of them, however, shows any acquaintance with the *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi*, and in all of them the Brahmins represent some sort of 'barbarian philosophy' that stressed the ascetic features of their lives, just like the cynic philosophers of antiquity.[20]

Surprisingly, but not unexpectedly, the Brahmins figure quite prominently in the literary crops of the Abbasid period as well, both as ascetic sages to whom Alexander had posed questions – a role they had acquired in antiquity and that received particular development in Persian poetry – and from

[18] *Collatio* 5:6, p. 188 (trans. Stoneman, *Legends*, p. 66): 'Si ergo fructus nobis seminum ministrantur e terra, copiae piscium conferuntur e mari, avium catervae largiuntur ex aëre, his si utendo volueris abstinere, aut superbiae notaberis, quia donate repudias, aut invidiae, quod a meliore praestantur.'

[19] J. Derrett, 'The history of "Palladius on the races of India and the Brahmans"', *Classica et mediaevalia* 21 (1960), 64–99; B. Berg, 'Dandamis: an early Christian portrait of Indian asceticism', *Classica et mediaevalia* 31 (1970), 269–305; R. Stoneman, 'Who are the Brahmans? Indian lore and cynic doctrine in Palladius', *Classical Quarterly* 44 (1994), 500–10. See also, for example, Steinmann, *Alexander der Große*, pp. 60–6.

[20] G. Stroumsa, *Barbarian Philosophy. The Religious Revolution of Early Christianity*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 112 (Tübingen, 1999), esp. pp. 72–5. See also A. Dihle, 'The conception of India in Hellenistic and Roman literature', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 190 (1964), 15–23; A. Dihle, 'Indische Philosophen bei Clemens Alexandrinus', in A. Stuiber and A. Hermann (eds), *Mullus. Festschrift Theodor Klauser* (Münster, 1964), 60–70.

the mid eighth century onwards as mouthpieces in *kalām* debates about the necessity of prophets.[21] Could it be that the Abbasid literary preoccupation with the Brahmins of India ignited Alcuin's fascination with them? It seems we shall never know. But given what we do know about the contacts between the Muslim world and early medieval Francia, it is tempting to entertain the thought.[22]

On the other hand, the history of Alexander the Great and the various legends associated with him became a prominent feature of the historiographical and intellectual culture of the Latin West.[23] Although the interest in, and circulation of, the Alexander legend and the burgeoning literature associated with it reached their peak in the West in the latter part of the Middle Ages, it was already quite popular in the patristic and early medieval centuries,[24] and much

[21] See C. Genequand, 'Sagesse et pouvoir: Alexandre en Islam', in M. Bridges and J. Bürgel (eds), *The Problematics of Power* (Bern, 1996), 125–33; C. Genequand, 'Alexandre et les sages de l'Islam', *Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures* 4 (2001), 137–44; M. Southgate, 'Portrait of Alexander in Persian Alexander-romances of the Islamic era', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 97 (1977), 278–84; S. Stroumsa, 'The Barāhima in early Kalām', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 6 (1985), 229–41; S. Stroumsa, *Freethinkers of Medieval Islam*, Islamic Theology, Philosophy and Science 35 (Leiden/Boston, MA/Cologne, 1999), pp. 145–62; B. Abrahamov, 'The Barāhima's enigma: a search for a new solution', *Die Welt des Orients* 18 (1987), 72–91.

[22] On these contacts, see M. McCormick, 'Byzantium and the West, 700–900', in *NCMH*, Vol. II, 349–380; M. McCormick, 'Pippin III, the embassy to the Caliph al-Mansur, and the Mediterranean world', in M. Becher and J. Jamut (eds), *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751. Vorgeschichte, Legitimationsstrategien und Erinnerung* (Münster, 2004), 221–41; M. McCormick, *Charlemagne's Survey of the Holy Land. Wealth, Personnel, and Buildings of a Mediterranean Church between Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Dumbarton Oaks, 2011); W. Drews, *Die Karolinger und die Abbasiden von Bagdad: Legitimationsstrategien frühmittelalterlicher Herrscherdynastien im transkulturellen Vergleich*, Europa im Mittelalter 12 (Berlin, 2009); Y. Hen, 'Charlemagne and the Holy Land', in *Einhard's Life of Charlemagne* (Tel Aviv, 2005), 79–91 [in Hebrew]; Hen, *Roman Barbarians*, pp. 172–6; Hen, 'Court and culture in the Barbarian West'.

[23] The amount of literature on the medieval Alexander is enormous and cannot be listed here. For a comprehensive introduction, see R. Stoneman, *Alexander the Great. A Life in Legend* (New Haven, 2008); R. Stoneman, 'The Latin Alexander' and 'The medieval Alexander', in H. Hofmann (ed.), *Latin Fiction. The Latin Novel in Context* (London/New York, 1999), 167–86 and 238–52 respectively. See also the various papers in Z. Zuwiyya (ed.), *A Companion to Alexander Literature in the Middle Ages* (Leiden/Boston, MA, 2011).

[24] See, for example, R. Stoneman, 'Primary sources from the classical and early medieval periods', in Zuwiyya, *A Companion to Alexander Literature*, 1–20.

of its diffusion in the Carolingian period was associated with Tours, Alcuin's residence during the last phase of his life.[25]

Reports on Alexander's encounter with the Brahmins of India in general, and with Dindimus in particular, were part and parcel of the Alexander corpus from antiquity onwards, and various versions of it survive.[26] The *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi* is part of this literary tradition, and Alcuin's edition of it is the first evidence for its existence and circulation in the West.[27] Yet the *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi* is rather different from any other account of the encounter between Alexander and the Brahmins. Unlike the traditional Cynics' attacks on Alexander the Great, which are common in many of the Alexander legends, in the *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi*, Dindimus presents a thorough analysis of the whole character of Alexander as a successful and resolute ruler alongside an account of the ideal ascetic life of the Brahmins. Hence, the *Collatio* demonstrates not only the flaws in Alexander's life, but also the righteous life that a ruler should lead, and that approach makes this treatise an effective 'mirror of princes' (*speculum principum*).[28] Moreover, its literary format – that is, a rhetorical controversy between a ruler and an admired sage, serves extremely well the educational and moral purposes that Alcuin may have had in mind.

Surely, Charlemagne could relate to many of Alexander's qualities and statements. The Alexander of the *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi* is a mighty warrior, a judicious and benevolent ruler, and a perceptive and learned person – everything Charlemagne, with the help of his advisers, aimed at. But above all, the Alexander of the *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi* is a relentless promoter of moderation (*temperantia*), who argues forcefully against the Brahmins' extreme asceticism. 'There is nothing to admire in a man's living in poverty and want', he replied to Dindimus's sermon, 'but rather in living temperately in the midst of riches'.[29] And further on in the very same letter he says, 'we, rational men, who have free will, have been provided by nature with many

[25] See R. McKitterick, 'Ancient history at Carolingian Tours' (forthcoming).

[26] See R. Stoneman, 'Naked philosophers: the Brahmans in the Alexander historians and the Alexander romance', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 115 (1995), 99–114; F. Pfister, 'Das Nachleben der Überlieferung von Alexander und den Brahmanen', *Hermes* 76 (1941), 143–69; Steinmann, *Alexander der Große*, pp. 29–49.

[27] Steinmann, *Alexander der Große*, pp. 83–4; Stoneman, *Legends*, p. xxvii; G. Cary, 'A note on the medieval history of the *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi*', *Classica et mediaevalia* 15 (1954), 124–9.

[28] G. Cary, *The Medieval Alexander* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 91–5; E. Liénard, 'La Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 15 (1936), 819–38.

[29] *Collatio* 5:3, p. 182 (trans. Stoneman, *Legends*, p. 65): 'Ergo non in angustiis et egestate, sed in opulentia temperanter vixisse laudandum est.'

comforts to improve our lives. It would be impossible for this great world not to have something to temper and moderate it, for there be no happiness to offset grief.'[30] This is exactly one of the virtues attributed to Charlemagne by Einhard.[31]

Alcuin's interest in Alexander the Great's encounter with the Brahmins and their Stoic-like philosophy must have drawn him to Seneca, who gradually became the paragon of Stoic philosophy in the Latin-speaking Christian world.[32] However, what the rationale was behind coupling the *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi* and the correspondence of Seneca and St Paul is not at all clear. Notwithstanding the fact that both treatises are written as an exchange of letters, and that both have something of a didactic air about them, there is very little that is common to the *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi* and the *Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam*. And still, both seem to fit Alcuin's intentions to provide Charlemagne with some sort of 'mirror of princes'.

Like the *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi*, the correspondence between St Paul and Seneca is a late antique apocryphal text, whose origin is surrounded by mist.[33] It was composed, most probably, shortly before 392, the year in which Jerome published his *De viris illustribus* (*On illustrious Men*), where the *Epistolae* are mentioned for the first time.[34] It was also known to Augustine

[30] *Collatio* 5:6, p. 186 (trans. Stoneman, *Legends*, p. 66): 'Nobis, id est rationabilibus hominibus, qui nullius inediae lege perstringimur, qui ad bene vivendum libero incitamus arbitrio, ut voluntariam continentiam digna remuneratio consequatur, dedit multas natura blanditias, quibus plerumque virtus sopita conivet. Impossibile est enim, ut tantam mundi magnitudinem non alicuius temperamenti moderatio gubernans faceret tristibus laeta succedere.'

[31] See Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, cc. 23–4, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH SRG* 25, pp. 27–9. On the link between the transmission of Einhard's *Vita Karoli Magni* and the Alexander legend, see M. Tischler, *Einharts 'Vita Karoli': Studien zur Entstehung, Überlieferung und Rezeption*, *MGH Schriften* 48, p. 361.

[32] See *Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam*, ed. Barlow, pp. 1–7; R. Thorsteinsson, *Roman Christianity and Roman Stoicism. A Comparative Study of Ancient Morality* (Oxford, 2010).

[33] The standard edition of the letters is *Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam*, ed. Barlow. A more recent revised edition was published in *Epistolario apocrifo di Seneca e San Paolo*, ed. and trans. L. Bocciolini-Palagi, Biblioteca Patristica 5 (Bologna, 1985). Throughout this chapter I cite Bocciolini-Palagi's edition and Barlow's English translation.

[34] See *Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam*, ed. Barlow, pp. 80–93; E. Liénard, 'Alcuin et les *Epistolae Senecae et Pauli*', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 20 (1941), 589–98; *Epistolario apocrifo di Seneca e San Paolo*, ed. Bocciolini-Palagi, pp. 19–23. Jerome-Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*, c. 12, ed. E. Richardson, Texte und Untersuchungen 14 (Leipzig, 1896), p. 15.

and to the seventh-century author of the *Passio Petri et Pauli*, before Alcuin incorporated it into his compendium for Charlemagne.[35]

The fourteen letters that form this collection are rather dull and unpretentious, consisting mainly of flattery and friendly exchange of compliments. Oddly enough, neither Paul's theology, nor Seneca's Stoic philosophy, is mentioned or discussed in any of the letters.[36] And yet, although this collection delivers no clear message nor a coherent political ideology, some sayings and ideas that may have appealed to the Frankish king are scattered throughout it. For example, in one of his letters to Seneca, Paul writes that 'we must show respect to everyone, the more so as they are apt to find cause for offense', an echo of which can be found in Einhard's *Vita Karoli Magni*.[37]

In a different letter, to give just one more example, Seneca rebukes Paul's literary skills with some blunt words of criticism: 'I wish, since you have such excellent matters to propose, that refinement of language might not be lacking to the majesty of your theme.'[38] A quick look at Charlemagne's *Epistola de litteris colendis* (*A Letter on the Cultivation of Learning*) will suffice to clarify why Charlemagne would have liked Seneca's reproach.[39] These and similar passages may have been interpreted by Charlemagne as small reassurances that he had done things the right way. Hence, it appears that by coupling the *Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam* with the *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi*, Alcuin made a virtuosic attempt to create some sort of an instructive compendium for his old master. Its purpose was not so much to educate the king and teach him how he should rule, but rather to encourage and reassure him that whatever he had done was right. After all, when compared with the mighty

[35] See *Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam*, ed. Barlow, p. 110.

[36] On the content and nature of this correspondence, see A. Kurfess, 'Zu dem apokryphen Briefwechsel zwischen dem Philosophen Seneca und dem Apostel Paulus', *Aevum* 26 (1952), 42–8; J. Sevenster, *Paul and Seneca* (Leiden, 1961); L. Reynolds, *The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's Letters* (Leiden, 1965); W. Trillitzsch, *Seneca im literarischen Urteil der Antike. Darstellung und Sammlung der Zeugnisse*, 2 vols (Amsterdam, 1971), Vol. I, pp. 170–85. D. Mitchell, *Legacy. The Apocryphal Correspondence between Seneca and Paul* (Bloomington, 2010) is shoddy and superficial.

[37] *Ep.* 6, ed. Bocciolini-Palagi, p. 56 (trans. Barlow, p. 142): 'Honor omnibus habendus est, tanto magis quanto indignandi occasionem captant'; Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, c. 23, pp. 27–8.

[38] *Ep.* 7, ed. Bocciolini-Palagi, p. 58 (trans. Barlow, p. 142): 'Vellem itaque, cum res eximias proferas, ut maiestati earum cultus sermonis non desit.' See also *Epistolae* 13, ed. Bocciolini-Palagi, pp. 66–8.

[39] See *Karoli epistola generalis*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 80–1. On this letter, see T. Martin, 'Bemerkungen zur "Epistola de litteris colendis"', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 31 (1985), 227–72.

Alexander of the *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi*, or with the useless Nero of the *Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam*, Charlemagne comes out as a pretty effective and judicious king.[40]

The manuscript evidence

The didactic and consolatory intent of Alcuin's compendium for Charlemagne is strengthened by the sole manuscript that seems to reproduce Alcuin's original edition: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, lat. 2839–43.[41]

In comparison with other more famous manuscripts from the Frankish Kingdoms, Bibliothèque Royale, lat. 2839–43 is a modest volume. It consists of 108 folios, measuring 203 ×135 mm, with a written area of 143 × 85 mm, and it seems that those who prepared this manuscript intended it to be a handy volume. The folios are numbered from 1 to 107, and they are divided into fourteen quires, all of which apart from the last one are regular gatherings of eight folios (four bifolia).[42] The folios were ruled (each quire separately) with a hard point, guided by pricking at both margins. Double bounding lines were also ruled with a hard point in both the inner and the outer margins, guided by pricking on or near the bounding line itself.

The text, for which a single scribe is responsible, is written in twenty long lines to a page. Its script is a clear and firm Caroline minuscule of the Saint-Germain-des-Prés type, whereas the headings are written in mixed uncial, often in red. There are very few ligatures, and some abbreviations, most of which are 'standard'. Usually a medial point denotes a short pause, and a semicolon a long one. There are no illustrations or decorated initials, and it seems that the text was corrected by a different (although very similar) hand shortly after it was copied. On account of its palaeography and codicology, it is possible to date the Brussels manuscript to the first third of the ninth century (*c.* 830), and to attribute its production to the scriptorium of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.[43]

[40] Nero is mentioned (always in a pejorative way) in *Epp.* 3, 8–9 and 11, ed. Bocciolini-Palagi, pp. 54, 60–2 and 64 respectively.

[41] For some descriptions of this manuscript, see J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, Vol. II (Brussels, 1902), no. 1101, p. 135; *Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam*, ed. Barlow, pp. 8–9; B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, Vol. I: *Aachen-Lambach* (Wiesbaden, 1998), no. 706, p. 152.

[42] This numeration is modern, and whoever did it missed a folio after fol. 12 (nowadays marked as fol. 12a); the last quire consists of only two bifolia. There are no quire marks.

[43] See *Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam*, ed. Barlow, pp. 8–9; Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, p. 152. This date is accepted by Bullough,

The content of Bibliothèque Royale, lat. 2839–43 tells us an interesting story. The core of the manuscript is a copy of Alcuin's compendium, which is, in fact, the earliest copy of all three texts – Alcuin's dedicatory poem, the *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi* and the *Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam* – and the only one that contains all three together, and in the right order.[44] The perceptive compiler who prepared this codex reacted to Alcuin's attempts to produce a reassuring 'mirror of princes', and hence added a series of treatises that engage, in one way or another, with some of the topics raised by the *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi* or by the letters of Seneca and St Paul.

Sandwiched between a collection of pastoral-theological tracts and the Pseudo(?)-Gregorian *De concordia testimoniorum*, Alcuin's compendium in the Brussels codex occupies the central stage, and dictates the choices made by the compiler. The pastoral-theological section that precedes Alcuin's compendium corresponds with themes in the *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi*, and it contains Augustine's sermon *De disciplina Christiana* (*On Christian Discipline*), which is basically a concise manual of Christian moral principals;[45] Eraclius of Hippo's sermon, which is more of a laudatory piece for Augustine's theology and righteous life;[46] and John Chrysostom's two sermons *De compunctione cordis* (*On the Compunction of the Heart*), which are a primer on ascetic contemplation.[47] The Brussels manuscript concludes with the Pseudo(?)-Gregorian *De concordia testimoniorum*, which refers to several passages in Paul's Epistles.[48] This is emphatically not a random collection of unrelated texts, and whoever

Alcuin, pp. 378–9. Tischler, *Einharts 'Vita Karoli'*, p. 361 n. 422 suggests the second quarter of the ninth century.

[44] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, lat. 2839–43, fols 41v (Alcuin's poem), 42r–66r (*Collatio*), 66v–74r (*Epistolae*). On the manuscript tradition of Alcuin's poem and the *Epistolae*, see *Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam*, ed. Barlow, pp. 8–69 and 94–104; *Epistolario apocrifo di Seneca e San Paolo*, ed. Bocciolini-Palagi, pp. 45–47. On the manuscript tradition of the *Collatio*, see Steinmann, *Alexander der Große*, pp. 97–115.

[45] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, lat. 2839–43, fols 1r–21r. For an edition, see Augustine, *De disciplina Christiana*, ed. R. Van der Plaetse, *CCSL* 46 (Turnhout, 1969), 707–24.

[46] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, lat. 2839–43, fols 21r–26v. On this sermon, see P. Verbraken, 'Les deux sermons du prêtre Eraclius d'Hippon', *Revue Bénédictine* 71 (1961), 3–21.

[47] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, lat. 2839–43, fols 26v–41v. For an edition of these sermons, see W. Schmitz (ed.), *Monumenta tachygraphica Codicis Parisiensis Latini 2718. Sancti Iohannis Chrysostomi de cordis conpunctione libros II latine versos continens* (Hanover, 1883), pp. 1–31.

[48] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, lat. 2839–43, fols 75r–108v. For an edition, see Pseudo-Gregory, *De concordia testimoniorum*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 79, cols 659–78.

compiled this codex invested much thought in expanding the horizons of Alcuin's original compendium, and in arranging the additional tracts in a way that preserved the compendium's centrality.[49] Building on some themes in Alcuin's chosen texts, the compiler of Bibliothèque Royale, lat. 2839–43 created an original Christian manual, which touches upon Christian morals, asceticism, and the virtues of *temperantia* and *humilitas*, as well as on Paul's theology. Not a 'mirror of princes' par excellence, but definitely a fascinating didactic collection of texts for the learned and interested Christian.[50]

Conclusion

What, then, was the purpose of Alcuin's compendium? The answer for that, I would submit, must be sought in the historical context of its composition. The early years of the ninth century were not easy ones for Charlemagne. Although the solemn coronation at Rome and the imperial title bestowed upon him by the pope in 800 were not of any practical importance for the Frankish ruler, they presumably did make him realise the heavy burden that

[49] The first few lines of the abbreviation of Bede's World Chronicle were also copied straight after the *Epistolae* of St Paul and Seneca, on fol. 74r. The scribe, however, stopped at the middle, and fol. 74v was left blank. It seems to me that the text was not part of the original plan of the codex, and it was copied simply because it appeared in the exemplar used. This, I would submit, points at the historiographical context in which the Alexander legends were disseminated, and it may well strengthen the Tours connection. For an edition of the abbreviated chronicle, see *Abbreviatio chronicae*, ed. T. Mommsen, *MGH Auctores antiquissimi* 13:1, 349–54. On this abbreviation, see I. Garipzanov, 'The Carolingian abbreviation of Bede's World Chronicle and Carolingian imperial genealogy', *Hortus artium medievalium* 11 (2005), 291–7.

[50] On the Carolingian 'mirror of princes', see L. Born, 'The *specula principis* of the Carolingian Renaissance', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 12 (1933), 583–613; H. Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit*, Bonner historische Forschungen 32 (Bonn, 1968); A. Dubreucq, 'La littérature des specula: délimitation du genre, contenu, destinataires et reception', in M. Lauwers (ed.), *Guerriers et moines. Conversion et sainteté aristocratiques dans l'Occident médiéval (IXe–XIIe siècle)* (Paris, 2002), 17–39; M. Rouche, 'Miroirs des princes ou miroir du clergé?', *in Committenti e produzione artistico-letteraria nell'alto medoevo occidentale*, Vol. I, Settimane 39 (Spoleto, 1992), 341–67; R. Stone, 'Kings are different: Carolingian mirrors of princes and lay morality', in F. Lachaud and L. Scordia (eds), *Le prince au miroir de la littérature politique de l'Antiquité aux Lumières* (Rouen, 2007), 69–86; R. Stone, *Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 36–46. One cannot rule out the possibility that it was prepared with a specific ruler in mind. However, there is no evidence that associates it with either Louis the Pious, or one of his sons.

lay on his shoulders as God's chosen representative.[51] This is exactly how Alcuin understood it even before the imperial coronation, when he wrote to Charlemagne: 'What glory will be yours, most blest king, when all these, who have been turned from the worship of idols to know the true God by your good care, follow you as you stand in happy case before the judgement seat of your Lord Jesus Christ and your reward of eternal joy is increased through them all.'[52] This enhanced responsibility may well have brought social and religious shortcomings into sharp focus for him, and made him see signs and omens of disaster if God were not swiftly appeased. It was the creation of a better Christian society, whose salvation is ensured and thereby ensures the salvation of the king, that the emperor was concerned about. Charlemagne, according to François Louis Ganshof, became emotionally pressured, and consequently his pronouncements became noticeably more religious.[53] This 'psychological crisis within Charlemagne himself', to use Ganshof's words, led to the reform enterprise of 802, best manifested in the so-called 'programmatic' capitulary, issued at Aachen in March of that year.[54]

While it may be unfair to characterise Ganshof's contention as historical fiction, it is arguably a feat of historically informed conjectures, to which many historians would not subscribe. There is, however, another possible explanation. In 796 Alcuin left the court and moved to Tours, where he remained somewhat detached from the Frankish royal centre of activity. But even before that move, and certainly after he got back to Francia from a three-year visit to Anglo-Saxon England (during 790–93), Alcuin, as pointed out by Donald Bullough, was uneasily positioned on the outer edge

[51] See R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians* (London, 1983), pp. 71–2; McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 111–18.

[52] Alcuin, *Ep.* 110, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 4, p. 157: '… quando hi omnes, qui per tuam bonam sollicitudinem ab idolatriae cultura ad cognoscendum verum Deum conversi sunt, te ante tribunal domini nostri Iesu Christi in beata sorte stantem sequentur et ex his omnibus perpetuae beatitudinis merces augetur'. I cite the English translation from S. Allott (trans.), *Alcuin of York c. AD 732 to 804. His Life and Works* (York, 1974), p. 72.

[53] F. Ganshof, *Frankish Institutions under Charlemagne*, trans. M. Lyon and B. Lyon (New York, 1968), pp. 6–7.

[54] F. Ganshof, 'Charlemagne's programme of imperial government', in F. Ganshof, *The Carolingians and the Frankish Monarchy. Studies in Carolingian History*, trans. J. Sondheimer (London, 1971), 55–85 [originally published as 'Le programme de gouvernement impérial de Charlemagne', in *Renovatio Imperii. Atti della giornata internazionale di studio per il Millenario, Ravenna, 4–5 November 1961* (Faenza, 1963), 63–96]. See also McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 257–8. For the capitulary itself, see *Capitulare missorum generale* (*a.* 802), ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 91–9.

of the circle of royal *conciliarii*.[55] The dominant figure among Charlemagne's advisers at the time was Theodulf of Orléans, Alcuin's bitter rival.[56] Against this background, and bearing in mind the constant power-struggle between these two highly dominant figures, which continued long after they had left Charlemagne's court, it is not too far-fetched a supposition that the above-mentioned compendium was nothing but a straightforward attempt made by Alcuin to impress and flatter Charlemagne, in hopes of regaining influence over the Frankish king, and hence resuming the central political role he had had before leaving for Tours.

Amidst this personal and political turmoil, Alcuin of York, Charlemagne's closest adviser and the man who knew him better than anyone else, sent the emperor an unusual gift of two apocryphal texts, with a special dedicatory poem. At face value, this gesture seems like a mentor's attempt to provide the emperor with some advice and guidance. However, a closer look at the texts gathered by Alcuin for Charlemagne clarifies that they were carefully chosen by Alcuin in order to soothe the emperor's anxiety and reassure him that he had done the right things, and that therefore his salvation was assured. Like Alexander the Great of the *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi* Charlemagne had executed his duties as a ruler with much vigour and finesse; and following the advice of Seneca and Paul, he did everything in his power to inculcate the Christian message among his subjects, be it by kindling missionary zeal, by reforming the Church and supporting its representatives, or by promoting education and learning. In that respect, Paul's last words to Seneca, which also conclude the entire compendium sent by Alcuin to Charlemagne, read as if they were written especially for Charlemagne himself: 'Once the Word of God has inspired the boon of life within them [i.e. the king, his entourage and his people], it will create a new man, without corruption, an abiding being, hastening thence to God.'[57] Charlemagne has done that; his salvation is assured!

Alcuin's compendium for Charlemagne, like an academic Festschrift, is a work of love and appreciation. By flicking through its pages, the dedicatee is reassured that she must have done things the right way.

[55] Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 390.

[56] On the rivalry between Alcuin and Theodulf of Orléans, see H. Noizet, 'Alcuin contre Théodulphe: un conflit producteur de norms', in Depreux and Judic, *Alcuin de York à Tours*, 113–29; Y. Hen, 'Charlemagne's Jihad', *Viator* 37 (2006), 33–51; R. Meens, 'Sanctuary, penance, and dispute settlement under Charlemagne: the conflict between Alcuin and Theodulf of Orléans over a sinful cleric', *Speculum* 82 (2007), 277–300.

[57] Alcuin, *Ep.* 14, ed. Bocciolini-Palagi, p. 70 (trans. Barlow, p. 149): 'Quibus vitale commodum sermo Dei instillatus novum hominem sine corruptela perpetuum animal parit ad Deum istinc properantem.'

9

'Et hoc considerat episcopus, ut ipsi presbyteri non sint idiothae': Carolingian local *correctio* and an unknown priests' exam from the early ninth century

Carine van Rhijn

Sometime in the years around 800, an archbishop – possibly Arn of Salzburg – composed a letter of instruction to his suffragan bishops, listing the decisions of a synod that he wished to be passed on to the secular clergy in each diocese under his supervision.[1] This text, which we now know as Arn's *Instructio pastoralis*, is clearly a product of the Carolingian reforms, because just like the *Admonitio generalis* of 789 it shows, among other things, how the entire secular ecclesiastical hierarchy was mobilised to 'correct' and 'emend' the lives of all lay Christian Franks.[2] Local priests played a key role, for they lived among the laity as representatives of the Church. Who better than they could therefore teach the lay population how to live their lives so that they would please God and find their way to heaven after death? Like many contemporary texts,

[1] The text was originally edited in the *MGH Conc.* 2.1, but this edition has been superseded by that of R. Étaix, who identified more and earlier manuscripts of the text. See R. Étaix, 'Un manuel de pastorale de l'époque Carolingienne (Clm. 27152)', *Revue Bénédictine* 91 (1981), 105–30, pp. 115–23. Instructions written by archbishops to their suffragans are rare in this period; see S. Steckel, *Kulturen des Lehrens im Früh- und Hochmittelalter. Autorität, Wissenskonzepte und Netzwerke von Gelehrten* (Cologne, 2001), pp. 132–3.

[2] This title *Instructio pastoralis* is a fabrication of Albert Werminghoff, the editor of the *MGH* edition. In the manuscripts it reads: 'Incipit qualis esse debet pastor aecclesiae', or simply 'Incipit pastoralis'. See Étaix, 'Un manuel de pastorale', p. 116; H. Mordek, K. Zechiel-Eckes and M. Glatthaar (eds), *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Grossen, MGH Fontes iuris 16*, esp. cc. 68f., pp. 220–38.

the *Instructio* highlights the role of local priests as teachers and preachers (c. 5), their role as living examples of good Christian behaviour within their lay communities (c. 6), and their responsibility for the salvation of the souls of their lay flocks (c. 12).[3] The precondition for the success of all of this, so Arn warns the addressees of his letter, was that the bishops should make sure that their priests were well-equipped for these tasks: 'And the bishop should take care of this, that these priests are no *idiothae*, but that they read the sacred writings and understand them.'[4] The term *idiothae* is interesting here – it does not mean 'idiots' in the modern sense of the word, but something far worse to the minds of ninth-century bishops: an *idiota* was ignorant, uneducated or even illiterate.[5] Arn's warning is therefore not a bit of throwaway rhetoric, but should be taken seriously, for the danger was real: how could an ignorant priest guide his flock and show them the way to heaven? Arn and his contemporaries were convinced that a lack of education of the clergy and laity alike could do serious damage. A botched-up baptismal ritual was thought to be invalid, for instance, in the same way that a mass offered by a priest who had defiled himself with forbidden pleasures (such as women or alcohol) would not be heard by the Heavenly Father. By the same token, laymen could endanger their souls without even knowing it, for instance by having sex when they should not, by invoking the names of non-existing angels or by worshipping in the wrong place.[6] All in all, then, local priests needed to know about all these matters in order to fulfil their role as preachers and teachers – in the days of *correctio* and *emendatio* there was clearly no room for *idiothae* in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Such ignorance, real or perceived, was exactly what the Carolingian reformers were trying to eliminate: as Peter Brown has emphasised, Charlemagne and his learned advisers fought their battle of *correctio* and *emendatio* first and foremost against ignorance.[7] Arn of Salzburg played his part with his *Instructio*, and explains briefly what to his mind were

[3] *Instructio*, ed. Étaix, 'Un manuel de pastorale', pp. 118–21. On the role of local priests in the Carolingian reforms, see C. van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord. Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period* (Turnhout, 2006).

[4] *Instructio*, c. 4: 'Et hoc consideret episcopus ut ipsi presbyteri non sint idiothae, sed sacras scripturas legant et intellegant', p. 117.

[5] See for instance Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden, 1976), p. 508.

[6] Warnings against this kind of behaviour out of ignorance are all over the *capitularia*, conciliar proceedings and *capitula episcoporum* of the period. See for instance Mordek *et al.*, *Admonitio generalis*; and Theodulf of Orléans's first episcopal statute in P. Brommer (ed.), *MGH Cap. Ep.* 1, 73–142.

[7] P. Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom. Triumph and Diversity, AD 200–1000*, 2nd edn (Malden, MA, 1997), p. 426.

the most important things a priest needed to know. After his warning against *idiothae*, the archbishop continues by pointing out that the priests' knowledge of the *sacra scriptura* should equip them first and foremost for three crucial tasks: teaching the laity, celebrating Mass and baptising.[8]

In texts of the same period, these three subjects recur time and again as cornerstones of priestly knowledge. They turn up not only in high-level prescriptions such as royal capitularies and the proceedings of conciliar meetings, but especially in lower-level texts that bishops devised for the admonishment and education of their local priests. It is via such texts that we can understand how high-level ideals of *correctio* reached their local audiences, for bishops reworked such ideals into practical texts especially suited for local priests and, via them, for local lay communities. In the course of the ninth century, bishops composed some fifty episcopal statutes for this purpose, which survive today in over 200 early medieval manuscripts, many of which are books once owned or used by local priests.[9] Here, local priests found instructions about their ministry and solutions to practical problems, as well as high standards for their own behaviour and detailed directions for their education of the laity by word and example. Like the *Admonitio generalis*, the tone of these texts is generally that of admonishment: priests were encouraged to heed their bishops' advice in everybody's best interest. But not all was fatherly *admonitio*. Some bishops believed in a more hands-on approach to ensure that they did not appoint *idiothae* in their diocese, which brings us to a small and little-studied group of texts that are also products of Carolingian *correctio*, that of the priests' exams.[10]

Priests' exams consist of a series of questions, sometimes with the answers, by which a bishop could test the (future) priest's knowledge of what he considered to be the essentials of the ministry. Such texts could be used to examine candidates for the priesthood, but also to check whether the abilities of

[8] *Instructio*, c. 4: 'et populos sibi commissos docere, missas secundum consuetudinem caelebrare sicut romana traditio nobis tradidit. Baptismum publicum constitutis temporibus per duos uices in anno fiat'; p. 117.

[9] See R. Pokorny (ed.), 'Handschriften', *MGH Cap. Ep.* 4, 103–6. On the manuscripts for local priests see now C. van Rhijn, 'The local church, priests' handbooks and pastoral care in the Carolingian period', in *Chiese locali e chiese regionali nell'alto Medioevo: Spoleto, 4–9 aprile 2013, Settimane 61* (Spoleto, 2014), 689–706.

[10] E. Vykoukal, 'Les examens du clergé paroissal à l'époque Carolingienne', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 14 (1913), 81–96. This category of texts has not been generally recognised, and therefore a number of priests' exams have been edited as episcopal statute. See C. van Rhijn, 'Karolingische priesterexamens en het probleem van *correctio* op het platteland', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 125:2 (2013), 158–71.

ordained priests were not getting too rusty, for instance during a local synod or an episcopal visitation. Additionally, they could have a didactic function once they were copied into manuscripts composed for that purpose (see below).[11] So far, nine exams have come to light, five of which have been edited in the *MGH Capitula episcoporum*.[12] Compared to the dozens of episcopal statutes surviving in a couple of hundred manuscripts, then, such exams met with only limited success in the Carolingian period, for the nine texts survive in no more than twenty-two ninth-century manuscripts, with clear concentrations in southern France and Bavaria. With just one exception, all of them were composed around the year 800, so also in this sense we are dealing with a limited phenomenon that clearly belongs to the early phase of the Carolingian reforms.

This article is about one such priests' exam, which I will call the *Dic mihi pro quid* (hereafter *Dic mihi*) after its first words. It dates from the late eighth or early ninth century, and it was probably composed in the south of France. Although it survives in ten manuscripts, the earlier six of which date from the ninth century, it has never been edited in full before (see below). In what follows, I will take this text and its manuscript context as a starting point to explore a few aspects of Carolingian local *correctio*. First of all, we shall look at the contents of the exam and think about the implications of the questions and answers for what was expected of priests, as well as the knowledge and education they presuppose. This leads, secondly, to a brief examination of two manuscripts in which the text has survived, for most of these are books once owned by priests or used in their education. Thirdly, the variants in the different manuscripts should be taken into consideration, for what does it mean if a question about a fundamental aspect of the priestly ministry gets different answers depending on the manuscript one looks at? At the end of this article there is a new critical edition of the text on the basis of its six Carolingian manuscripts.

[11] The possible functions of these texts were first inventorised by Vykoukal, 'Les examens', but he did not take the manuscript context of these texts into account.

[12] The exams in the *MGH Cap. Ep.* are: *Capitula Frisingensia* 1 and 2, in *Capitula episcoporum*, *MGH Cap. Ep.* 3, 204–5 and 201–11; *Capitula Moguntiacensia* (*MGH Cap. Ep.* 3, 179–80); *Interrogationes examinationis* (*MGH Cap. Ep.* 3, 214–15); and the 'episcopal statute' by Waltcaud of Liège (*MGH Cap. Ep.* 1, 45–9). Vykoukal, 'Les examens' prints one more exam, the *Primum omnium qualis*. Finally, W. Hartmann, 'Neue Texte zur bischöflichen Reformgesetzgebung aus den Jahren 829/830: vier Diözesansynoden Halitgars von Cambrai', *DA* 35 (1979), 173–92, edits an exam called *Primitus cum venerit*. The *Dic mihi pro quid*, subject of this chapter, has not been edited before.

Required reading

At first glance, the *Interrogatio ad sacerdotes*, as the *Dic mihi* is called in a couple of manuscripts, may not seem overtly demanding on those questioned. The questions are short, the answers concise and the subjects rather basic. Compact as the text may be, however, it presupposes knowledge and understanding of other texts. The first question, for instance, asks why the candidate has been ordained as a priest. The answer quickly lists the central responsibilities of the priestly ministry: spreading the word of God, and administering the sacraments of baptism, penance and Mass. This seems straightforward enough, but these duties imply quite substantial knowledge. In order to live up to this, the priest needed to be able to preach and teach, to know and understand a baptismal ritual, to have the ability to use a handbook of penance and to be familiar with the rituals of penance and reconciliation, as well as knowing a variety of masses for different occasions. Interestingly, the texts needed to acquire such knowledge feature regularly as required reading in other priests' exams and episcopal statutes of the early ninth century; witness for instance the early-ninth-century *Capitula Moguntiacensia*, which lists eleven texts every priest should know and have access to: the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Psalms, the Mass and its prayers, the gospels, Scripture readings, homilies, the office of baptism, a handbook of penance, a handbook of *computus*, and canon law.[13] The priests were required to know some of these texts by heart. One short question, then, implies familiarity with a whole series of texts and rituals.

In order to give adequate answers to the questions of the *Dic mihi*, however, the priest needed to know more than just how to perform these rituals in the right way. The answer to 'Why do you sing Mass?', for instance, is a very boiled-down version of what one might find in a Carolingian Mass commentary.[14] After all, the priest needed to do more than go through the motions; he should understand what he was doing and why he was doing it, and be able to explain this to his lay audience. In a similar vein, the sixth question implies understanding of the meaning of the baptismal ritual, for

[13] *Capitula Moguntiacensia*, *MGH Cap. Ep.* 3, pp. 179–80.

[14] The meaning of Mass and all its aspects is explained in many texts that circulated in the period, for instance the very popular anonymous commentary *Dominus vobiscum*. It was once, but is no longer, attributed to Amalarius of Metz; see Amalarius, *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, 2 vols, ed. J.-M. Hanssens, Vol. I (Vatican City, 1948), pp. 284–338, and C. Nason, 'The Mass commentary *Dominus vobiscum*', *Revue Bénédictine* 14:1 (2004), 75–89, who thinks Alcuin was its author, but his arguments are not entirely convincing. The text is important here, for it survives in many manuscripts that also contain a priests' exam.

which one needed to study a baptismal exposition.[15] The answers may be short, but they all refer to longer texts that the candidate could reasonably be expected to know, as well as to the living examples by which he would have learnt what the ritual should be like in practice. All in all, then, a priest submitted to this short interrogation would ideally have studied a small library. Although we know very little about where and how exactly future priests were educated, there are indications that the diocesan bishop was responsible for this, which would put future priests in his entourage for some years, or in a local monastery that fell under his supervision.[16] This would mean, first of all, that they had access to a library, which included the texts listed above; secondly it means that the bishop could ask the questions of his exam with some confidence, for he knew how the priest had been educated and what could therefore be expected of him.

Not only did a priest need to know a whole series of texts, he also needed to own some in order to be able to do his job. Although some texts (such as the liturgy of baptism, a variety of masses and prayers) were no doubt learnt by heart as the episcopal statutes prescribed, a priest needed to be able to consult a handbook of penance, for instance, or a collection of canon law, or a *computus* with which he could calculate the Easter date, quite apart from the texts he needed for the liturgy. That priests often owned such books is well known from early medieval church inventories.[17] Less well known are the surviving manuscripts that once belonged to local priests, or were probably used for their education. Both Susan Keefe and Rudolf Pokorny identified a number of such manuscripts, and more have been discovered since.[18] This means that we do not only have access to texts listing requirements for priestly knowledge, we also have the actual books they studied and worked with. Interestingly, it is exactly in these kinds of manuscripts that we find the *Dic mihi*.

[15] Susan Keefe has gathered all Carolingian baptismal expositions and explanations, editing over sixty such texts. See S. Keefe, *Water and the Word. Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, 2 vols, Vol. II (Notre Dame, 2002), *passim*. Many of these texts, again, survive in manuscripts together with priests' exams.

[16] See, for instance, the first episcopal statute by Theodulf of Orléans, in which he directs intelligent boys (explicitly called 'the priest's nephews or other relatives') to local monasteries for their education; *MGH Cap. Ep.* 1, c. 19, p. 115.

[17] See C. Hammer, 'Country churches, clerical inventories and the Carolingian renaissance in Bavaria', *Church History* 49 (1980), 5–19; and Van Rhijn, 'The local church'.

[18] Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. I, pp. 160–3; Pokorny, *MGH Cap. Ep.* 4, p. 9.

Manuscripts for priests

The six ninth-century manuscripts in which the *Dic mihi* survives are all collections of up to two dozen texts that are directly related to local priests, their ministry and their education. Keefe classifies them as either '(instruction) readers', meaning handbooks for local priests, or 'schoolbooks'.[19] Even though it is sometimes impossible to tell both kinds of books apart, they clearly belong to the world of (future) priests, for as a rule these manuscripts contain nothing that relates to either monastic or canonical life, or to the specific duties of bishops, but include only texts relevant to local priests. Even though the *Dic mihi* started out as an exam, it was also deemed useful as didactic material. Two brief examples will show in what kind of context the text has survived, beginning with manuscript Albi, Bibliothèque municipale 38bis.

This southern French manuscript dates from the middle of the ninth century, and, going from its contents, was most probably used for the education of secular clerics. It consists of 65 folia, measures 235 × 167 mm and was written by at least ten different hands. The *Dic mihi* appears right after the *Collectio Sangermanensis*, a well-known early Carolingian didactical text about matters ecclesiastical.[20] This text, part of which comes in question/answer form as well, discusses both basic knowledge and backgrounds of subjects such as the various ecclesiastical grades, the different components of Mass, different kinds of masses, the church building and its contents, sinners and penitents – to mention only a few examples. The contents of the rest of the manuscript are well suited as background reading for priests as well: it contains, amongst others, the entire canon law collection known as the *Collectio Vetus Gallica* (filling nearly half of the manuscript); a handbook of penance; expositions on the Lord's Prayer and the Creed; sermons; computistic texts with a calendar; and a series of short texts such as two about the clerical grades, papal legislation about marriage and a brief interrogation about the Holy Trinity.[21] The

[19] Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. I, pp. 160–3.

[20] See M. Stadelmaier (ed.), *Die Collectio Sangermanensis XII titulorum. Eine systematische Kanonessammlung der frühen Karolingerzeit; Studien und Edition* (Frankfurt am Main, 2004). The description of this manuscript is on pp. 86–9. For its didactic nature see H. Siems, 'Die Collectio Sangermanensis XII titulorum – Kanonessammlung oder Unterrichtswerk?', *DA* 65:1 (2009), 1–28.

[21] On priests owning collections of canon law see Y. Hen, 'Knowledge of canon law among rural priests: the evidence of two Carolingian manuscripts from around 800', *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 50:1 (1999), 117–34. Descriptions of the contents of this manuscript can be found in Stadelmaier, *Die Collectio Sangermanensis*, pp. 86–9; Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, pp. 3–7; and H. Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform*

manuscript shows traces of use by many different people over a rather long period of time, such as glosses, corrections, *probationes pennae*, and added bits and pieces in the margins – for instance a line added at the bottom of a partly empty folio about the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. All in all, I think we should interpret this manuscript as study material, useful for various people but especially for (future) priests. If we put the contents of Albi 38bis next to the 'required readings' of the *Capitula Moguntiacensia* mentioned above, there are six direct overlaps and a few more indirect ones, in the sense that this manuscript does not, for instance, provide the reader with the actual text or *ordo* of Mass, but does discuss the function and meaning of its components.

The second example is Laon, Bibliothèque municipale 288, an eastern French manuscript from the first third of the ninth century that contains only a fragment of the *Dic mihi*. In all probability this was a handbook once owned by a local priest.[22] It is 91 folia long, and measures 210 × 140 mm. Four hands wrote the manuscript, and at least one later, well-trained Carolingian hand corrected parts of it.[23] Roughly the first half of the manuscript is made up of texts providing the reader with background knowledge: there are expositions of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed (both the Apostles' and the Athanasian version) and Mass; explanations about baptismal liturgy; and a set of questions and answers about clerical matters. It is here that we find the fragment of the *Dic mihi*, which has in this context become part of a longer whole. The second half of the manuscript consists of homilies with subjects suitable for a lay audience: there is one about good and bad Christians, one about paradise, one about the importance of penance, one about Christmas, one about false friends. This manuscript, too, contains many traces of use. That parts of it invited *correctio* and *emendatio* by a well-trained Carolingian writer is not surprising in view of its rather creative Latin. The scribes in this manuscript

im Frankenreich. Die Collectio Vetus Gallica, die älteste systematische Kanonessammlung des fränkischen Gallien (Berlin, 1975), pp. 269–71. My summary is based on these three descriptions plus my own study of the manuscript. The manuscript can be consulted online at http://archivesnumeriques.mediatheques.grand-albigeois.fr/_app_php_mysql/app/recherche_alpha_cles.php (accessed 8 October 2014).

[22] The first systematic attempt to define a priest's manuscript on the basis of size and contents was made by N. Rasmussen, 'Célébration épiscopale et célébration presbytérale: une essay de typologie', in *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale, 11–17 aprile 1985, Settimane 33* (Spoleto, 1987), 581–603. Rasmussen's typology was further elaborated by Y. Hen, 'A liturgical handbook for the use of a rural priest (Brussels, BR 10127–10144)', in M. Mostert (ed.), *Organising the Written Word. Scripts, Manuscripts and Texts* (Turnhout, 2014). I would like to thank the author for giving me access to his article years prior to its publication.

[23] For a description see Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, pp. 26–9. My remarks about this manuscript are based on her description and my own findings.

did not distinguish between *sit* and *xit*, for instance, did not understand the use of the 'h' at the beginning of words very well, and sometimes simply messed up, for instance when one scribe meant *diabolus* and wrote *diabubulus*. Els Rose calls this 'Latin in transition', for it seems to bear many traces of a living, spoken language.[24] However, its Latin notwithstanding, I think this manuscript should be considered as a '*correctio*-dossier', intended to equip the local priest for what we earlier called the 'cornerstones' of his ministry according to the Carolingian reformers: teaching and preaching, baptism and Mass.

In both manuscripts the *Dic mihi* has been preserved not as an exam, but as part of a dossier meant to contribute to, or support, the working knowledge of local priests. Other manuscripts do present the text as *interrogatio*, which implies that the text could have various uses under various circumstances.[25] What these two examples show as well is that literate priests who owned such a manuscript and were familiar with its contents would pass an episcopal *interrogatio* like the *Dic mihi* without much trouble.

The meaning of variation

Although the questions in the *Dic mihi* are rather straightforward, the answers they get in the different manuscripts show variations. Many of these are orthographic or concern word order, some variations appear in the addition or omission of biblical quotations, but in one specific case a more fundamental change appears. This alteration occurs in the description of the ritual of baptism, which may seem rather surprising in the context of Carolingian *correctio*, and it therefore deserves special attention here. After all, the exam deals with the basics of priestly knowledge and abilities, so a certain degree of uniformity may be expected, especially where it comes to a subject as important as the ritual of baptism.[26] Let us therefore look at the answers to the question 'How do you baptise?' in the *Dic mihi* (see below, question 7).

[24] For comments on such Latin see E. Rose, 'Getroost door de klank van woorden: het Latijn als sacrale taal van Ambrosiaster tot Alcuin' in G. Rouwhorst and P. Versnel-Mergaerts (eds), *Taal waarin wij God verstaan. Over taal en vertaling van Schrift en traditie in de liturgie* (Heeswijk, 2015). I thank the author for giving me access to this article ahead of its publication.

[25] See the edition below.

[26] The subject of baptism was considered to be particularly important by the court; witness the questions about the ritual that Charlemagne himself sent to his bishops in 813. The dozens of answers, as well as related texts, have been edited by Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II. For a good introduction to the subject and extensive bibliography, see Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. I.

The Wolfenbüttel manuscript answers:

> In the name of the Holy Trinity, that is the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, I thrice submerge [him or her] or pour oil and chrism over [him or her] with a bowl. I wash [his or her] feet following the Lord's example. I dress [him or her] in white clothes according to the custom of priests. I give [him or her] the body and blood, as the Lord says: *Unless you shall eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood you shall not have Eternal Life.*[27]

Both Albi manuscripts and the Paris manuscript largely follow this ritual, whereas the fragment in the Laon manuscript does not contain this question. In the manuscript from St Gallen, however, we find a different answer:

> I baptise in the name of the Holy Trinity, that is the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. I submerge [him or her] three times and anoint [him or her] with oil and chrism. I give [him or her] the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ according to what He says: *Unless you shall eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink you shall have no part of me.*

Both the foot washing and the white clothes, part of the baptismal ritual in the *Missale Gothicum* (see below), have disappeared, and the biblical quotation at the end has been altered as well. Clearly, this is not just an omission. Leaving out the *pedilavium* and the white clothes changes the contents of the ritual of baptism in important ways. Where most manuscripts of the *Dic mihi* follow the ritual acording to the *Missale Gothicum*, the manuscript from St Gallen restyles it so as to conform to another version of the ritual. By the time the *Dic mihi* was copied into this manuscript, foot washing and white clothes clearly played no role in the ritual of baptism that was followed in this region (if they ever had), and the text was altered to reflect local practice.

This is just one example, but an important one all the same. That we find no strict uniformity in the various manuscripts of even an ultra-short description of the ritual of baptism is telling, for it shows how we should not try to interpret local *correctio* in terms of strict homogenisation of religious rituals and practices. In this case, there clearly was consensus about the importance of baptism in general as a central duty of local priests, but how exactly the ritual took shape in different regions was another matter. There was, in other words, room for local practices: as long as priests took care that all lay Franks were baptised by triple immersion, many details could be filled in as was seen fit locally. Such a situation sits well with Susan Keefe's conclusions

[27] See Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. I, p. 111.

about the dozens of baptismal expositions of this period that she has studied and edited: the basic ingredients of the ritual show little variation; the details are different everywhere.[28]

Conclusion

A priests' exam such as the *Dic mihi pro quid*, then, represents one step in the transmission of ideals of *correctio* from the royal court to the localities, and therefore tells us about authors and recipients both. The text itself shows what its author considered to be the cornerstones of the priestly ministry, while it is clear that the candidate needed an education in order to be able to answer the questions. Even though the questions and answers of the exam are boiled down, they presuppose knowledge and understanding that can only have been the result of studying the relevant texts and learning by example. Yet, by looking at one notable variant in the St Gallen manuscript, we see that there were no fixed answers to the questions that would be acceptable everywhere in the Frankish empire. Thus, we are reminded that local *correctio* was applied to a world in which religious practices varied widely, and consensus about how things should be done centred on no more than general aspects of ecclesiastical rituals and priestly duties discussed in high-level circles. What mattered was that people were baptised by triple immersion on the right days – whether the priest washed the candidate's feet or not for the occasion was deemed less relevant.

The key to successful *correctio* was education and knowledge, some degree of which priests were expected to bring to the rural communities they served. All this is, of course, no evidence for a Carolingian empire filled with well-educated clergy, for surely in this sense too there was variation. All the same, the extant manuscripts for priests in which texts such as the *Dic mihi* survive show a wide distribution over the empire, which means that bishops everywhere did their best to provide sufficient education for their secular clergy. Moreover, the fact that so many bishops wrote episcopal statutes or exams for their priests demonstrates how important they found the presence of well-trained priests. Archbishop Arn, with whom this chapter started, was not alone, then; texts such as the *Dic mihi* enabled his colleagues to tell good priests apart from *idiothae* who would undermine the ideals of a Christian-Frankish society by their ignorance.

[28] Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. I, p. 132: there are sixty-four different baptismal instructions in her collection.

Edition of the *Dic mihi pro quid*

Date and provenance

Three factors are of importance for the dating of the text. First of all, the earliest manuscripts – Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 288 (*L*) and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog Augustbibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 91 Weiss. (*W*) – date back respectively to the first third and first half of the ninth century. The latest date of composition possible is therefore the early ninth century when the first extant manuscripts were produced. Secondly, there is a quotation in the text of a letter once (but no longer) ascribed to Germanus of Paris.[29] Philippe Bernard, the most recent editor of the letter, thinks that the *Dic mihi* was one of its sources. He therefore dates the *Dic mihi* to the 770s, about a decade prior to the composition of the letter.[30] This date, in turn, is based on the analysis of Francesc Xavier Altes y Aguiló, who in 1979 published a transcription of the *Dic mihi* from a tenth- or eleventh-century manuscript from Girona, which is now in Barcelona.[31] Unfortunately, his dating of the exam to *c.* 770 rests on shaky foundations, even though he interprets the text as a product of the Carolingian reforms, for he assumes that it cannot have been written after the *Sacramentarium Hadrianum* reached the court of Charlemagne in the late 780s – in his opinion, this sacramentarium immediately replaced all older liturgy.[32] At this point, the third factor becomes important, for the ritual of baptism in the seventh question contains foot washing (see above), which was part of the liturgy of baptism in the Gallican liturgy but had no place in any Carolingian baptismal ritual.[33] Altes y Aguiló, and Bernard with him, have recognised the liturgy of baptism in question seven as the one described in the *Missale*

[29] The editor of the text sees more parallels with the *Dic mihi*, but the other instances he notes consist mostly of rather common biblical quotations that are not necessarily derived from the *Dic mihi*. See P. Bernard (ed.), *Epistolae de ordine sacrae oblationis et de diversis charismatibus ecclesiae Germano Parisiensi episcopo adscriptae* (Turnhout, 2007), *Epistola Prima*, *prologus*, lines 9–11, p. 337, and pp. 56–8 for other possible parallels that I find less convincing.

[30] *Epistolae de ordine*, p. 96. The relationship between the two texts, however, seems to be the other way around: to my mind, the *Dic mihi* quotes a sentence from Pseudo-Germanus.

[31] F. Altes y Aguiló, 'Un qüestionari sinodal sobra la litúrgia Gallicana en un manuscrit Gironí', *Revista catalana di teologia* 4 (1979), 101–16.

[32] Altes y Aguiló, 'Un qüestionari', p. 113.

[33] See Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. I, p. 112.

Gothicum, and therefore assume that the *Dic mihi* must predate the arrival of the *Sacramentarium Hadrianum* and the subsequent reform of the liturgy.[34] Susan Keefe, however, shows convincingly that a great variety of baptismal rituals coexisted in the Carolingian empire, including those with 'non-Roman elements' such as foot washing.[35] The fact that the *Dic mihi* was copied including the *pedilavium* in all but two of the ninth-century manuscripts supports Keefe's conclusion here.

What remains of these attempts to date the *Dic mihi* is, then, very little indeed. Even if Pseudo-Germanus's letter is Merovingian, as Yitzhak Hen argues, the *Dic mihi* seems to be quoting from it rather than being a source for it.[36] Moreover, in view of Keefe's conclusions about the coexistence of many different baptismal rituals in the late eighth and ninth centuries, a *terminus ante quem* of the late 780s, when the *Sacramentarium Hadrianum* reached the Frankish royal court, cannot be maintained. The only thing we are left with is, all in all, the extant manuscript evidence plus a fourth factor: that of context. All other priests' exams we know were composed in the (very) early ninth century or, in one instance only, a couple of decades later. This, too, is the time in which episcopal statutes and other tools for local *correctio* started to see the light, and the *Dic mihi* makes perfect sense in this context. As in similar texts of the time, priests' knowledge of the Mass, baptism and penance are the most prominent subjects, which is typical for such texts in the early phase of the Carolingian reforms.[37] The fact that it mentions foot washing in the majority of its manuscripts may simply mean that the text was composed in an area where rituals similar to the one described in the *Missale Gothicum* were common, most likely the south of France, from which we still have two manuscripts containing the *Dic mihi*. In these and in two other manuscripts we find the *pedilavium* as part of the baptismal ritual. In another manuscript, the exam seems to have been edited to conform to other practices: the foot washing has disappeared from St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 40 (*G*).[38]

[34] Altes y Aguiló, 'Un qüestionari', p. 108; *Epistolae de ordine*, p. 156.

[35] Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. I, pp. 112–13.

[36] Y. Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul. To the Death of Charles the Bald (877)* (London, 2001), p. 7. Here I follow Altes y Aguiló, 'Un qüestionari', pp. 112–13.

[37] Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, Chapter 3.

[38] See Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, pp. 112–13. Note that the manuscript from Laon does not contain this question.

In the light of the dates of the manuscripts and the context in which the *Dic mihi* was most probably composed, I think a plausible date for the text suggests itself that does not lean on the arrival in Aachen of the *Sacramentarium Hadrianum*. If we take into consideration that the two oldest manuscript witnesses (*L* and *W*) show marked differences and have clearly been copied from earlier ones, I think we can reasonably date the text to the late eighth or the early ninth century.

The manuscripts

Thus far, ten manuscripts containing the *Dic mihi* have been identified: eight with the full text and two with a fragment. Of these ten, six are Carolingian, and these have been used for the critical edition below. The Wolfenbüttel manuscript (*W*) is the basis for the edition, for it presents the oldest complete version of the text.

These six manuscripts can be divided into two groups on the basis of the order of the questions. The two earliest manuscripts, *L* and *W*, but also *G*, present the questions in the order of the edition below, whereas the other three manuscripts (and also the younger ones not used for this edition) organise the questions differently: 1, 6, 7, 2, 3, 4, 5. As noted above, it is remarkable how free the copyists have felt to make changes in the text.

As described above, the Carolingian manuscript context in which the text has survived is without exception didactic, although later manuscripts present it (again) as an exam. All of the Caroligian manuscripts were clearly designated for the secular clergy, either as handbooks (*A2*, *L* and *P*) or as books probably used for their education (*A1*, *W* and *G*).[39]

[39] For this classification in 'instruction-readers' and 'schoolbooks' see Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. 1, pp. 160–2. Keefe does not know manuscript *W* though. The identification of part of this manuscript as a handbook for a local priest can be found in W. Haubrichs, 'Das althochdeutsch-lateinische Textensemble des Cod. Weiss. 91 ("Weißenburger Katechismus") und das Bistum Worms im frühen neunten Jahrhundert', in R. Bergmann (ed.), *Volkssprachig-lateinische Mischtexte und Textensembles in der althochdeutschen, altsächsischen und altenglischen Überlieferung. Mediävistisches Kolloquium des Zentrums für Mittelalterstudien der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg am 16. und 17. November 2001* (Heidelberg, 2003), 131–73. I would like to thank Miriam Czock for this reference.

Manuscripts used for the edition[40]

W	Wolfenbüttel Herzog Augustbibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 91 Weiss., s.IX$^{1/2}$, Weissenburg[41]
A1	Albi, Bibliothèque municipale 38bis, s.IX^{med}, southern France
A2	Albi, Bibliothèque municipale 43, s.IX$^{4/4}$, southern France
G	St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 40, s.IX$^{2/2}$ and $^{3/3}$, Switzerland[42]
L	Laon, Bibliothèque municipale 288, s.IX$^{1/3}$, Eastern France/Belgium (fragment)
P	Paris, BnF, lat. 1008, s.IX/X, France

Post-Carolingian manuscripts not used for the present edition

Barcelona, Biblioteca de la Universidad de Barcelona 228, s.X^{ex}/XI^{in}[43]
Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 256, s.XI
Madrid, El Escorial Q III 10, s.XII^{ex}
Paris, BnF, lat. 13092, s.XI (fragment)

Earlier editions

The two questions about baptism (6 and 7 below) have been edited by Susan A. Keefe, *Water and the Word. Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, 2 vols,Vol. II (Notre Dame, 2002), text 49, pp. 576–7, including the post-Carolingian manuscripts (but not *W*).

In this edition, punctuation and the use of capitals have been standardised; direct quotations from the Bible are in italics. The questions have been numbered following the order in *W*.

[40] For the dating and provenance of the manuscripts I have relied on Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, unless otherwise stated.

[41] I would like to thank Steffen Patzold for discovering the text in this manuscript and sharing this find with me. The *Dic mihi* from this manuscript was published (without any comments) by R. Schnurr, *Katechetisches in vulgärlateinisch und rheinfränkischer Sprache aus der Weissenburger Handschrift 91 in Wolfenbüttel* (Greifswald, 1894), pp. 14–15. See now M. Czock, 'Practices of property and the salvation of one's soul: priests as men in the middle in the Wissembourg material', in S. Patzold and C. van Rhijn (eds), *Men in the Middle. Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe* (forthcoming, Berlin, 2016).

[42] A full transcription of the text from *G* can be found in A. Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1902), p. 343 n.1.

[43] A full transcription of the *Dic mihi* from this manuscript can be found in Altes y Aguiló, 'Un qüestionari', pp. 114–16.

<1.> Dic mihi pro quid es presbyter benedictus.

Ad adnuntiandum uerbum diuinum et ad tradendum baptismum uel lauacrum penitentiae, et hostias offerendum omnipotenti Deo pro salute uiuorum ac requie defunctorum.

<2.> Pro quid cantas missa?

Pro commemoratione mortis Domini, quia mors Christi facta est uita mundi, ut offerendo proficeret in salute uiuentium et requiem defunctorum atque medilla animarum et corporum.

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title INTERROGATIO SACERDATALIS *A2* IOCA EPISCOPI AD SACERDOTES *G* Incipit interrogatio ad presbiteros *P*

1 INT *add. A1*; INTERROGATIO *add. A2 G*; Dic mihi *om. L*; es] est *A1*; es presbyter] dititur *L*; benedictus] ordinatus *G*

2 RP *add. A1*; RESPONSIO *add. G*; R *add. P*; Ad adnuntiandum] Benedictus dititur ad adnontiandum L; adnuntiandum] annuntiandum *A2* adnunciandum *G*; ad[2] *om. L*; tradendum] trahendum *A2*baptismum] babtismum *P*

3 penitentiae] paenitenciae *G*; lauacrum penitentiae] paenitentiam lacrimarum *A1* penitentia lauachrum *A2* penitentie lauacrum *L* poenitentiae lauacrum *P*; et[2]] *om. A1*; hostias] hostiis *A1* ostias *A2* hostiam *G*; offerendum] offerentem *A1* offerendo *A2 P* offerre *G* hoferendum *L*; omnipotenti deo] omnipotente domino *A2* deo omnipotenti *G* omnipotentem domino *L*; Deo] Domino *P*

4 ac requie] et requiem *A1 A2*; requie] requiae *G* requiem *L P*; defunctorum] defuntorum *A2 L*

5 INT *add. A1 P*; INTERROGATIO *add.G*; missa] missam *L*

6 RP *add. A1*; RESPONSIO *add. G*; R *add. P*; pro] in *A1 A2 P*; commemoratione] commemorationem *A1 P* commeratione *A2* commemoracione *G* cummorationem *L* commemoratone *a.c. W*; mortis] morti *L*; domini] deum *A2*; quia] et quia *A1 A2 P* que *L*

7 ut] et ut *A1*; mundi ut offerendo] mundauit offerendum *L*; offerendo proficeret] proferentium proficiat *A1* offerret mortem et profitiat *P*; proficeret] profitiat *A2* proficiat *L*; in salute uiuentium] ad salutem uiuorum *L*; salute] salutem *A2 G*; uiuentium] uiuorum *A2 P* uiuencium *G*; et requiem defunctorum *om A1*; defunctorum] defunctorum et morientium *A2 P*

8 atque] adque *A2 L P*; medilla] medella *A1 A2 G L* medellam *P*

8/9 1 Cor. 11.24

6/7 *Pro commemoratione–defunctorum* is a direct quotation from the first letter of Pseudo-Germanus of Paris.[44]

[44] See P. Bernard (ed.), *Epistolae de ordine sacrae oblationis et de diversis charismatibus ecclesiae Germano Parisiensi episcopo adscriptae* (Turnhout, 2007), Epistola Prima, prologus, lines 9–11, p. 337.

<3.> Quomodo cantas missa?

Offero panem in corpore Christi, ipso dicente, *accipite et manducate, hoc est corpus meum.* Offero uinum in sanguine Christi, sicut ipse dixit, *hic est sanguis meus qui pro uobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum.*

<4.> Quomodo offeres sacrificium?

Vinum autem cum aqua mixtum offero secundum quod in cruce de latere Christi processit sanguis et aqua. Panem sicut dixit: *Ego sum panis uiuus.*

<5.> Quid per sanguinem et aquam?

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9 INT *add. A1 P*; INTERROGATIO *add. A2 G*; Quomodo cantas missa] Quid cantis misa *L* Quomodo offers sacrifitium *P*

10 RP *add. A1*; R *add. P*; dicente] dicente ad apostolos *A1 A2 P* dicente ad apostulos *L*; manducate] manducate ex hoc omnes *A2*; accipite et manducate *om. P*

11 est] est enim *A2 L*; meum] meum quod pro uobis tradetur *P*; in] quasi in *L*; sanguine christi] sanguine eius *A1* sanguinem eius *L*; sicut ipse dixit] ipso dicente *A1* ipso dicente ad apostolos *L*; hic est] hic enim *L*

11/13 Offero uinum–peccatorum] *om. A2*; offero aetiam uino similiter ad exemplum Domini sicut ipse dixit apostolis suis, hic calix noui testamenti est, in meo sanguine. In sanguine autem intellego uinum et in panem carnem eius. *P*

12 effundetur] efundetur *L*; remissionem] remissione *A1*

14 offeres sacrificium] offers sacrifitium *P*

14/16 Quomodo offeres–panis uiuus] Vinum aut com aquam mixto offerro, in ho est sancte trinitatis *L*

14 INT *add. A1*; INTERROGATIO *add. G*; Quomodo] Quomodo autem *G*; Quomodo–sacrificium *om. A2*

15 RP *add. A1*; RESPONSIO *add. G*; autem] *om. G*; cum aqua] aquam *A1*; mixtum] mixto *A2*; latere] latus *A1*

16 et] cum *A1*; Panem] Panem uero *G*; sicut dixit] sicut ipse dixit *G*; Panem–uiuus *om. A1 A2 add. sub l. W*; uiuus] qui de celo descendi *add. G*; sanguis et–*uiuus*] Sicut dicit euangelista, tunc unus ex militibus lancea latus eius perforauit et statim exiuit sanguis et aqua et per sanguine redemptionis reparamus ad uitam, per aquae lauachrum mundamur a crimina. Credendum est quod ante tribunal christi et tremendi iudicis accipiant iusti requiem et impii subplitium aeternum. *P*

17/21 Quid per–regnum dei] Per sanguinis redemptionem reparamur ad uitam per aquae lauachrum mundamur a crimine. Credendum quod resurrectionem dominicam iustis requiem dedit uita. EXPLICIT *A1* Pro sanguine redemptionis reparamur ad uitam, pro aqua lauachrum mundemur a crimine *A2*; om. *L*

17 INTERROGACIO *add. G*

11/13 cf. Matt. 26.28

16 John 6.51

Per sanguinem uero redemptio nostra de morte ad uitam intellegitur. Per aquam baptismum intellegitur quia in ipso mandamur a crimine, sicut ipsa ueritas ait, *nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu sancto non potest uidere regnum dei.*

<6.> Pro quid baptizas?

Pro omnia peccata quae committuntur in mundo tam quae ex Adam originaliter contraximus quam quae ante baptismum nos ipsi comisimus. Secundum quod Christus sanctificauit aquas in suo baptismo ut aqua lauaret omnia peccata cum chrisma et spiritu sancto.

<7.> Quomodo baptizas?

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18 redemptio] redempcio *G*; de morte–intellegitur *om. G*

19/21 quia in–regnum dei] Per panem corpus Domini figuratur *G*

22 INT *add. A1 P*; INTERROCIO *add. G*; Item. Dic mihi *add. A2*; Dic mihi *add. P*; Pro] Propter *G*; baptizas] babtizas *P*

23 RP *add. A1*; RESPONSIO *add. G*; R *add. P*; Pro] propter *A1*; in mundo tam] et *G*; quae[1]] que *A2 G L P*; committuntur] comnituntur *A2* admittuntur *G* cummituntur *L* commituntur *P*; mundo] mundum *A1 A2* mondum *L*; tam *om. P*; quae[2]] quam *A1*que *L P*; ex *om. P*

23/26 originaliter–spiritu sancto] originali peccato *G*

24 originaliter] generaliter *A1*; contraximus] traximus *A1 P om. A2* trasimus *L*; quae] et *A1*; quam quae] quod et *A1* et qui *L* quod *P*; baptismum] baptissimum *A2* babtismum *P*; nos ipsi comisimus] in nobis ipsis gerimus *L*; comisimus] commisimus *A1* conmisimus *A2*

25 Secundum quod] et secundum hoc que *L*; quod] hoc quia *A2 P*; suo baptismo] suum baptismum *A1 A2 L* suo babtismo *P*; ut] ita *A1*; aqua *om. L*

26 peccata] peccato *L*; chrisma et spiritu sancto] crismate spiritus sancti *L* crismate in spirito sancto *P*; chrisma et] crismate in *A2*; chrisma] xrisma *A1*

26/32 *om. L*

27 INT *add. A1*; INTERROGATIO *add. A2 G P*; baptizas] babtizas *P*

20/21 cf. John 3.3 and 3.5

22/23 cf. John 6.54

In nomine sanctae trinitatis, id est Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, trinam facio mersionem aut conca perfundo cum oleo et chrisma. Lauo pedes ad exemplum Domini. Induo ueste candida more sacerdotali. Trado ei corpus et sanguinem sicut Dominus dixit, *Nisi manducaueritis carnem Filii Hominis et biberitis eius sanguinem non habebitis uitam aeternam in uobis.*

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28 RP *add. A1*; RESPONSIO *add. G*; In nomine] Baptizo in nomine *G*; id est–sancti *om. A1 A2 P*

29 facio] fatio *A2*

29/30 aut conca–more sacerdotali] et unguam eum, oleo et crisma *G*

29 aut conca perfundo] in conca fontis *A1 A2 P*; chrisma] xrisma *A1* crismate *A2 P*

30 exemplum] ad exemplum *A1*; ueste candida] uestem candidam *A1*; more] morem *A2*; sacerdotali] sacerdotalem *A1 A2*; trado] et trado *A2 P*

31 sanguinem] sanguinem domini *A1 A2 P*; sicut dominus dixit] quia dominus dixit, Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu sancto non potest intrare in regnum celorum et iterum dixit *A1*; quia dominus dixit, nisi qui renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu sancto non potest introire in regnum caelorum. Et iterum *A2 P*; domini nostri ihesu christi propter hoc quod dixit *G*

32 eius sanguinem–in uobis] non hebetis partem mecum *G*; habebitis] abebitis *P*

28/32 This closely resembles the ritual of baptism in the *Missale Gothicum*, no. XXXIII, 260–3.[45]

[45] See E. Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum e codice Vaticano reginensi latino 317 editum*, *CCSL* 159D (Turnhout, 2005), p. 450.

10

Religious Saxons: paganism, infidelity and biblical punishment in the *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae*

Robert Flierman

Charlemagne's Church was not an exclusively Frankish Church.[1] The community of the faithful over which the Carolingians claimed divinely ordained rule was multi-ethnic, the result of decades' worth of Frankish military expansion. Most of the peoples that came to be incorporated into the Frankish realm over the course of the eighth century were Christian. Some, however, were not, in which case conquest could lead to (attempted) conversion. A notorious example of the latter is Charlemagne's conquest and conversion of the Saxons. Not only was Charlemagne's war against his pagan neighbours particularly violent, it also saw him openly pursuing a policy of sword-point conversion. Or so it seems. This contribution will re-evaluate the most important piece of evidence for Charlemagne's 'Gewaltmission' (mission of violence) against the Saxons: his first Saxon capitulary, also known as the *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae*.[2] It will be argued that this document was concerned not with converting pagans to Christianity, but with keeping Christians from betraying their faith, to king as well as to God. As such, this capitulary was more in line with Carolingian ideas about correct behaviour and worship than it is often made out to be.

Frankish annalistic writing allows us to reconstruct the chronology of Charlemagne's 'Saxon Wars' (772–804) in considerable detail.[3] Hostilities commenced with a Frankish raid on the Irminsul, a Saxon place of worship rumoured to house vast amounts of treasure.[4] This raid provoked a Saxon counter-attack, which in turn prompted a second Frankish foray into

[1] M. de Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', in J. Story (ed.), *Charlemagne. Empire and Society* (Manchester/New York, 2005), 103–35, pp. 125–6.

[2] *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 68–70.

[3] For a more comprehensive overview, see A. Lampen, 'Sachsenkriege, sächsischer Widerstand und Kooperation', in *799 Kunst und Kultur*, 264–72.

[4] *ARF*, *s.a.* 772, pp. 32–34; *Annales Laureshamenses* (hereafter *Annals of Lorsch*), *s.a.* 772, ed. E. Katz, *Annalium Laureshamensium editio emendata secundum codicem*

Saxon territory. By 775, back-and-forth raiding had escalated into something approximating a war of conquest, with Charlemagne subduing various Saxon groups west of the Weser.[5] In 776, the Frankish king oversaw the first Saxon mass-baptism at an assembly at the Lippespringe, followed by another mass-baptism at Paderborn in 777.[6] This initial string of Frankish victories was broken in 778, by a devastating Saxon attack on the Rhineland. This 'Rhineland-raid' ushered in a second and more violent phase of hostilities (778–85), during which the Franks moved deeper into Saxony, sometimes as far as the Elbe. This phase also witnessed more concerted attempts by Charlemagne to establish an administrative and ecclesiastical organisation in Saxony.[7] Saxon resistance at this point was spearheaded by the elusive Saxon nobleman Widukind.[8] His negotiated surrender in 785, followed by his public baptism at Attigny that same year, was acclaimed as the end of the war by many contemporaries, Charlemagne included.[9] As it turned out, celebrations were once again premature. In 792, a renewed Saxon uprising led to another decade of Frankish campaigning in Saxony (794–804). The region's subjugation was finalised only in 804, with the forced deportation of large groups of Elbe Saxons to Francia and Bavaria.[10]

Frankish historians were well aware that Charlemagne's conquest of Saxony made for an unusually protracted and bloody affair. 'No war fought by the Franks was ever longer, fiercer and more toilsome' was Einhard's solemn conclusion.[11] Einhard and the annalists typically explained the war's duration in terms of Saxon infidelity and deceit.[12] The Saxons were largely defeated and

St. Paulensem. Seperatabdruck vom Jahresbericht des öffentlichen Stifts-Untergymnasiums der Benedictiner zu St. Paul (St Paul, 1889), p. 31.

5 *ARF*, *s.a.* 775, pp. 40–2. See also H.-D. Kahl, 'Karl der Große und die Sachsen: Stufen und Motive einer historischen "Eskalation"', in R. Schwinges (ed.), *Politik, Gesellschaft, Geschichtsschreibung. Giessener Festgabe für František Graus zum 60. Geburtstag* (Cologne, 1982), 49–130.

6 *ARF*, *s.a.* 776, 777, pp. 46–8.

7 *Annals of Lorsch*, *s.a.* 780, 782, pp. 32–3. See P. Johanek, 'Der Ausbau der sächsischen Kirchenorganisation', in *799. Kunst und Kultur*, 494–506.

8 *ARF*, *s.a.* 777, 778, 782 and 785, pp. 48, 52, 62 and 70; *CLb*, *s.a.* 778, 785, pp. 31–32.

9 *ARF*, *s.a.* 785, p. 70: 'tunc tota Saxonia subiugata est'. We know that Charlemagne asked Pope Hadrian I to organise liturgical celebrations in honour of his victory; see *Codex Carolinus* 76, ed. W. Gundlach, *Codex epistolaris Carolinus*, *MGH Epp.* 3, 469–657, pp. 607–8.

10 *ARF*, *s.a.* 804, p. 118; Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, ed. G. Waitz (Hanover/Leipzig, 1911), c. 7, p. 10.

11 Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, c. 7, p. 10.

12 R. Flierman, '*Gens perfida* or *populus Christianus*? Saxon (in)fidelity in Frankish historical writing', in C. Gantner, R. McKitterick and S. Meeder (eds), *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2015), 188–205.

converted by 777, but spent the next three decades breaking treaties, organising uprisings and 'spitting out' their (Christian) faith. Saxon infidelity was also called upon to legitimise Charlemagne's increasing brutality on the Saxon front, epitomised in the so-called 'Bloodbath of Verden' of 782, where he allegedly ordered the execution of 4,500 Saxons. Such violence has agitated modern observers more than it did contemporary commentators; to the latter, these men were 'rebels', who reaped a just reward for breaking their oaths of loyalty.[13]

When it comes to the use of violence as a tool of conversion, on the other hand, Frankish historians are a great deal more circumspect. The annals generally evade talking about the methods underlying the Saxon mission: baptism is presented as a self-evident accompaniment to submission. Einhard even goes so far as to present the Saxon conversion to Christianity as unsolicited and voluntary.[14] Frankish and Saxon hagiography is moderately more revealing.[15] Here, the oft-repeated mantra is that Charlemagne converted the Saxons 'partly though wars, partly through persuasion and partly through gifts'.[16] One ninth-century Saxon hagiographer famously eulogised Charlemagne as an apostle who had preached with an iron tongue.[17]

While narrative sources thus either deny the violent character of the Saxon mission or refer to it in an allusive manner, there is one source that appears to speak more plainly. It can be found in a single ninth-century manuscript, currently in the Vatican Library, known as Pal. Lat. 289.[18] This manuscript

[13] *ARF*, *s.a.* 782, p. 62; *Annals of Lorsch*, *s.a.* 782, p. 33.

[14] Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, c. 7, p. 10.

[15] For contemporary ideas about the Saxon mission, see I. Wood, *The Missionary Life. Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe 400–1050* (Harlow, 2001), 79–99, esp. pp. 85–6.

[16] Thus Eigil, *Vita Sturmi abbatis Fuldensis*, ed. P. Engelbert, *Die Vita Sturmi des Eigil von Fulda. Literaturkritisch-historische Untersuchung und Edition* (Marburg, 1968), c. 23, p. 158. See further H. Beumann, 'Die Hagiographie "bewältigt": Unterwerfung und Christianisierung der Sachsen durch Karl den Großen', in *Christianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane 28 (Spoleto, 1982), 129–63.

[17] *Translatio S. Liborii*, ed. A. Cohausz, *Erconrads Translatio S. Liborii. Eine wiederentdeckte Geschichtsquelle der Karolingerzeit und die schon bekannten Übertragungsberichte mit einer Einführung, Erläuterungen und deutscher Übersetzung des Erconrad* (Paderborn, 1966), p. 51: 'Quem arbitror nostrum iure apostolum nominari; quibus ut ianuam fidei aperiret, ferrea quodammodo lingua praedicavit.'

[18] Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 289, fols 59v–62r. The manuscript was probably compiled at Mainz, *c.* 825. See H. Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta. Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrschererlasse*, *MGH Hilfsmittel 15*, pp. 769–71; and J. Hanselmann, 'Der Codex Vat. Pal. Lat. 289: ein Beitrag zum Mainzer Skriptorium im 9. Jahrhunderts', *Scriptorium* 41 (1987), 78–87.

contains one of the most infamous capitularies of the Carolingian period: the *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae*. This capitulary, which is thought to have been issued by Charlemagne somewhere between 782 and 795, sought to compel Saxons to a strict norm of Christianity and obedience.[19] Saxons were to pay tithes, go to church, bury their dead in church graveyards and offer their children up for baptism. Deviation was met with an uncommon device in eighth-century Frankish legislation: capital punishment.[20] This forbidding sentence the *Capitulatio* prescribed against a variety of offences, ranging from infidelity to the king, to cremation of the dead. Some capital offences listed were outlandish (cannibalism, human sacrifice), others minor even by the standards of the day (eating meat during Lent). Most strikingly, the *Capitulatio* declared Christianity mandatory: 'If anyone among the Saxon people shall henceforth continue to hide unbaptised and disdain to come to baptism and want to remain pagan, he shall certainly die.'[21]

Not surprisingly, the *Capitulatio* has received ample attention from modern historians, who have consistently interpreted it as evidence for a brutal policy of forced conversion and acculturation.[22] Some have tried to explain this brutality in very functional terms. By attacking Saxon burial custom, Charlemagne tried at once to root out pre-Christian Saxon identity and to inhibit public displays of Saxon resistance.[23] Saxon religious conformity was secured through a chilling maxim: baptism or death. Yet the *Capitulatio*'s compilers cleverly mitigated this severity by giving the Church and its representatives unprecedented prerogatives in Saxony, including the right of Church-asylum and the authority to absolve criminals from death. In this manner, the Saxons were quite literally put at the mercy of the Church.[24]

[19] For the date, see below, p. 000.

[20] H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, Vol. II (Leipzig, 1892), p. 599; P. Savey-Casard, *La peine de mort. Esquisse historique et juridique* (Geneva, 1968), p. 32. For capital punishment on the Isles, see A. Reynolds, *Anglo-Saxon Deviant Burial Customs* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 251–61.

[21] *Capitulatio*, c. 8, p. 69.

[22] M. Becher, 'Gewaltmission: Karl der Grosse und die Sachsen', in C. Stiegemann, M. Kroker and W. Walter (eds), *Credo. Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter*, Vol. I: *Essays* (Petersberg, 2013), 321–9, pp. 325–26; and U. Nonn, 'Zwangsmission mit Feuer und Schwert? Zur Sachsenmission Karls des Großen', in F. Felten (ed.), *Bonifatius. Apostel der Deutschen. Mission und Christianisierung vom 8. bis ins 20. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 2004), 55–74, pp. 63–5.

[23] B. Effros, '*De partibus Saxoniae* and the regulation of mortuary custom: a Carolingian campaign of Christianization or the suppression of Saxon identity', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 75 (1997), 267–86.

[24] E. Schubert, 'Die *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae*', in D. Brosius and C. van den Heuvel (eds), *Geschichte in der Region. Zum 65. Geburtstag von Heinrich Schmidt* (Hanover, 1993), 3–28, pp. 11–12.

At the same time, many modern commentators have implicitly or explicitly questioned the *Capitulatio*'s practicality, and indeed, its rationality. The text's 'feverish' denouncements of pagan customs have been interpreted not as practical regulations, but as attempts to demarcate the parameters of acceptable Christian behaviour.[25] Its numerous references to Saxon churches, administered by (Frankish) clergy and frequented by tithe-paying Saxons, have been taken as more than a little premature.[26] Finally, the use of capital punishment to enforce religious conversion has struck some as so out of tune with contemporary Carolingian ideas about correct belief and Christian worship, that it has been hypothesised that the *Capitulatio* was influenced by a non-Christian tradition: this was not Charlemagne preaching like an iron-tongued apostle, this was Charlemagne's *jihad*.[27]

Modern reservations concerning the *Capitulatio*'s practicality are well-justified. The *Capitulatio* was first and foremost a statement of royal intent towards the Saxons.[28] Its implementation would have been difficult in the Frankish heartlands, let alone a partly conquered region like Saxony. I am less convinced, however, by the notion that the *Capitulatio* was an aberration that saw Charlemagne venturing outside the parameters of Christian and Carolingian discourse. This notion, I would argue, is based on a misinterpretation of what the compilers of the *Capitulatio* tried to do. We are inclined to think that because Charlemagne outlawed pagan custom and refusal to come to baptism, he must have been trying to convert pagan Saxons. However, by the time the *Capitulatio* was drawn-up – the 780s, or more likely the early 790s – the Carolingian court had already ceased thinking about the Saxons as pagan outsiders. From a Carolingian perspective, the Saxons were Christian members of the realm, if notoriously untrustworthy and unfaithful ones. The *Capitulatio*, then, was not advocating a policy of sword-point conversion. It was cracking down on infidelity. Such a reading not only brings the *Capitulatio* in line with Carolingian ideas about political and religious allegiance, it also explains why the compilers felt justified in issuing capital sentences: under Charlemagne, infidelity could be, and was, punished with death. This reading

[25] J. Palmer, 'Defining paganism in the Carolingian world', *EME* 15:4 (2007), 402–25, p. 414. See also R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne. The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 254.

[26] McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 254; M. Springer, *Die Sachsen* (Stuttgart, 2004), pp. 229–30.

[27] Y. Hen, 'Charlemagne's jihad', *Viator* 37 (2006), 33–51.

[28] For general discussion on the nature and purpose of capitularies, see C. Pössel, 'Authors and recipients of Carolingian capitularies, 779–829', in R. Corradini, C. Pössel, R. Meens and P. Shaw (eds), *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, FGM 13 (Vienna, 2006), 253–76; and T. Buck, *Admonitio und Praedicatio. Zur religiös-pastoralen Dimension von Kapitularien und kapitulariennahen Texten (507–814)* (Frankfurt am Main, 1997).

also accounts for another curious feature of the *Capitulatio* that has so far escaped scholarly notice: the fact that the text repeatedly employs the language of the Old Testament when demanding capital punishment. The *Capitulatio* thus sentenced Saxons as God had sentenced the people of Israel in the Mosaic Covenant, and for much the same transgressions.[29]

Contextualising the *Capitulatio*

Despite its notoriety, much remains uncertain about the *Capitulatio*. At the heart of these uncertainties stands its problematic transmission. The text survives in a single early-ninth-century manuscript, a suspiciously low number for an administrative document.[30] Moreover, in its current form, the *Capitulatio* offers no details regarding its circumstances of composition: by whom it was composed, when and where it was issued, and to whom it was addressed. Its relation to Charlemagne's court has to be deduced from its language (*interdiximus*, *iubemus*, *missus noster*) and legal penalties (death penalty, royal *bannum*).[31] Phrases like *hoc placuit omnibus* and *consensuerunt omnes* strongly suggest that the *Capitulatio* was issued in the presence and with the backing of a larger audience, such as an assembly, but this cannot be established with absolute certainty.[32]

In many quarters, the implicit assumption is still to regard the *Capitulatio* as a capitulary in the traditional sense, along the lines famously set out by François-Louis Ganshof: an administrative document, publicly issued by Charlemagne, subsequently taken to Saxony by (Saxon) counts, who saw to its (oral) presentation and implementation on the ground.[33] Such a reading fits our modern understanding of the act of 'legislating', which we feel must in the first place be about practical application. However, as Matthew Innes has rightly pointed out, Ganshof's approach to Carolingian capitularies relies on an anachronistic view of the Carolingian 'State'. It is based on a modern ideal of institutionalised government, with top-down implementation through functional hierarchies of administrative officials.[34] In fact, Carolingian power in localities was often more fluid and vested primarily in social networks and

[29] On the reception and use of the Old Testament by the early Carolingians, see M. Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel? Education for an identity from Pippin to Charlemagne', in Y. Hen and M. Innes (eds), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), 114–61.

[30] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 289, fols. 59v–62r.

[31] Schubert, 'Die *Capitulatio*', pp. 5–11.

[32] Pössel, 'Authors and recipients', p. 258 n. 83.

[33] F. Ganshof, *Wat waren de Capitularia?* (Brussels, 1955), pp. 44–50. See furthermore Schubert, 'Die *Capitulatio*', pp. 9–10; McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 251–6.

[34] M. Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages. The Middle Rhine Valley, 400–1000* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 1–12.

local landholdings. Innes's critique amounts to more than an acknowledgement of the gap between 'ambition' and 'implementation', which most scholars agree must have been very considerable for the *Capitulatio*.[35] It implies that the whole notion of a capitulary as an instrument of administration is too limited. Most Carolingian capitularies combined specific stipulations with moral discourse and exhortative rhetoric.[36] In other words, there was a strong ideological dimension to texts like the *Capitulatio*. This, of course, raises the question of audience. For whom was this being done? Without an introductory statement, we can only make assumptions with regard to the *Capitulatio*'s intended public. Based on its contents, I would presume there to have been two, somewhat overlapping, audiences. Firstly, Charlemagne's royal court, in the broadest sense of the word. By publicly issuing the *Capitulatio*, Charlemagne would have shown his leading secular and ecclesiastical magnates that he considered Saxony part of his realm. It would also have served to explain and legitimise his brutal conduct in Saxony. A second audience would have been the capitulary's 'recipients', i.e. everyone whose roles, duties and goals are being defined in the *Capitulatio*.[37] This includes Charlemagne's Saxon subjects, whose primary duty is shown to be obedience. But it also covers certain royal 'representatives', for whom the *Capitulatio* envisions a more active role in Saxony. The most prominent representatives addressed in the *Capitulatio* are not the Saxon counts, as Ganshof presumed. Rather, they are a group that the *Capitulatio* denotes with the biblical term *sacerdotes*.[38] In the context of the *Capitulatio*, the term probably covers all members of the clergy with a priestly ordination (priests, bishops, ordained abbots).[39] At the time the *Capitulatio* was composed, the clergymen active in Saxony were nearly all Franks and Anglo-Saxons related to bishoprics and missionary centres in Hesse and the Rhineland.[40] But it did not take long before Saxons entered the priesthood and episcopate as well.[41]

[35] See for instance Hen, 'Charlemagne's jihad', p. 41: 'a capitulary, which obviously could not have been implemented, and in fact was never implemented'.

[36] See M. Costambeys, M. Innes and S. MacLean, *The Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 182–9.

[37] Pössel, 'Authors and recipients', p. 268.

[38] The term was often used in Carolingian capitularies; see De Jong, '*Ecclesia* and the early medieval polity', in S. Airlie, W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (eds), *Staat im frühen Mittelalter*, FGM 11 (Vienna, 2006), 113–26, p. 122.

[39] C. van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord. Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period* (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 53–4.

[40] I. Wood, 'An absence of saints? The evidence for the Christianisation of Saxony', in P. Godman, J. Jarnut and P. Johanek (eds), *Am Vorabend der Kaiserkrönung. Das Epos 'Karolus Magnus et Leo papa' und der Papstbesuch in Paderborn 799* (Berlin, 2002), 335–52.

[41] C. Carroll, 'The bishoprics of Saxony in the first century after Christianization', *EME* 8 (1999), 219–45, p. 233.

The absence of an introductory statement has turned dating the *Capitulatio* into a challenging endeavour. A possible *terminus post quem* can be drawn from the text itself. The *Capitulatio* refers on several occasions to the responsibilities of (Saxon) counts. This is generally taken to imply that the capitulary was not issued before 782, the year in which Charlemagne first appointed counts from among the 'noblest Saxons'.[42] A probable *terminus ante quem* is 28 October 797, when the other Saxon capitulary, the *Capitulare Saxonicum*, was issued at Aachen.[43] The *Capitulare* is shorter and more gentle in tone than the *Capitulatio*. Moreover, unlike the *Capitulatio*, the *Capitulare* explicitly claims the involvement of Saxon elites. It is often assumed, therefore, that the *Capitulatio* must have preceded the *Capitulare* of 797 by at least some years.[44] Within these chronological boundaries, two dates have courted particular favour among modern scholars. Firstly, the Lippespringe assembly of 782, which probably coincided with the installation of Saxon counts.[45] Secondly, the Paderborn assembly of 785, preceding the baptism of Widukind.[46]

Recently, however, Yitzhak Hen has made a challenging case for a considerably later date, *c.* 795.[47] He argued that it was in the years following the renewed Saxon rebellions of 792 that the conflict entered its most brutal stage and that Charlemagne's policies came to mirror most closely the dread pronouncements found in the *Capitulatio*. He also pointed to two famous letters of Alcuin of York, in which the retired courtier lamented the premature imposition of Church tithes in Saxony and the overly stringent enforcement of 'legal penalties for the smallest of crimes'.[48] Knowing Alcuin's admonishments to have reached the Carolingian court *c.* 796, we can see they would have been long overdue if the *Capitulatio* had already initiated such practices in the early 780s.[49] There is much to say for Hen's suggestion that the *Capitulatio* was issued only in the final stage of the Saxon Wars. The key, I would argue,

[42] M. Lintzel, 'Die Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae', in M. Lintzel (ed.), *Ausgewählte Schriften*, Vol. I (Berlin, 1961), p. 385. Though see K. von Richthofen and K. F. von Richthofen (eds), *Leges Saxonum*, *MGH Leges* 5, 1–102, p. 21, who argued for either 775 or 777. *Annals of Lorsch*, *s.a.* 782, p. 33.

[43] *Capitulare Saxonicum*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 71–2.

[44] But see Springer, *Die Sachsen*, p. 222.

[45] R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 253; Schubert, 'Die *Capitulatio*', pp. 9–10; Lintzel, 'Die Capitulatio', pp. 380–9.

[46] L. Halphen, *Études critiques sur l'histoire de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1921), pp. 171–9.

[47] Hen, 'Charlemagne's jihad'. See also A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, Vol. II: *Die Karolingerzeit*, 8th edn (Berlin, 1954), p. 396.

[48] Alcuin, *Epp.* 110 and 111, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 4, 1–481, pp. 157–62.

[49] Note, though, that the main reason Alcuin brought up the Saxon case to Charlemagne was to argue for a different approach to the Avar mission, which was starting to pick up steam by 796. See Wood, *The Missionary Life*, pp. 85–6.

is the year 792, in which Charlemagne faced a new and unanticipated Saxon insurrection. Before this date, there are no signs that Charlemagne was willing to punish religious defiance with death. In fact, there is evidence that he was not prepared to do so. To be sure, Frankish conduct in Saxony could be brutal in the early 780s. But such brutality occurred mostly in the context of ongoing warfare and near-annual campaigning. The Massacre of Verden of 782, for example, was prompted by the annihilation of a Frankish army at the Süntel Range.[50] The rebellion of 792, however, constituted a new situation for the Franks, for several reasons. Firstly, it happened after seven years of peace, during which the Franks genuinely thought they had completed their work in Saxony. Secondly, it witnessed Saxon violence against churches and clergy. Finally, the Saxon rebellion occurred parallel to several other internal and external adversities, which put the Carolingian court into a particularly grim and unforgiving mood. This is the context that provoked Charlemagne into issuing his most brutal capitulary.

Let us start by looking at Charlemagne's pre-792 policy. Besides the *Capitulatio*, there are but a few documents that provide direct access to Charlemagne's views on the Saxon campaigns and mission. Among the most important are two letters dispatched to the Carolingian court by Pope Hadrian I, which survive today as part of the *Codex Carolinus*.[51] Both letters were written in the year 786, so shortly after the surrender and baptism of Widukind. In the first letter, Hadrian congratulates Charlemagne on his recent victory in Saxony. The pontiff expresses his delight at the fact that 'in our times and yours, a nation of pagans is led to a true and great religion and a perfect faith, and is subjugated to your royal authority'.[52] Hadrian also promises to host liturgical celebrations for the longevity of Charlemagne's victory. These celebrations had been requested by the king himself, an evident sign that he too laboured under the impression at this point that the subjugation of Saxony was a done deal.[53]

Still in 786, Hadrian dispatched a second letter to the Carolingian court. It was delivered by the abbots of two royal monasteries, Itherius of Tours and

[50] *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi* (= 'revised' version of the *Annales regni Francorum*), ed. F. Kürze, *MGH SRG* 6, *s.a.* 782, pp. 61–5.

[51] *Codex Carolinus*, *Epp.* 76 and 77, ed. Gundlach, *MGH Epp.* 3, pp. 607–9. For the *Codex Carolinus*, see D. van Espelo, 'A testimony of Carolingian rule? The *Codex epistolaris carolinus*, its historical context, and the meaning of *imperium*', *EME* 21 (2013), 254–62; and A. Hack, *Codex Carolinus. Päpstliche Epistolographie im 8. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 2006–07).

[52] *Codex Carolinus*, *Ep.* 76, pp. 607–8: 'unde nimis amplius divinae clementiae referuimus laudes, quia nostris vestrisque temporibus gens paganorum in vera et magna deducentes religion atque perfectam fidem vestrisque regalibus substernuntur dicionibus'.

[53] *Codex Carolinus*, *Ep.* 76, pp. 607–8.

Maginarius of Saint-Denis.[54] According to the letter, the Frankish king had sent the abbots to Rome as *missi*.[55] Among other things, they had been charged with enquiring 'about Saxons who were Christians but returned to paganism – what sort of penance priests should impose on them'.[56] Hadrian answered by quoting from predecessors as well as Scripture: penance should be lengthy, it should be genuine, and priests should investigate whether those 'reverting to their vomit' (Proverbs 26.11) did so voluntarily or because they were forced to. Furthermore, those who were accepted back into the fold should be made to swear oaths that they would henceforth keep to Christianity.

On one level, such correspondence suggests that apostasy continued to be an issue in Saxony in the period following Widukind's baptism. This is not really surprising. For contrary to what Frankish historians liked to believe, the surrender and baptism of Saxony's foremost rebel leader did not mean that the whole region was now suddenly Christianised. The opposite was rather the case: with the elimination of political resistance in Saxony the process of Christianisation could now truly get on its way.[57] On a different level, Hadrian's letter suggests that Charlemagne was trying to formulate a policy towards Saxon apostasy, and that he was eager at this point to receive apostolic sanction. As such, the letter raises an obvious question: why bother asking the pope for advice about the treatment of apostate Saxons if you have just issued a document that punishes relapse into paganism with death – a document, moreover, that offers elaborate instructions on the role of priests in Saxony and the possibility of penance?

Several answers come to mind. One, that Widukind's surrender led Charlemagne's court suddenly to rethink its aggressive policy. Two, that one of the parties involved was trying to hoodwink the other: Charlemagne by communicating one thing to Rome but doing things quite differently at home; the royal *missi* and/or Hadrian by writing Charlemagne a 'response' to a question that was never asked, hoping circumspectly to intervene in a policy they

[54] *Codex Carolinus*, *Ep.* 77, pp. 608–9. For the date of this letter, see the commentary in *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum*, Vol. IV, ed. P. Jaffé (Berlin, 1867), p. 248 n. 2.

[55] On these two *missi* and their relation to Rome, see G. Thoma, 'Papst Hadrian I. und Karl der Große: Beobachtungen zur Kommunikation zwischen Papst und König nach den Briefen des *Codex Carolinus*', in K. Schnith and R. Pauler (eds), *Festschrift für Eduard Hlawitschka zum 65. Geburtstag* (Kallmünz, 1993), 37–58, pp. 42–43; and T. Noble, *The Republic of St Peter. The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 153–6.

[56] *Codex Carolinus*, *Ep.* 77, p. 609: 'sciscitati sunt nos interrogantes de Saxonibus, qui christiani fuerunt et ad paganissimum reversi sunt, qualem penitentiam eis sacerdotes iudicare debeant'.

[57] Wood, 'An absence of saints?'; and Johanek, 'Der Ausbau der sächsischen Kirchenorganisation'.

considered too harsh.[58] The final option, and arguably the most logical one, is that the *Capitulatio* was yet to be issued at this point, and its merciless policy yet to be established. The key factor in establishing it was the events of 792, when Charlemagne's prestigious victory over the Saxons unexpectedly dissolved and the ranks of the *populus Christianus* were beset by unwelcome defections.

The revolt of 792

The period 792–93 has been referred to as the 'second great crisis of [Charlemagne's] reign'.[59] This seems well-justified. In less than two years, the Carolingian court faced a large number of unanticipated set-backs: an equine epidemic; severe famine; a Saracen attack on Gaul; an uprising in Benevento; and perhaps most alarmingly, a revolt by Charlemagne's eldest son, Pippin the Hunchback.[60] Pippin's sworn association was uncovered in August 792, while Charlemagne was still residing at Regensburg following his 791 campaign against the Avars. It involved magnates from Neustria, Austrasia and, in all likelihood, Bavaria.[61] The precise motives underlying this 'most wicked plot' are beyond the remit of this chapter.[62] What should concern us is Charlemagne's response, which can best be characterised as calculated brutality. He allowed his son Pippin to retire to the monastery of Prüm.[63] Several other high-profile magnates whom it was expedient to pardon also got away with their lives, though they were made to pay with their possessions and offices. With others, however, Charlemagne did not refrain from shedding blood. 'Some were

[58] Alcuin's letter to Charlemagne's chamberlain Meginfrid constitutes another example of such circumspect intervention; Alcuin, *Ep.* 111, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 4, pp. 159–62.

[59] Thus J. Nelson (citing F.-L. Ganshof), 'The siting of the council at Frankfort: some reflections on family and politics', in R. Berndt (ed.), *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794. Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur – Akten zweier Symposien (vom 23. bis 27. Februar und vom 13. bis 15. Oktober 1994) anläßlich der 1,200-Jahrfeier der Stadt Frankfurt am Main* (Mainz, 1997), 149–65, p. 151.

[60] C. Gillmor, 'The 791 equine epidemic and its impact on Charlemagne's army', *Journal of Medieval Military History* 3 (2005), 23–45; A. Verhulst, 'Karolingische Agrarpolitik: das Capitulare de Villis und die Hungersnote von 792/93 und 805/06', *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie* 13 (1965), 175–89; C. Hammer, '"Pipinus rex": Pippin's plot of 792 and Bavaria', *Traditio* 63 (2008), 235–76.

[61] Hammer, 'Pipinus rex'.

[62] For an overview, see J. Nelson, *Opposition to Charlemagne* (London, 2009), pp. 5–26.

[63] See the contribution by Erik Goosmann and Rob Meens in this volume.

hung, some beheaded, others were flogged and exiled', the *Annales Mosellani* summarise.[64] The revised version of the *Annales regni Francorum* offers a similar choice of punishments: 'of the authors of the conspiracy some were executed by the sword for high treason and others hanged on the gallows, being punished with such deaths because of the crime they had planned'.[65] Through such executions, Charlemagne issued a fearful example to all present at his Regensburg court in 792: infidelity would be punished with utmost severity.

This, now, was the grim message circulating around Charlemagne's court, when somewhere at the end of 792 or the beginning of 793 news spread of a new Saxon rebellion. After an already disastrous year, Charlemagne's most prestigious and hard-fought triumph was now also contested once more. The contemporary *Annals of Lorsch* offer a reasonable example of how this unhappy news was received by the Franks:

> But while the summer was approaching, the Saxons … openly showed what long since hid in their hearts: like a dog returning to its vomit, they returned to the paganism that they had earlier spat out, again leaving Christianity, and betraying both God and the king who offered them so many benefactions, to side with the pagan nations in their vicinity. And sending their messengers to the Avars, they tried to rebel first against God, and then against the king and the Christians; all the churches within their borders they brought down in fire and destruction, throwing out the bishops and priests who stood over them, some of whom they took into custody, others among which they killed. And they openly turned to the worship of idols.[66]

Yitzhak Hen has rightly called attention to the remarkable similarity between the acts described in this passage and the crimes denounced in the *Capitulatio*.[67] Burning churches, killing clergy, idol-worship, joining pagans and infidelity to the king are all 'crimes' listed in the *Capitulatio*, which can

[64] *Annales Mosellani*, *s.a.* 791 (which is 792), ed. I. Lappenberg, *MGH SS* 16, 491–9, p. 497.

[65] *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*, *s.a.* 792, p. 93.

[66] *Annals of Lorsch*, *s.a.* 792, p. 35: 'Sed et propinquante aestivo tempore Saxones, aestimantes quod Avarorum gens se vindicare super christianos debuisset, hoc quod in corde eorum dudum iam antea latebat, manifestissime ostenderunt: quasi canis qui revertit ad vomitum suum, sic reversi sunt ad paganismum quem pridem respuerant, iterum relinquentes christianitatem, mentientes tam Deo quam domno rege, qui eis multa beneficia prestetit, coniungentes se cum paganas gentes, qui in circuitu eorum erant. Sed et missos suos ad Avaros transmittentes conati sunt in primis rebellare contra Deum, deinde contra regem et christianos; omnes ecclesias que in finibus eorum erant, cum destructione et incendio vastabant, reicientes episcopos et presbyteros qui super eos erant, et aliquos comprehenderunt, nec non et alios occiderunt, et plenissime se ad culturam idolorum converterunt.'

[67] Hen, 'Charlemagne's jihad', pp. 38–9.

thus be said to react to the events of 792.[68] But perhaps the most striking feature of the above passage is its complete conflation of political and religious allegiance. In forsaking Christianity, the Saxons betrayed both God and the king. By siding with pagans, they rebelled against God, Charlemagne and the Christians.

It is this very conflation of political and religious infidelity that also stands at the heart of the *Capitulatio*. Compare the above passage from the *Annals of Lorsch* with Chapters 10 and 11 in the *Capitulatio*, which deal with various forms of infidelity:

> 10. If anyone shall have joined pagans in a plot against Christians, or shall have wished to join with them in opposition to Christians, he shall certainly die. And whoever shall have agreed to do this same thing deceitfully against the king or the Christian people, he shall certainly die.[69]
>
> 11. If anyone shall have shown himself unfaithful to the king, he shall be punished with a capital sentence.[70]

It is not quite clear whether the pagans in question are to be found within Saxony, or whether they represent the 'pagan peoples' in the vicinity, like the Avars or Northmen. There is no doubt, however, that they stand at the wrong end of a strict politico-religious dichotomy, with Charlemagne and his *gens Christianorum* on one side, and the *pagani* on the other. The Saxons belonged, or should belong, to the former camp. This is further underlined by the language used: it is the vocabulary that Carolingian authors tended to employ in matters of allegiance and (in)fidelity. This obviously goes for the term *infidelis* ('unfaithful') in Chapter 11. But it also covers the terms *consilium* ('plot') and *fraus* ('deceit') found in Chapter 10. The two major revolts of Charlemagne's reign – by Hardrad in 786 and Pippin the Hunchback in 792 – were both described as a *consilium* by contemporary authors.[71] Another annalist reported that Pippin had sought to kill his father and brother in order to 'deceitfully appropriate' (*fraude subripere*) his father's kingdom.[72] The general oath of 789,

[68] *Capitulatio*, cc. 1, 3, 5, 10 and 11, pp. 68–9.

[69] *Capitulatio*, c. 10, p. 69: 'Si quis cum paganis consilium adversus christianos inierit vel cum illis in adversitate christianorum perdurare voluerit, morte moriatur; et quicumque hoc idem fraude contra regem vel gentem christianorum consenserit, morte moriatur.'

[70] *Capitulatio*, c. 11, p. 69: 'Si quis domino regi infidelis apparuerit, capitali sententia punietur.

[71] *Annales Nazariani*, *s.a.* 786, ed. G. Pertz, *MGH SS* 1, 23–44, p. 41: 'Thuringi autem consilium fecerunt'; *Annals of Lorsch*, *s.a.* 792, p. 35: 'consilium Pipinni'; *Annales Petaviani*, *s.a.* 792, ed. G. Pertz, *MGH SS* 1, 7–19, p. 18: 'consilium iniquum, quem consiliaverunt cum Pipino'.

[72] *Annales Mosellani*, *s.a.* 791, p. 498.

which was introduced by Charlemagne in response to the 786 revolt, required every free man of the realm to swear that he would be faithful (*fidelis*) to the king and his sons, without deceit and evil intent (*sine fraude et malo ingenio*).[73]

The *Capitulatio* employed the same vocabulary, but in a context that combined political and religious allegiance: joining a pagan plot against Christians or engaging in deceitful opposition against the king and the Christian people. On the one hand, such language says something about the time the text was composed, i.e. after the introduction of the general oath in 789, whose language the *Capitulatio* clearly adopted. On the other, it underlines that the *Capitulatio* approached the Saxons not as a people that needed to be converted and brought under Carolingian control, but as a people that had already been brought into the Franco-Christian fold and should be kept there by whatever means available. This, above all, was what informed and legitimised the document's excessive severity against Saxons who scorned the Lenten fast 'out of contempt for Christianity', who cremated their dead 'according to pagan rites', who hid among their countrymen unbaptised because they wanted 'to remain pagan', or who entered pagan plots 'against the king and Christian people'.[74] Such acts went against the Carolingian norm of faith and fidelity – a norm that Charlemagne had been quick to impose on the Saxons and that they had appeared finally to embrace in 785, but which was contested once more following the Saxon revolt of 792. To punish such acts with death, or at least to threaten to do so, was brutal, no doubt about it. But it was not out of tune with the sentences levelled against the rebels of 792, who were hung, beheaded, flogged and exiled.[75]

Biblical punishment and the duties of preaching

Another conspicuous aspect of the *Capitulatio* is its unparalleled use of the phrase *morte moriatur*.[76] The expression is employed seven times to order the death penalty, blazing a sinister trail through the first part of the *Capitulatio*.[77] Its use far outweighs that of alternative phrases like *capit(a)e punietur* and

[73] *Duplex legationis edictum* (*a.* 789), c. 18, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 62–4, p. 63. See on this oath S. Esders, *'Sacramentum fidelitatis': Treueidleistung, Militärorganisation und Formierung mittelalterlicher Staatlichkeit* (Berlin, forthcoming), pp. 306–22; M. Becher, *Eid und Herrschaft. Untersuchungen zum Herrscherethos Karls des Großen* (Sigmaringen, 1993), pp. 145–63; and C. Odegaard, 'Carolingian Oaths of Fidelity', *Speculum* 16 (1941), 284–96.

[74] *Capitulatio*, cc. 4, 7, 8, 10, pp. 68–9.

[75] *Annales Mosellani*, *s.a.* 791 (which is 792), p. 498.

[76] Noted by Hanselmann, 'Der Codex', p. 79.

[77] *Capitulatio*, cc. 3, 4, 8, 9, 10 (twice), 12, pp. 68–9.

capitali sententia(e) punietur.[78] In contrast to such customary expressions, the phrase *morte moriatur* has only one real precedent: the Old Testament. In particular, we encounter the phrase in two of the Old Testament law codes, known today as the Covenant Code (Exodus 21.1–23.19) and the Holiness Code (Leviticus 17–26).[79] In the Carolingian period, these codes were seen as part of one and the same legal tradition, known as the 'Old Law' (*Vetus Lex*) or simply 'the Law' (*Lex*).[80] The origins of the Old Law were venerable and divine. This was the law-code Moses had received from God on Mount Sinai as part of the Covenant between God and the people of Israel. The Law had offered the ancient Israelites detailed regulations bearing on many aspects of life. Regulations were voiced as positive as well as negative commands (Thou shalt not …), and could come with dire punishments attached. Capital sentences were demanded for such crimes as murder, kidnapping, incest and adultery.[81] Many also involved deviation from God – idolatry, blasphemy, human sacrifice, sorcery and breaking the Sabbath – similar crimes, indeed, to those addressed in the *Capitulatio*. The phrase *morte moriatur* was used on such occasions to express the certainty of death as demanded by God. It derived from the Hebrew *môt jûmāt*, a combination of the infinitive *môt* (to die) and its third person singular *jûmāt* (he shall die).[82] When combined in such a manner, the infinitive conveys emphasis: 'he shall *surely* be put to death'.

The extent to which early medieval Christians adhered to 'the Law' varied considerably with time and place.[83] But even those who inclined towards a

[78] *Capitulatio*, cc. 5, 6, 7, 11, pp. 68–69.

[79] Exod. 21.12, Exod. 21.15–17, Exod. 22.19, Exod. 31.14, Lev. 20.2, Lev. 20.9–11, Lev. 20.13, Lev. 20.15, Lev. 20.27, Lev. 24.16–17. On the definition and development of these codes, see D. Knight, *Law, Power and Justice in Ancient Israel* (Louisville, 2011), pp. 9–29.

[80] M. de Jong, 'Old law and new-found power: Hrabanus Maurus and the Old Testament', in J.-W. Drijvers and A. MacDonald (eds), *Centres of Learning. Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East* (Leiden, 1995), 161–76.

[81] For an overview, see T. Hieke, 'Das Alte Testament und die Todesstrafe', *Biblica* 85 (2004), 353–8. More generally, see B. Schulz, *Das Todesrecht im Alten Testament. Studien zur Rechtsreform der Mot-Jumat-Sätze* (Berlin, 1969); A. Büchler, 'Die Todesstrafen der Bibel und der jüdisch-nachbiblischen Zeit', *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 50:9/10 (1906), 539–62; 50:11/12 (1906), 664–706.

[82] K.-J. Illman, *Old Testament Formulas about Death* (Åbo, 1979), pp. 119–27; and H. Schüngel-Straumann, *Tod und Leben in der Gesetzesliteratur des Pentateuch* (Bonn, 1969), pp. 96–111.

[83] The standard work is still R. Kottje, *Studien zum Einfluss des Alten Testaments auf Recht und Liturgie des frühen Mittelalters (6.–8. Jahrhundert)* (Bonn, 1970). See also more generally, M. Sæbø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible, Old Testament. The History*

literal approach seem to have drawn the line at capital punishment.[84] It was one thing to defend observation of the Sunday by invoking Old Testament regulations regarding the Sabbath.[85] It was something else altogether to follow to the letter the example of Numbers 15.32–6, in which the man found gathering wood on the Sabbath is stoned to death on God's orders.[86] As Gregory the Great put it in his highly influential *Moralia in Iob*: 'In the Law, God had been holding a birch-rod when he said: "if anyone shall have done this or that, he shall surely die [*morte moriatur*]". But Christ did away with the birch-rod, because he showed the paths of life through compassion.'[87] Such, in general, was also the line adopted in Carolingian legislation.[88] The *Admonitio generalis*, a document more or less contemporary with the *Capitulatio*, frequently invoked the 'mandates' found in the 'the Law' regarding such issues as the sabbath, bribery, perjury, false testimony, augury, theft and the honour of parents.[89] In the *Admonitio*'s prologue, Charlemagne famously invoked the example of Josiah, the Old Testament king who had sought to reinstate Mosaic Law in the kingdom of Judah by violently rooting out idolatry and other incorrect forms of worship.[90] Likewise, the synod of Friuli of 796/97 defended the sabbath by offering its own take on Leviticus 23.25: 'he who has done servile

of Its Interpretation, Vol. I: *From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (until 1300)* (Göttingen, 1996).

[84] Irish legal traditions in particular were characterised not only by extensive reliance on Old Testament law, but also by their penchant for literal interpretation. M. Herren, 'The "Judaizing tendencies" of the early Irish Church', *Filologia mediolatina* 3 (1996), 73–80; and S. Meeder, 'The "Liber ex lege Moysi": notes and text', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 19 (2009), 173–218.

[85] Kottje, *Studien zum Einfluss*.

[86] Num. 15.35: 'dixitque Dominus ad Mosen morte moriatur homo iste obruat eum lapidibus omnis turba extra castra'.

[87] Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 9, c. 62, ed. M. Adriaen, *CCSL* 143B (Turnhout, 1979), p. 501: 'Per legem quippe virgam Deus tenuerat, cum dicebat: si quis haec vel illa fecerit, morte moriatur. Sed incarnatus virgam abstulit, quia vias vitae per mansuetudinem ostendit.'

[88] W. Hartmann, 'Die karolingische Reform und die Bibel', *Annuarium historiae conciliorum* 18 (1986), 58–74. See also A. Firey, 'The letter of the law: Carolingian exegetes and the Old Testament', in J. McAuliffe (ed.), *With Reverence for the Word. Medieval Scriptural Exegesis in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (New York, 2003), 204–24. See furthermore Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel?'.

[89] *Admonitio generalis*, cc. 61–82, ed. and trans. H. Mordek, K. Zechiel-Eckes and M. Glatthaar, *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen*, *MGH Fontes iuris* 16, pp. 210–38. See also Hartmann, 'Die karolingische Reform', p. 62.

[90] *Admonitio generalis*, praefatio, pp. 182–4. Josiah's story is related in 4 Kings 22–3. See also De Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', pp. 115–16; and Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel?', pp. 146–7.

work on this day, which is a sin, shall surely die'.[91] But while these and other Carolingian capitularies relied heavily on the Old Testament and Mosaic Law, this reliance did not extend to matters of punishment; they did not call for the divinely ordained execution of sinners. In this, the *Capitulatio* was almost unique in the early Middle Ages.[92]

It would go too far, I think, to conclude that the compilers of the *Capitulatio* tried literally to implement Mosaic Law in Saxony. There are, after all, almost no direct citations.[93] But the Old Testament was certainly on the compilers' mind when they drew up the *Capitulatio*. No legislator at the Carolingian court in the 780s or 790s, when the Old Law was eagerly scrutinised for rules of conduct, would have failed to recognise *morte moriatur* as the signature phrase for divinely ordained death under Mosaic Law. Obviously, by using such a phrase, the compilers suggested that their sentences, too, were divinely ordained: it was not Charlemagne who outlawed human sacrifice and cannibalism in Saxony, it was God. But the significance of the phrase probably went beyond expressing divine authorisation. With the *Capitulatio*, Charlemagne sought to lay down the rules for Christian subjects whom he knew to be of unstable faith, in the double sense of the word. Harsh penalties were due, even for transgressions that did not normally merit such an approach. A phrase like *morte moriatur* signalled that such severity was not without precedent: God had been equally strict with his own Chosen People.[94] The link was all the

[91] *Concilium Foroiuliense* (*a.* 796/97), c. 11, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, pp. 177–95, p. 194: 'Ipsum est enim sabbatum Domini delicatum, de quo scriptura dicit: Qui fecerit in eo opus servile, id est peccati, morte moriatur.'

[92] The only early medieval parallel I have been able to find is a sixth-century legal compilation from sub-Roman Britany, edited under the deceptive title *Canones Wallici* (*Welsh Canons*). The phrase *morte moriatur* surfaces twice in this compilation, in chapters dealing with adultery and theft respectively. *Canones Wallici*, ed. L. Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials, with an appendix by D. A. Binchy*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 5 (Dublin, 1975), cc. 17, 45. See S. Kerneis, 'Morte moriatur: la peine capitale chez les Bretons d'Armorique à la fin de l'Antiquité', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 79 (2001), 331–46.

[93] *Capitulatio*, c. 9: 'Si quis hominem diabulo sacrificaverit et in hostiam more paganorum daemonibus obtulerit, morte moriatur.' Compare Lev. 17.7: 'et nequaquam ultra immolabunt hostias suas daemonibus cum quibus fornicati sunt legitimum sempernitum erit illis et posteris eorum'; Lev. 20.9: 'si quis dederit de semine suo idolo Moloch morte moriatur populus terrae lapidabit eum'.

[94] For the reception of the idea of God's Chosen People in the Carolingian realm, see Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel?'; and J. Nelson, 'Frankish identity in Charlemagne's empire', in I. Garipzanov, P. Geary and P. Urbanczyk (eds), *Franks, Northmen, and Slavs. Identities and State Formation in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 2008), 71–83, p. 75.

more conspicuous because, like Mosaic Law, the *Capitulatio* was concerned with enforcing religious allegiance and rooting out unorthodox, or pagan, behaviour.

There is yet another angle that the compilers of the *Capitulatio* might have pursued. The phrase *morte moriatur* does not always have the same implications in the Old Testament.[95] When used in a legal context, *morte moriatur* appears to denote an actual death sentence: i.e. God bestows on the community the responsibility for executing the transgressor. In other contexts, however, the phrase can also mark an individual as worthy of death in God's eyes, but with room for atonement. Examples of the latter can be found above all in the book of Ezekiel. In Ezekiel 3.17–19, the prophet Ezekiel famously recounts a dream, in which God installed him as a watchman (*speculator*) over the House of Israel:

> Son of man, I have made thee a watchman to the house of Israel: and thou shalt hear the word out of my mouth, and shalt tell it them from me. If, when I say to the wicked, Thou shalt surely die [*morte morieris*], thou declare it not to him, nor speak to him, that he may be converted from his wicked way and live: the same wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but I will require his blood at thy hand. But if thou give warning to the wicked, and he be not converted from his wickedness, and from his evil way: he indeed shall die in his iniquity, but thou hast delivered thy soul.[96]

The passage famously laid down the doctrine of surrogate responsibility.[97] As a watchman, Ezekiel was made responsible for the behaviour of the people of Israel. He was actively to warn the Israelites of the dangers of sinning. If he failed to do so, Ezekiel would share in their downfall. If, on the other hand, Ezekiel took up this divinely ordained responsibility, and a sinner mended his ways because of it, the sinner would live.

The idea of the *speculator* surfaces regularly in eighth- and ninth-century texts, usually to describe the ministry of priests and bishops (*sacerdotes*),

[95] See Hieke, 'Das Alte Testament', pp. 368–74; and Illman, *Old Testament Formulas about Death*, pp. 119–27.

[96] I follow the Douay-Reims translation, Ezek. 3.17–19: 'fili hominis speculatorem dedi te domui Israhel et audies de ore meo verbum et adnuntiabis eis ex me. si dicente me ad impium morte morieris non adnuntiaveris ei neque locutus fueris ut avertatur a via sua impia et vivat ipse impius in iniquitate sua morietur sanguinem autem eius de manu tua requiram. si autem tu adnuntiaveris impio et ille non fuerit conversus ab impietate sua et via sua impia ipse quidem in iniquitate sua morietur tu autem animam tuam liberasti.'

[97] W. Brownlee, 'Ezekiel's parable of the watchman and the editing of Ezekiel', *Vetus Testamentum* 28:4 (1978), 392–408; B. Lindars, 'Ezekiel and individual responsibility', *Vetus Testamentum*, 15:4 (1965), 452–67.

the Christian equivalent to Israel's watchmen.[98] The Anglo-Saxon Church reformer Boniface, a hardliner by any standards, confessed himself truly terrified by God's admonitions to Ezekiel.[99] Nor did he have any doubts about their continued relevance: Christian *sacerdotes* who failed to reprimand sinners for their sins could look forward to accompanying the offenders to the 'eternal flames'. Charlemagne's courtier Alcuin of York expressed similar awe in his correspondence: 'how terrible were the threats which the Lord levelled against Ezekiel, when he imposed on him the duties of preaching'.[100] The letter's recipient, Arn of Salzburg, seems to have taken the warning to heart as well. Alcuin's reference to Ezekiel reappears almost word for word in a synodal *ordo* commonly attributed to Arn, where it is used to underline the pastoral responsibilities of bishops.[101] Interestingly, Ezekiel was known to the scribe(s) who copied Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 289, the collection of capitularies that contains the *Capitulatio*. A citation of Ezekiel 3.17 appears on the second folio of the manuscript, directly after a schedule for a provincial synod.[102] That Ezekiel 3.17 surfaces in the same manuscript as the *Capitulatio* is no guarantee, of course, that the capitulary's original compilers were familiar with the passage as well. But it does signal that the image of the 'watchman' was widely recognised in Carolingian society and that the watchman's responsibilities could be made to extend even into a legislative context.

As it turns out, the idea of sacerdotal ministry is deeply embedded in the *Capitulatio*. More than once, *sacerdotes* are ordered to monitor Saxon behaviour and to stand judge in matters of life and death.[103] Chapter 4 demands the death penalty for eating meat during the Lenten fast, 'but let a *sacerdos* take care to establish, whether the transgressor was perchance led to consume meat out of necessity'.[104] Chapter 34 orders every Saxon count to uphold justice in his area of jurisdiction, 'and the *sacerdotes* should take care, that he [i.e. the count] does not do otherwise'.[105] Arguably the most elaborate statement of

98 See M. de Jong, *The Penitential State. Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 114–15.

99 Boniface, *Ep.* 78, ed. M. Tangl, *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius and Lullus*, *MGH Epp. sel.* 1, p. 166.

100 Alcuin, *Ep.* 267, p. 425.

101 H. Schneider (ed.), *MGH Ordines de celebrando Concilio*, Vol. I: *Die Konzilsordines des Früh- und Hochmittelalters*, *Ordo* 7B, p. 339 (pp. 55–7 for attribution to Arn).

102 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 289, 2r: 'Fili hominis speculatorem posui te / in populo meo audiens verba ex ori / meo ex me non ex te.' See also Mordek, *Biblioteca capitularium*, pp. 769–70.

103 As noted by Schubert, 'Die *Capitulatio*', p. 12.

104 *Capitulatio*, c. 4, p. 68.

105 *Capitulatio*, c. 34, p. 70.

priestly responsibility is given in Chapter 14, the chapter that concludes the section dealing with capital sentences: 'But if someone who committed these mortal crimes in secret shall turn to a *sacerdos* out of his own accord and, having made a confession, shall be willing to do penance, let him be excused from death on the testimony of the *sacerdos*.'[106] This chapter presents more than a faint echo of Ezekiel 33.14–15: 'But if I shall say to the wicked: Thou shalt surely die, and he do penance for his sin, and do judgement and justice … he shall surely live, and shall not die.'[107] The *Capitulatio*, then, did not just issue divinely ordained capital sentences like the Old Testament. It appears also to have followed the Old Testament in charging priest and bishops – *sacerdotes* – with saving sinful Saxons from death. No other Carolingian capitulary offered clergy such far-reaching responsibilities. But then again, there was no region under Carolingian control that needed to be watched as strictly at this point as Saxony.

Conclusion

It is tempting to look at the *Capitulatio* as an aberration of sorts: a text that was firmly out of tune with reality and Christian teaching, the dubious result of an irate Charlemagne getting carried away in legislative zeal against a people that continued to frustrate his attempts at subjugation. That the *Capitulatio* was an unusually harsh text that was born, to an extent, out of Carolingian frustration with their eastern neighbours, need not be laboured. But it was not an aberration. In fact, as we have seen in this chapter, the compilers of the *Capitulatio* engaged with a number of established Carolingian discourses. For one, there is the text's preoccupation with allegiance and (in) fidelity. This preoccupation is evinced clearly in chapters prohibiting acts of infidelity against the king and the Christian people, but it can also be witnessed in the way the *Capitulatio* legislates against unchristian behaviour. The *Capitulatio* did not approach the Saxons as pagans who needed to be converted, but as Christian members of the Frankish realm. From such a viewpoint, hostility to Christianity and acting *more paganorum* were viewed not merely as religious misdemeanours; they were acts of infidelity, to be punished accordingly.

106 *Capitulatio*, c. 14, p. 69: 'Si vero pro his mortalibus criminibus latenter commissis aliquis sponte ad sacerdotem confugerit et confessione data ageri poenitentiam voluerit, testimonio sacerdotis de morte excusetur.'

107 Ezek. 33.14–15: 'sin autem dixero impio morte morieris et egerit paenitentiam a peccato suo feceritque iudicium et iustitiam pignus restituerit ille impius rapinamque reddiderit in mandatis vitae ambulaverit nec fecerit quicquam iniustum vita vivet et non morietur'.

Secondly, we have seen that in issuing its capital sentences, the compilers of the *Capitulatio* appealed rather conspicuously to an established and authoritative legal tradition: that of the Old Testament. They made this appeal through liberal application of the phrase *morte moriatur*, which denoted divinely ordained death under Mosaic Law. In line with the example of Ezekiel, furthermore, the *Capitulatio* offered Christian *sacerdotes* far-reaching prerogatives in Saxony, including the right of Church asylum and the right to absolve criminals from death. The *Capitulatio*, therefore, was not fundamentally different from the *Admonitio generalis* of 789. In both capitularies, Charlemagne was following his responsibilities as a Christian ruler by offering God's Law to God's people. In both capitularies, also, he was explicitly calling on the clerical elite – *sacerdotes* – to share this ministry. Moreover, in both capitularies Charlemagne was drawing on the Old Testament. That the character of these two legislative enterprises ultimately turned out differently is not really surprising. The Saxons were a new people under God, and of dubious fidelity besides. Such a people called for the severity, rather than the mildness, of the Law, at least according to those involved in the *Capitulatio*'s compilation.

It has been argued finally that the *Capitulatio*'s harsh character and preoccupation with (in)fidelity are best understood against the background of the events of 792–93, when the Carolingian court faced several unexpected set-backs. Two of these set-backs, in particular, pressed heavily on Charlemagne's mind. Firstly, the attempted Franco-Bavarian revolt spearheaded by Pippin the Hunchback in 792. Secondly, the renewed Saxon rebellions of 792/93, which saw Saxons rise once more against Frankish rule and its Christian representatives. The former event was painful because it involved Frankish magnates, including Charlemagne's own son. The latter event was painful because it called into question Charlemagne's most prestigious military and religious victory. These were probably the circumstances out of which the *Capitulatio* was born. It was an unforgiving document, which sought to lay down the rules for new subjects who were known to be of questionable fidelity. It also conveyed a clear ideological statement: the Saxons were, or should be, Christian subjects of the Carolingian rulers. Defiance against this norm, whether by attacking churches or clergy, by refusing to comply with Christian regulations, by engaging in unchristian behaviour, or by siding with pagans against the Christian people, was equivalent to infidelity. Like the plot of 792, it would be punished with death.

11

An admonition too far? The sermon *De cupiditate* by Ambrose Autpertus

Maximilian Diesenberger

In her groundbreaking book *The Penitential State*, Mayke de Jong points out the significance of admonition in Carolingian society: 'From Charlemagne's reign onwards … moral warning, or *admonitio*, as it was usually called, pervaded public discourse.'[1] Prior to Charlemagne, moral admonition was practised almost exclusively by bishops and abbots. This chapter focuses on the admonition of an abbot of Frankish origin who came from southern France and made his monastic career in southern Italy. Although his sphere of influence reached out to the periphery of the Carolingian empire, this very abbot and his *sermo* played an important role in Charlemagne's political activities in Italy, for precisely in the zone of influence between two centres of power the performance of an individual may have a decisive impact. Moreover, in such zones innovative ideas may develop more rapidly. The abbot in question was Ambrose Autpertus, a relatively obscure figure in modern scholarship, but a productive and well-connected eighth-century intellectual, who was even recognised in his own day as a *vir eruditissimus*.[2] His zone of influence radiated out from the monastery San Vincenzo al Volturno; the two centres of power are, on one side, the former kingdom of Desiderius, king of the Lombards, which had been ruled by Charlemagne since 774, and on the other, the Duchy of Benevento, which gained strength and self-confidence under the rule of Arichis II. The innovative idea presented in the *Sermo de cupiditate*, written between 777 and 778, was the political use of the discourse of corruption: a discourse that would play a crucial role all over the Frankish empire shortly afterwards.

[1] M. de Jong, *The Penitential State. Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 113. I would like to thank Francesco Borri, Andreas Fischer, Marios Costambeys, Giorgia Vocino and Graeme Ward for comments on the text. All errors that remain are of course my own.

[2] Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* VI, c. 40, ed. L. Bethmann and G. Waitz, *MGH Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX*, 12–219, p. 179.

Already in ancient Rome and in early Christianity, criticising the corruption of the rich and powerful was a common theme in critical discourse, and it was especially prominent in the Bible. According to his own account, Ambrose Autpertus recorded in the *Sermo* over eighty passages from Scripture, confronting his readership with a comprehensive repertoire of such criticism.[3] Despite this impressive diversity the author remains sceptical with regard to the success of his efforts. In the very beginning of the *Sermo de cupiditate* he refers to the *praedicatores* of the Old and the New Testaments, whom he compares with strong peasants who try to reclaim land with their tools. The plough (*aratrum*), the spade (*fossorium*), the rake (*raster*) and the hoe (*sarculum*) are synonymous with *increpatio*, *suasio*, *terror* and *blanditia*. The variety of tools, however, does not guarantee success: as much as one might sweat over work, as the author remarks, the root of evil could never be entirely eradicated as plenty of branches would grow again. It is, however, necessary to take on this task by all means available.[4]

The sermon focuses on *cupiditas*, which Ambrose Autpertus considers, along with Paul's First Letter to Timothy (6.10), as the root of all evil. Ambrose Autpertus was concerned with the vice of *cupiditas* in many of his works: for example, in the treatise *Libellus de conflictu vitiorum et virtutum* and the *Oratio contra septem vitium*. Both texts were composed for a monastic audience. Ambrose sent the treatise to Lantfrid, the first abbot of Benediktbeuern in Bavaria, with the request for further circulation.[5] In contrast, the *Sermo de cupiditate* was written for a lay audience: as we shall see, the text goes into unusually minute detail concerning judicial procedures and offers exceptional insights into the attitudes of the secular elite. We should of course not create rigid divides between 'lay' and 'monastic', for a text subverting aristocratic and unchristian values could be preached or read within a monastic or some other ecclesiastical context and then afterwards be disseminated amongst the secular elite. Nevertheless, the common topic of these three texts, cupidity, is judged differently in each of them, in relation to their intended audience. In the *Libellus de conflictu vitiorum et virtutum* pride was the worst sin and *cupiditas* played only a minor part. In the *Sermo*, however, *cupiditas* – itself inseparably intertwined with pride (*superbia*) – ranks first among man's vices.[6] In an earlier section of the sermon Ambrose Autpertus even reminds his

[3] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo de cupiditate*, c. 16, ed. R. Weber, *CCCM* 27B (Turnhout, 1979), 935–44, p. 981.

[4] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 1, p. 963.

[5] P. Erhart, 'Ambrosius Autpertus', in P. Chiesa and L. Castaldi (eds), *La trasmissione dei testi latini del medioevo – Mediaeval Latin Texts and Their Transmission*, Te.Tra. 2, Millennio Medievale 57. Strumenti e studi, n.s. 10 (Florence, 2005) 71–86, p. 79; R. Weber, 'Les sermons d'Ambroise Autpert', *Revue Bénédictine* 86 (1976), 321–7.

[6] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 2, p. 964.

audience that 'now in our times' *cupiditas* 'is seen to have taken over almost everything already'.[7] Apparently Ambrose attributed more importance to the vice of cupidity when addressing a lay audience than a monastic one, which was supposed to despise secular affairs anyway.[8] However, he realized that the more a monk was occupied with secular affairs, the greater the danger that he would be tainted with the sin of cupidity. Therefore, Ambrose particularly advised prelates, who had more exposure to the world outside the monastery, to be cautious in this respect.[9] Generally *cupiditas* threatens also the monastic world, since even those who are secluded from secular affairs crave worldly goods. In the *oratio* that Ambrose Autpertus had written for a monastic audience, 'precious metals, shiny gems, servants and maidservants, farmsteads and estates' are listed among goods of that ilk. However, none of these belongs to a particular monastic framework.[10]

In the *Sermo de cupiditate* we encounter similar distractions. Ambrose draws attention to the dangers posed by the flattering affection of wives; the maturing of sons; the obedience of the servants; the revenue of extensive fields, vineyards and forests; and great treasures; as well as garments embroidered with gold, jewels and pearls.[11] All of this tempts the secular individual and diverts him from the path of salvation.[12] The preacher admonishes that one should not acquire more than one needs. Moreover, one must only sleep with one's own wife, yet refrain even from that during particular seasons. This applies particularly to the Lenten period, which requires forty days of abstaining from both food and festivities, frequently stopping at the threshold of churches and regulating the consumption of food according to physical needs instead of desire.

However, Ambrose does not confine himself to mere admonishment; in addition he entices his audience with the Riches of Heaven that are available only for the righteous. He aims intentionally at the visible splendour of paradise, which often resembles earthly goods. The righteous would live in eternal joy, 'in a *civitas* whose firm foundation would be adorned with gemstones; the

[7] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 1, p. 963.

[8] R. Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed. The Sin of Avarice in Early Medieval Thought and Literature* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 115.

[9] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Libellus de conflictu vitiorum et virtutum*, c. 16, ed. R. Weber, *CCCM* 27B (Turnhout, 1979), 909–341, pp. 921–2; Newhauser, *Early History of Greed*, p. 115.

[10] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Oratio contra septem vitia* [Recensio A], c. 7, ed. R. Weber, *CCCM* 27B (Turnhout, 1979), 963–81, p. 939; Newhauser, *Early History of Greed*, p. 116.

[11] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 11, pp. 974–5.

[12] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 14, p. 978. See also Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, hom. 16.5, ed. R. Étaix, *CCSL* 141 (Turnhout, 1999), p. 113.

streets would be made from pure gold and the doors from the most delicate pearls'. Above all they would enjoy 'all riches in abundance' for evermore.[13]

Besides enticing his audience with sweet words, Ambrose understood how to frighten and to threaten them. More than once he used this particular technique. He depicted the impact of the Last Judgement, the *tribulatio* and the *calamitas*, with drama and devotion to detail. He visualised thunder and darkness and wafts of mist, along with vociferous tumult, the trumpets, and the everlasting fire and storms. He depicted the separation of the righteous from the wicked; moreover, he described how the wicked were subdivided according to their sins. They would be tied in bundles (*fasciculi*) for burning: the covetous with the covetous, the adulterer with the adulterers, the murderer with the murderers. Those who committed the same sins would undergo the same punishment. No one will be forgiven, as the preacher underlines without hesitation, because everyone is on the road to final punishment. In another passage he calls on the sinners to fear the burning pitch, the gate of hell, its eternal fire, the worms and all its other torments.[14] Again the covetous spearhead the group of those who are guilty of a cardinal sin. Ambrose Autpertus employed a strategy that he announced at the beginning of his sermon: he described to his audience the terrors of the Last Judgement and enticed them with the kingdom of heaven. This rhetorical strategy, threatening with eternal damnation, became typical in the later eighth and early ninth centuries, for example in the capitularies issued by Charlemagne (and not least in the *Admonitio generalis*) and the voluminous sermon collections.[15] Yet in his *Sermo*, Ambrose supplements these general and more common admonitions with remarkably and – for the period – uniquely detailed comments on the social environment that his text portrays. He succeeds in vividly characterising the rich and the powerful; he does not merely describe them as covetous, avaricious and corrupt, but reveals their attitudes and subsequently unmasks them.

For example Ambrose refers to looks of envy towards persons of the same rank or standing, their commodities or their offices, leading to an urgent need to acquire the latter two. He points to the considerations of those who want to keep up with the more successful but who are not capable of doing so. Some of them are so consumed with envy that they are even unable to look at those whom they envy with an equanimous mind and a steadfast gaze (*rectis oculis*).

[13] Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, c. 16, p. 980.

[14] Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, c. 13, p. 976.

[15] On sermons, see M. Diesenberger, *Predigt und Politik im frühmittelalterlichen Bayern* (forthcoming); and M. Diesenberger, Y. Hen and M. Pollheimer (eds), *Sermo doctorum. Compilers, Preachers, and Their Audiences in the Early Medieval West* (Turnhout, 2013); cf. *Admonitio generalis*, c. 80, ed. H. Mordek, K. Zechiel-Eckes and M. Glatthaar, *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen*, *MGH Fontes iuris* 16, pp. 236–7.

Such envy can even lead to thoughts of murder. If divine providence does not prevent them from their deed, then they will kill secretly by poisoning or in public by the sword. In most cases this is done in order to get hold of someone else's commodities or offices. In others, however, the murder is not perpetrated in the first place in order to acquire the commodities or the offices of the envied person, but rather to make this person lose them. Ambrose closes this passage by reminding his audience that the mere thought of murder already makes them guilty even if they do not put the thought into action.[16]

Often the author argues within a juridical context.[17] He continues by arguing that an envious person will also try to damage his opponent in a different way, for example by socialising with his enemy, with whom he had never wanted to speak, or with the lawyer of his enemy in order to mislead him or to entrap him in a trial on a feigned issue. He does not back off from raging (*saevire*) at one person while committing perjury or bearing false witness against another.[18] In another passage Ambrose Autpertus describes how subtly (*ingenio subtilitatis*) the judges bend the law they or others have enacted so that it will serve their own interest.[19] In reference to Isaiah 10.1 he accuses the judges of enacting unjust laws, of passing unjust sentences and of perverting the law with the help of their rhetorical skills, even though deep down they know the truth. They act this way for reasons of cupidity, denying justice to one person by selling the verdict to another.[20]

Many of these arguments are to be found in earlier but also in later sources.[21] Yet Ambrose Autpertus employed another rhetorical device: fictitious dialogue with questions and answers that he sporadically inserts into his text.[22] This appealing rhetorical device allows for a subtle perception of the social context because it offers insights into the arguments with which the wealthy elite may have defended themselves. Referring to unjust judges who bend the law by accepting *munera* for their verdicts, Ambrose Autpertus explains that these judges are not even aware of any injustice.[23] They offer ridiculous stories to explain their immoral behaviour, for example by claiming that 'It is angelic

[16] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 5, p. 966.
[17] See for instance Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 7, pp. 967–8.
[18] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 5, pp. 966–7.
[19] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 6, p. 967.
[20] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 7, p. 968.
[21] See Newhauser, *Early History of Greed*, *passim*.
[22] This resembles the rhetorical genre known as a *sermocinatio*, on which see H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik. Eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft, 3rd edn* (Stuttgart, 1990), pp. 407–11; M. Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History* (Manchester/New York, 2011), pp. 339–40. See for a similar technique Ambrosius Autpertus, *Libellus*, c. 27, p. 929.
[23] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 8, p. 969.

to decide a verdict for someone and not to accept his gifts; to decide and to accept is human; not to decide a verdict and still to accept a gift is diabolic.'[24] According to Ambrose, he used to ask these people if what they called human would be a sin or not. This fictitious reference to a group of protagonists allowed Ambrose to countervail potential objections of his intended audience. Next Ambrose countered the argument – with which many defended themselves – that the rich would not accept anything from the needy but only from the rich, by affirming that this would not make a difference in the eyes of God. In a similar manner he replied to the argument that they would not accept gifts but only accepted fees (*salutationes*), which were most probably paid by the litigants at their arrival at court: 'I do not know if I should call them stupid or rather devious.'[25] Undoubtedly the judges had to be told to pay attention to what it is that they accepted and not to applaud one another for having renamed these 'presents'. According to the text they replied that they did not claim any gifts but that these were given voluntarily. 'In which way should we be concerned if they spend a gift voluntarily?', they would ask defiantly. Ambrose Autpertus admits that, on the one hand, what they say is correct; on the other hand, he insinuates that people only appeared to give something voluntarily because if they did not do so they could not find justice at all. The litigants would definitely refrain from payment if they could find justice without expenses. In this passage Ambrose Autpertus evidently refers to the *sportulae* and the *munera* that were traditionally accepted by judges as a manifestation of their power of decision.[26] Twenty years later Theodulf of Orléans witnessed this custom on his journey to southern France, adding that even he had to accept small gifts in order to be recognised as a judge.[27]

[24] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, p. 969: 'Causam cuiuslibet facere et munus non accipere angelicum est, facere et accipere humanum est, non facere et accipere diabolicum est.'

[25] For the meaning of *salutatio*, see C. du Fresne Du Cange, '3: salutatio', in *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, 7: http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/SALUTATIO3; H. Adam, *Das Zollwesen im fränkischen Reich und das spätkarolingische Wirtschaftsleben* (Stuttgart, 1996), pp. 62–3; Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 8, p. 970.

[26] R. Le Jan, 'Justice royale et pratiques sociales dans le royaume Franc au IX^{e} siècle', in *La giustizia nell'alto medioevo (secoli V–VIII)*, Settimane 42 (Spoleto, 1995), 47–85; J. Hannig, 'Ars donandi. Zur Ökonomie des Schenkens im früheren Mittelalter', *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 37 (1986), 149–62, p. 161.

[27] Theodulf of Orléans, *Versus contra iudices*, vv. 275–8, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Poet. Lat.* 1, 493–517, p. 501; See J. Nelson, 'The *libera vox* of Theodulf of Orléans', in C. J. Chandler and S. A. Stofferahn (eds), *Discovery and Distinction in the Early Middle Ages. Studies in Honor of John J. Contreni* (Kalamazoo, 2013), 288–306; Diesenberger, *Predigt und Politik*.

Continuing with this dialogue, Ambrose Autpertus then gives his fictitious conversational partners another chance to speak: if the people do not pay money, they enquire, 'by what means will the palaces endure and how will the judges please their superiors?'.[28] The author replies 'truthfully' that the cause of the collapse of the palaces is in fact to be found in the types of questions these men ask. To reinforce this point, he shifts his perspective from earthly concerns to eschatological expectations. Quoting Mark 13.8 ('nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom'), Ambrose stresses that it is the temptations and the pitfalls of the devil, namely the wealth that people want to acquire, that bring about the wrath of God. After all, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God.[29]

In order to illustrate the topic more emphatically, Ambrose Autpertus reports on a recent encounter, in which he discussed the metaphor of the camel and the eye of a needle and other passages from the Bible with one of the richest *principes* of the realm.[30] The wealthy man objected that the metaphor would not be true for 'independent possessions' (*substantivae pecuniae*) but only for riches (*divitiae*).[31] In this case the rich man cleverly separates his non-monetary resources from movables. Ambrose, however, does not want to accept this differentiation, but asks his *optimus amicus* to get rid of this *vana securitas*, referring him to the writings of St Ambrose of Milan, Augustine and Gregory the Great.

Ambrose, however, not only discusses the wickedness of the rich and powerful. He presents them as quite skilled conversational partners who sometimes even felt the constraints and pressures of their system. Above all he sought contextual insight: the way the rich subdue the poor was well known by both the suppressors and the suppressed. He appreciates, moreover, that the *principes* of his time would bend the law in order to accommodate others so that they did not offend their dependants' sensibilities. 'The fact is that they are afraid of losing their offices because of some turmoil if they should not act on behalf of their retainers [*ministri*].'[32] This represents an exceptional insight into the power relations of his time that can rarely be found in contemporary sources. This attention to detail, coupled with the *Sermo*'s remarkable use of

[28] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 9, p. 971: 'Si haec ita se habent, quomodo palatia stabunt, quomodo iudices dominis suis placebunt?'

[29] For late antique background, see P. Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle. Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350–550 AD* (Princeton/Oxford, 2012).

[30] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 9, p. 971.

[31] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 9, p. 971.

[32] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 9, p. 967: 'Timent etiam seditionis causa temporalem amittere honorem, nisi iuxta ministrorum suorum agant voluntatem.'

dialogue and debate, was not simply the product of the author's rhetorical skill, but the result of his own observations and actual experiences. Whether or not the *Sermo* was preached to a lay audience or read by monks and other churchmen, its message was surely expected to reach the ears of those whose values it attempted to undercut.

Ambrose's *Sermo* helps to illuminate the specific social practices it sought to reform, but it can also be situated in a much wider political context. The *Sermo* was most probably written between 4 October 777, when Ambrose was appointed as abbot in San Vincenzo al Volturno, and 28 December 778, when he resigned.[33] This was a period of political tension in Italy between the Frankish empire, the pope and the Lombard dukes.[34] Ambrose retired to the court of Hildeprand, the duke of Spoleto, who supported the Frankish king in central Italy. Already at the beginning of the year 776 Hildeprand had started to date the charters according to Charlemagne's regnal years in order to display his loyalty to the Carolingian king. In 779 the duke travelled to France and lavishly offered the Frankish king presents in the royal *villa* of Verzenay (close to Reims).[35] This is one of only three references to gifts in the *Royal Frankish Annals*, which generally seem to neglect the everyday phenomenon of gift exchange in early medieval society. It was mentioned at this point of the annals' narrative because Hildeprand's presents testified to Charlemagne's strengthened political grip in Italy.[36]

[33] C. Leonardi, 'Spiritualità di Ambrogio Autperto', *Studi medievali* 3:9 (1968), 1–131, p. 20; F. Felten, 'Zur Geschichte der Klöster Farfa und San Vincenzo al Volturno im 8. Jahrhundert', *Quellen und Forschungen zu italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 62 (1982), 1–58, p. 28 n. 123.

[34] T. Noble, *The Republic of St Peter. The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia, 1984), p. 147; M. Costambeys, *Power and Patronage in Early Medieval Italy. Local Society, Italian Politics and the Abbey of Farfa, c. 700–900* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 314–16 on Carolingian politics in Italy.

[35] *ARF, s.a.* 779, pp. 52 and 54: 'et tunc iterum revertendo partibus Austriae, obtulit se Hildebrandus dux Spolitinus cum multa munera in praesentiam supradicti magni regis in villa, quae vocatur Virciniacum. Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi'. *ARF, s.a.* 779, pp. 53 and 55: 'Et cum inde peracto, propter quod venerat, negotio revertisset, occurrit ei Hildibrandus dux Spolitinus cum magnis muneribus in villa Wirciniaco. Quem et benigne suscepit et muneribus donatum in ducatum suum remisit.' For Hildeprand see A. Thomas, 'Hildeprand de Spolète, un duc Lombard face à l'avènement du pouvoir franc en Italie (774–788)', in E. Cuozzo, V. Déroche, A. Peters-Custot and V. Prigent (eds), *'Puer Apuliae'. Mélanges offerts à Jean-Marie Martin*, Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 30 (Paris, 2008), 75–90.

[36] J. Nelson, 'The settings of the gift in the reign of Charlemagne', in W. Davies and P. Fouracre (eds), *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2010), 116–48, p. 147.

Spoleto was situated at the very edge of Charlemagne's dominion; after 773 it was even subject to the Roman bishop for a short period of time.[37] It was rather difficult to control the periphery with the conventional machinery of government.[38] The Lombard rebellion in 776 illustrated just how weak the Frankish presence was in that region. Hrodgaud, the duke of Friuli, rose up against the Frankish empire and the rebellion could be broken only with the help of troops from Francia. The fact that Pope Hadrian wanted to benefit from the situation in order to extend his sphere of influence in central Italy demonstrated the vulnerability of the Frankish empire: Hadrian repeatedly denounced the duke of Spoleto to the Frankish king as a supporter of Hrodgaud.[39] He explicitly refers to an offence (*noxa*) of the duke.[40] Charlemagne not only ignored the pope's warning, but even supported Hildeprand with the result that Hadrian's position in Spoleto was threatened.[41] To affirm his rule over Rome it was essential for the Frankish king to ensure the loyalty of a regional authority instead of relying only on the pope as an ally. At the same time, he decided to keep the 'conflict' between Rome and Spoleto on a moral level. The Frankish king commanded Hadrian to send hostages to Spoleto so that Hildeprand could safely come to Rome in order to account for his 'guilt'.[42]

Although Arichis II, duke of Benevento, which lay to the south of Spoleto, had to accept Charlemagne's sovereignty in the north after the defeat of the Lombards in 774, he was able to preserve his authority to a great extent. After Desiderius, his father-in-law, was brought down he considered himself a successor of the Lombard king and called himself *princeps* to express his king-like position.[43] He emphasised this role when just like a king he supplemented Lombard law. Moreover, he entered into negotiations with the Byzantine empire, transferred a saint from the east and made his court a flourishing cultural centre.[44]

[37] The extent of any lordship of the pope over Spoleto was limited both in quality and duration. See Costambeys, *Power and Patronage in Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 301–7.

[38] See M. Innes, 'Charlemagne's government', in J. Story (ed.), *Charlemagne. Empire and Society* (Manchester/New York, 2005), 71–89.

[39] *Codex Carolinus* 57, ed. W. Gundlach, *Codex epistolaris Carolinus*, *MGH Epp.* 3, 469–657, p. 582. On the papal rhetoric against the Lombards see S. Gasparri, *Italia longobarda. Il regno, i Franchi, il papato, Quadrante 179* (Rome/Bari, 2012).

[40] *Codex Carolinus* 57, p. 582.

[41] F. Hartmann, *Hadrian I. (772–795). Frühmittelalterliches Adelspapsttum und die Lösung Roms vom byzantinischen Kaiser* (Stuttgart, 2006), pp. 218–19.

[42] Concerning the confrontation between Pope Hadrian I and Duke Hildeprand, see Hartmann, *Hadrian I.*, pp. 210–21.

[43] See H. Belting, 'Studien zum beneventanischen Hof im 8. Jahrhundert', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 16 (1962), 141–93, pp. 150–1, with reference to the new coin legend after 774 (*Virtus principis*) and the further use of the title *princeps* in the charters.

[44] Noble, *The Republic of St Peter*, pp. 162–75; J. Mitchell, 'Artistic patronage and cultural strategies in Lombard Italy', in G. Brogiolo, N. Gauthier and N. Christie

As in his dealings with Spoleto, Pope Hadrian tried to assert his claims to the duchy of Benevento and to alert the Frankish king to the dangers and the menace for Rome that the politics of the Lombards in the south, and especially of Arichis II, caused.[45] Indeed, the relationship between Benevento and the Carolingians worsened in the course of the 780s until the Franks seized the duchy in 787 and took Grimoald, the second son of Arichis, hostage.

In the later 770s, Charlemagne tried to exert influence on the Abbey of Montecassino and San Vincenzo al Volturno in this politically delicate region.[46] The duke of Benevento promoted and controlled both of the monasteries.[47] In 758, at the beginning of his reign, Arichis II augmented the estate of San Vincenzo by 30 per cent.[48] Many of the monasteries' possessions were situated in the Duchy of Spoleto though, which also tried to assert its claims.[49] Hence, Hildeprand of Spoleto gave land in the Abruzzi to San Vincenzo al Volturno.[50] Both monasteries had been at the focal point of different political powers, yet the Franks prevailed. In 778 the Frank Theodemer was appointed abbot in Montecassino.[51] About the same time, in October 777, the appointment of the Frank Ambrose Autpertus as abbot took place in San Vincenzo al Volturno. His dismissal, which took place only a year later, was most probably due to the fact that Charlemagne had to combine his forces in the north against the Saxons; therefore Italy was no longer at the focus of his politics.[52] The *Sermo de cupiditate* may have provided another reason why Ambrose Autpertus had

(eds), *Towns and Their Territories between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2000), 347–70, pp. 352–6.

45 *Codex Carolinus* 51, 53 and 63, pp. 571, 575 and 590.

46 See M. de Jong and P. Erhart, 'Monachesimo tra i Longobardi e i Carolingi', in C. Bertelli and G. P. Brogiolo (eds), *Il futuro dei Longobardi. L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno* (Milan, 2000), 105–27.

47 Charlemagne still referred to San Vincenzo as belonging to Benevento in 787. See E. Mühlbacher (ed.), *Die Urkunden Pippins, Karlmanns und Karls des Grossen*, *MGH DD Kar.* 1 (Hanover, 1906), n. 159, pp. 216–17. See G. West, 'Charlemagne's involvement in central and southern Italy: power and the limits of authority', *EME* 8:3 (1999), 341–67, p. 356; O. Bertolini, 'Carlomagno e Benevento', in H. Beumann and W. Braunfels (eds), *Karl der Grosse. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, Vol. I (Düsseldorf, 1965), pp. 609–71.

48 C. Wickham, 'Monastic lands and monastic patrons', in R. Hodges and J. Mitchell (eds), *San Vincenzo al Volturno*, Vol. II: *The 1980–1986 Excavations*, Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome 9 (London, 1995), 138–52.

49 West, 'Charlemagne's involvement', p. 350.

50 *Codice diplomatico Longobardo*, IV.1, ed. H. Zielinski, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* (Rome, 2003), n. 36. Costambeys, *Power and Patronage in Early Medieval Italy*, p. 71.

51 West, 'Charlemagne's involvement', p. 351.

52 Hartmann, *Hadrian I.*, p. 229 n. 143.

to resign from his office and retire to Spoleto.[53] In him the Frankish court had appointed a man who emphasised the influence of the Franks on the foundation of the monastery, as he did in the Lives of the founding fathers Paldo, Tato and Taso.[54] Moreover, he carefully observed and criticised his social environment, so may have been selected on account of his sharp tongue and staunch morals. In his commentaries on the Apocalypse, comprising ten books that he had finished before 767, he called his fellow monks 'dim-witted' and 'dull'.[55] Owing to such comments he obviously had to cope with harsh criticism from his monastic brothers, and therefore he felt obliged to add a letter to Stephen III to his texts, asking for protection of his oeuvre against his critics.[56] In the *Vita sanctorum patrum*, written, like the *Sermo*, during his abbacy, Ambrose Autpertus criticised the 'effete monks' of his generation.[57] Thus, the new abbot of San Vincenzo was used to reprimanding his fellow monks and to denouncing their misconduct or their aberrant opinions in public. But in the *Sermo de cupiditate* Ambrose Autpertus did not address his criticism to a monastic audience but to the Lombard nobility (both inside and outside the cloister) and their cultural memory

In one case Ambrose Autpertus threatens the rich with the punishment that they will have to expect from God, the Lord of the poor: their bones and their flesh will burn in the graves, something that we are told had happened recently (*nuper*).[58] We do not know which source the author may have drawn on here, and therefore it remains uncertain what exactly he is trying to convey. Probably he refers to a miracle similar to one found in Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*.[59] There an official of the province Valeria is reported to have been

[53] Leonardi, 'Spiritualità', pp. 20–1.

[54] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Vita sanctorum patrum Paldonis Tatonis et Tasonis*, c. 3, ed. R. Weber, *CCCM* 27B (Turnhout, 1979), 895–905, p. 897.

[55] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Expositio in Apocalypsin libri X*, ed. R. Weber, *CCCM* 27–27A (Turnhout, 1975), pp. 831–3; P. Erhart, '*Contentiones inter monachos* – Ethnische und politische Identität in monastischen Gemeinschaften des Frühmittelalters', in R. Corradini, R. Meens, C. Pössel and P. Shaw (eds), *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, FGM 12 (Vienna 2006), 373–87, p. 379.

[56] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Epistola ad Stephanum papam*, ed. R. Weber, *CCCM* 27A (Turnhout, 1975), p. 2.

[57] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Vita sanctorum patrum*, p. 896. Erhart, '*Contentiones inter monachos*', p. 379.

[58] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 7, p. 968.

[59] I am grateful to Ian Wood for drawing my attention to this passage. Ambrose was one of the first who 'rediscovered' Gregory's texts in the eighth century. See B. Judic, 'La tradition de Grégoire le Grand dans l'idéologie politique carolingienne', in R. Le Jan (ed.), *La royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne (du début du IXè siècle aux environs de 920)* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1998), 17–57.

drunk and to have forced a young girl into sexual intercourse after he had acted as her godfather. This man believed that he could cleanse his sin by a long bath and by regular church-going. Seven days later, however, he suddenly died. His grave ignited until his bones and the grave were entirely burnt and the grave mound collapsed.[60] Perhaps a similar incident had taken place in the vicinity of San Vincenzo, to which Ambrose referred.

Yet, when he points to the *monumenta* of the kings and the rich, he seemingly refers to the various tombs of kings and sovereigns all over Italy, for example to the tomb of Liutprand in Pavia; to the tomb of Rothari, most probably situated in Monza; and to the tomb of Alboin in Verona. About the latter Paul the Deacon reported in the *Historia Langobardorum* that 'in these days the tomb of Alboin has been opened by the duke of Verona'. Presumably this passage refers to the 740s, when Paul mentions that Duke Giselbert had boasted about having seen Alboin.[61] This incident was meant to reinforce the identity of the Lombards at a time when it was in danger of disintegrating. Giselbert not only claimed to have seen the body of the legendary king but, as Patrick Geary emphasises, he thus also claimed 'to have met and perhaps contended with the king himself'.[62] This corresponds to traditional views that by opening a grave one could enter the underworld. For Ambrose Autpertus the encounter with dead kings represented only physical decay and served best to visualise their mortality and moral shortcomings.[63] It is uncertain if the abbot of San Vincenzo referred in particular to the incident in Verona in the 740s; but such legends seem to have been rather widespread in Italy at that time.[64] For someone who listened to or read the sermon and who knew the legend, the original identity-establishing function would change to the opposite: 'The bones and the ashes in the graves testify to what you are going to be in future. Therefore, O rich man, visit the tombs of the kings and the rich and know yourself, examine the worldly fame that they loved and that you

[60] Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV.33, ed. A. de Vogüé, trans. P. Antin, *Grégoire le Grand. Dialogues*, SC 251, 260 and 265 (Paris, 1978–80), SC 265, pp. 108–13. For the broader context, see Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV.30, SC 265, pp. 100–3.

[61] Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* II, c. 28, p. 89. See also IV, c. 47, p. 136, about Rotharis's tomb.

[62] P. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY/London, 1994), pp. 64–5.

[63] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, cc. 7 and 11, p. 968–9 and 974–5. For the possible burial of elites at San Vincenzo, see J. Mitchell, L. Watson, F. De Rubeis, R. Hodges and I. Wood, 'Cult, relics and privileged burial at San Vincenzo al Volturno in the age of Charlemagne: the discovery of the tomb of Abbot Talaricus (817–3 October 823)', in S. Gelichi (ed.), *I Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale, Pisa, 29–31 maggio 1997* (Florence, 2007), 315–21.

[64] F. Borri, 'Murder by death: Alboin's life, end(s), and means', *Millennium-Jahrbuch* 8 (2011), 223–70.

so anxiously pursue.'[65] The dead would not talk through words but by their example. Eventually, a dead person gets a chance to speak: 'You are what I have been. What I am you will be. That is to say that I have been rich; after countless lusts in this life I went the way of all flesh, after death I was turned into worms, after the worms I was turned into dust.'[66] In these words, not much is left of the glory of ancient kings and the wealth of the rich. This was a rather provocative statement for a society, part of which was nominally under Frankish rule, but which sought to commemorate a Lombard past that was independent from the Franks.[67] Accordingly, they looked back to their glorious kings from the distant past and to the tombs and to the legends in which they were preserved.

All indications suggest that the secular audience and most notably the fictitious dialogue partners of Ambrose Autpertus's sermon are to be sought among the elites of the duchy of Benevento, where many Lombard traditions accumulated after 774. Paul the Deacon, our main source for the memorialisation of the legendary past of the Lombards, especially concerning Alboin, was a teacher at the duke's court in the early 770s. Although he wrote his *Historia Langobardorum* much later in the eighth century, he arguably collected much of his material earlier. Moreover, Paul's poetry demonstrates the high standard of rhetoric that prevailed among the audience in Benevento.[68] In the early 770s Paul dedicated his *Historia romana* to Adalperga, the daughter of King Desiderius and wife of Duke Arichis of Benevento.[69] In a highly stylised letter of dedication, Paul praised her devotion to learning: 'You search the secrets of the prudent with subtle wit and very wise zeal so that the golden eloquence of philosophers and jewels of poets speak readily to you; you engage also in divine as well as worldly histories.'[70] There is reason to believe that not only the duchess but also the court and the elites of the duchy possessed such skills.

[65] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 11, pp. 974–5.

[66] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 11, p. 974: 'Quod tu es, ego fui. Quod ego sum, tu quoque post modicum futurus es. Ego enim quondam opulentus et pinguis, post lascivientes et innumeras huius vitae voluptates ad mortem carnis perveni, post mortem carnis in vermes, post vermes in pulverem redactus sum.'

[67] On Lombard identity see W. Pohl, 'Le identità etniche nei ducati di Spoleto e Benevento', *I Longobardi dei ducati di Spoleto e Benevento. Atti del XVI congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 2003), 79–103.

[68] On the son of Arichis II, see *Chronicon Salernitanum: A Critical Edition with Studies on Literary and Historical Sources and on Language*, ed. U. Westerbergh, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 3 (Stockholm/Lund, 1956), v. 9, p. 26: 'grammatica polens, mundana lege togatus/, Divina instructus nec minus ille fuit'. See Belting, 'Studien', p. 167.

[69] B. Cornford, 'The idea of the past in early medieval Italy. Paul the Deacon's *Historia romana*' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2002), pp. 10–12.

[70] Paulus Diaconus, *Historia romana*, ed. H. Droysen, *MGH SRG* 49, p. 1.

What evidence we have suggests not only that the Beneventan elite should be considered learned and able to appreciate Ambrose's *Sermo*, but also that they were conspicuously wealthy. And none more so than the duke himself, whose lavish lifestyle was well known.[71] In Ambrose's *Sermo*, he noted that in Benevento one could find 'the richest prince [*princeps*] of this world'.[72] Alert readers could recognise in 'the richest prince' the duke of Benevento, whose portrait was placed on the reverse of coins and whose name was mentioned in official documents and hagiographical texts.

Arichis, moreover, was famous for his building activities. In the early days of his reign, a chapel, inspired by Justinian's Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, was built in the palace.[73] Moreover, his palace in Benevento was enlarged and he built another palace in Salerno.[74] Paul the Deacon emphasises Arichis's reputation as *reparator*, *auctor* and *structor herilis*.[75] In the epitaph composed for Arichis he remembers him for having 'adorned your country with learning, buildings and palaces; you will be praised for this into eternity'.[76] It may have seemed natural for the audience of the *Sermo de cupiditate* to link the rhetorical question about the possibilities of financing palaces in future without receiving *munera* with the building projects in Benevento. If this was the case they may have become aware of Ambrose's criticism, since the only genuine *civitas* that he refers to is that of Heavenly Jerusalem, which is constructed from the most precious materials, seen from afar, built for eternity and accessible only by the righteous.[77] All other buildings of kings and of the rich that Ambrose mentions are either tombs that are ruins containing by then nothing but ashes and dust, or *palatia* that, as explained above, are an expression of their owners' cupidity and so sooner or later will themselves be subject to decay.[78]

Ambrose Autpertus links the Heavenly Jerusalem with the question concerning the conditions of acceptance into this *civitas*. The soul is of greater value to the Maker than all donations (*dona*). 'What is more valuable to our Creator than our heart? Our gifts, perhaps? When the heart within is besmirched, can

[71] Belting, 'Studien', p. 153.

[72] '[Q]uidam huius saeculi opulentissimus princeps': Ambrose, *Sermo*, c. 9, p. 971.

[73] Belting, 'Studien', p. 180; Mitchell, 'Artistic patronage', pp. 352–3.

[74] Mitchell, 'Artistic patronage', pp. 352–3; Belting, 'Studien', pp. 186–7.

[75] Paulus Diaconus, *Carmen* 6, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Poet. Lat.* 1, 1–77, pp. 44–5.

[76] Paulus Diaconus, *Carmen* 33: *Epitaphium Arichis ducis*, ed. Dümmler, p. 67.

[77] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 16, p. 980. See Belting, 'Studien', pp. 170–1; See also the resemblance of the 'titulus' *ante foras basilicae* in Salerno to the 'titulus' at the entrance to the Basilica of San Michele Maggiore in Pavia: Belting, 'Studien', p. 172.

[78] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 16, p. 980.

another, external offering please him?'[79] For this reason one may only donate to God returns from honest work and just revenues. This is true for each and everyone, particularly for the rich and the *principes*, on whom Ambrose Autpertus focused. The origin of wealth was a useful means to criticise one's opponents. The wealth of Benevento originated from confiscation of private property and from trade in the Mediterranean, notably with the Byzantine empire.[80]

This fact alone could have fostered a discourse of corruption from a Frankish perspective, yet it was reinforced by perceptions and stories of the threat the Lombards posed to Rome and the Christian Church. Pope Hadrian I in particular propagated such a distorted picture. In 775 the pope complained to Charlemagne that a coalition of Lombard dukes, Arichis among them, 'will ally with hordes of Greeks and with Adelchis, Desiderius's son, against God's will next March in order to attack us by land and by sea intending to seize Rome, to forage all churches of God and to steal the *ciborium* above the tomb of your patron, St Peter'.[81]

Hadrian's accusations against the Lombard dukes were surely exaggerated. Arichis's reign witnessed the construction of Santa Sofia in Benevento; lavish gift-giving ceremonies during the translations of many relics from southern Italy and the Byzantine empire; and the (planned) construction of a second capital in Salerno, which included a palatial chapel dedicated to Sts Peter and Paul.[82] This is not to suggest his actions were exclusively driven by piety or that Hadrian's accusations were entirely baseless: even when Arichis collected the bones of south Italian martyrs, he had first intended to seek tribute; when the people refused he took by force what he desired, including the relics.[83] The evidence of the *Codex Carolinus*, nevertheless, illustrates that Rome played an important part in the mutual accusations and opposing

[79] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 16, p. 980: 'Quid enim est pretiosius Conditori nostro anima nostra? An dona nostra? Quod si anima sorduerit interius, numquid munus aliud exterius placebit?' See also Ambrosius Autpertus, *Libellus*, c. 9, p. 916.

[80] Belting, 'Studien', p. 145. See Alessandro di Muro, *Economia e mercato nel Mezzogiorno Longobardo, secc. VIII–IX*, Società Salernitana di Storia Patria, Nuovi Quaderni Salernitani 1 (Salerno 2009).

[81] *Codex Carolinus* 57, p. 582; Hartmann, *Hadrian I.*, pp. 217–28; C. Gantner, *Freunde Roms und Völker der Finsternis. Die Konstruktion von Anderen im päpstlichen Rom im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar, 2014), p. 208.

[82] Belting, 'Studien', *passim*; I. Wood, 'Giovardi, MS Verolensis 1, Arichis and Mercurius', in R. Corradini, M. Diesenberger and M. Niederkorn-Bruck (eds), *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift. Frühmittelalterliche Hagiographie und Historiographie im Spannungsfeld von Kompendienüberlieferung und Editionstechnik*, FGM 18 (Vienna, 2010), 197–210.

[83] *Translatio XII fratrum*, c. 3, *AASS*, September, Vol. I (Antwerp, 1746), 142–4, p. 143.

positions, in propaganda and rumours between the Frankish empire and the Lombard duchies. This can be noticed especially in the gravitational fields of these rival centres, between which San Vincenzo represented the intersection point. There, propaganda and rumours were attentively observed by all parties involved, no matter which position someone held, and were effective instruments for anyone who was willing or able to use them.

According to the *Rule of Benedict*, an abbot was supposed both to prevent the formation of dissonant groups or factions within his congregation and to maintain impartiality within the community for which he was responsible.[84] In the case of San Vincenzo in the late 770s this would have been especially important, since the congregation included monks of Frankish and Lombard origin. Despite this, Ambrose himself made the secular potentates, on whom his monastery depended, the focus of his sharply critical admonition, by expressing ambiguous allusions that his audience would have known how to interpret. He thus intensified a discourse he also could have mitigated.

Ambrose Autpertus's criticism of the secular elite was aimed intrinsically at corruption. Early medieval society used many 'languages of gift'.[85] The fact that Charlemagne accepted many presents from Hildeprand, the duke of Spoleto, in Verzenay in 779 (as mentioned above), illustrated the symbolic content of such interactions. The authority of the court determined the social relationship between donor and recipient, expressed by the sort and number of gifts and by the way they were presented.[86] On the one hand the language of gift could be used to criticise external powers. On the other hand, the court increasingly tried to control the languages of gift of the empire's elites by applying a 'rhetoric of improvement'.[87] It put the *potentiores* und *iudices* of the Frankish empire under pressure by interpreting the common *munera* und *sportula* at court as corruption. It was Pippin who first engaged in both the moralisation of the judiciary and the diffusion of the discourse of corruption. In 755 at the Council of Ver the Frankish king disapproved of abbots, bishops and counts accepting *munera* and *sportulae* at court.[88] In 789 the *Admonitio generalis* prohibited

[84] *RB*, 2.

[85] Davies and Fouracre, *The Languages of Gift*.

[86] Nelson, 'The settings of the gift'.

[87] P. Fouracre, 'Carolingian justice: the rhetoric of improvement and context of abuse', in *La giustizia nell'alto medioevo* (*secoli V–VIII*), Settimane 42 (Spoleto, 1995), 771–803.

[88] J. Hannig, '*Pauperiores vassi de infra palatio*? Zur Entstehung der karolingischen Königsbotenorganisation', in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 91 (1983), 309–74, p. 370; *Concilium Vernense* (*a.* 755), c. 25, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 32–7, p. 37: 'Ut nullus episcopus nec abbas, nec laicus, propter iustitias faciendum sportolo contradicto non accipiat; quia ubi ipsa dona intercurrunt, iustitia evacuator.'

counts and *iudices* from accepting *munera*.[89] After 800 Alcuin emphasised this explicitly in two letters that he sent to Charlemagne.[90] About the same time that Ambrose Autpertus wrote his sermon, the Anglo-Saxon Cathwulf, in his letter to the Frankish king, allegorised Charlemagne and his *ministri* as defenders of *iustitia*; this implied that they must not accept *munera* at court.[91] Finally, Theodulf encouraged this discourse in the poem *Contra iudices*, which he wrote after his journey to southern France.[92]

The *Sermo de cupiditate* shows the same basic trend. It attacks the rich and the judges and challenges the established system. Repeatedly Ambrose Autpertus criticises the various ways in which the rich in general and judges in particular would bend the law and enrich themselves at the expense of the poor. It is because of Ambrose's harsh rebukes that the *opulentissimus princeps* felt compelled to justify his wealth by differentiating between his non-monetary resources and movables.[93] And therefore other *principes* had to explain the abuse of their juridical power referring to their obligations towards their subordinates. The bond of solidarity that tied this society together is in fact shown by Ambrose to be a sign of its weakness. Society's unity is evidence of its inherent corruption.

The strategies of justification reveal the impact of this criticism on the target audience, which is shaken to the very foundations. When his fictitious dialogue partners responded that the State structures would cease to exist if all gifts, including *sportulae* and *praemia*, at court were prohibited, Ambrose Autpertus refused a straight answer, pointing instead to the evil of cupidity that ruins entire peoples and empires.[94] Ambrose used his *Sermo* not only to attack the values of a rival elite by fundamentally questioning its moral legitimacy but also as a means for reform and correction. A similar discourse of corruption and *correctio* gained importance in the Frankish world in the later eighth and ninth centuries, as Mayke de Jong has so eloquently underlined.[95]

It is possible to discern connections between Ambrose and the reform programmes initiated by the Carolingian court. Probably the Frankish court was responsible for his election; certainly the Frankish king was directly concerned with the succession in San Vincenzo afterwards. After Ambrose resigned

[89] *Admonitio generalis*, c. 62, p. 212.

[90] Alcuin, *Epp.* 188 and 217, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 4, pp. 315 and 361: 'Neque subiectos tuae potestati iudices permittas per sportulas vel praemia iudicare.'

[91] Cathwulf, *Epistola ad Carolum magnum*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 4, 504–5. See M. Garrison, 'Letters to a king and biblical exempla: the examples of Cathwulf and Clemens peregrinus', *EME* 7 (1998), 305–28.

[92] Diesenberger, *Predigt und Politik.*

[93] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo*, c. 9, p. 971.

[94] See n. 26.

[95] De Jong, *Penitential State.*

from the monastery in 778, he is said to have been in Spoleto. Possibly he was even an attendant of Hildeprand in Verzenay when Hildeprand met with Charlemagne, and reported on his actions in Benevento.[96] Additionally, after 774 Charlemagne frequently sent confidants to the south. Between 775 and 776 two *missi*, Posessor and Rabigaud, were active in central and southern Italy. They conducted negotiations with Hildeprand and Arichis, and possibly made contact with Ambrose Autpertus.[97] They may even have influenced his critique of Lombard society. In the north-eastern Italian borderlands, the Carolingians dealt with rival bishops in a comparable way, although the discourse was of a different character. There the Lombards were labelled as heretics – an accusation that cannot be found within Ambrose's writings.[98] Conversely, the admonitory character of his writing, in the *Sermo de cupiditate* but also the *De conflictu vitiorum et virtutum* and the *Oratio contra septem vitium*, found its way back from central Italy to the Carolingian court.

Some ten years later, Alcuin played an important part in drafting the *Admonitio generalis* and likewise was deeply concerned with the theme of admonition in numerous letters. Additionally, he was himself familiar with Ambrose Autpertus's writing, and drew upon the latter's *De conflictu vitiorum et virtutum* when he wrote his treatise *De virtutibus et vitiis* for Count Wido of Brittany in the early ninth century.[99] Charlemagne successfully applied Alcuin's art of admonition to his approach to rulership, which in turn also had a great impact on political discourse in the reign of Louis the Pious.[100] Philippe Buc, furthermore, referred to the ecclesiological concept in Ambrose's commentary on the Apocalypse and noticed 'that [it] strikingly corresponds to one of the components of Carolingian political ideology … found in two capitularies of Louis the Pious'.[101] There are no clear indications that the *Sermo de cupiditate* was known at the Carolingian court before *c.* 850, so there is no firm ground to conclude that it guided courtly Carolingian discourse. Yet at the very least we can conclude that Ambrose's writings, and especially his *Sermo*, offer an unexpectedly rich insight into the sophistication of court culture and utilisation of admonitory discourse far away from the Carolingian 'centre'. The high quality of the fictitious dialogues, moreover, cannot be found in later texts that

96 Erhart, '*Contentiones inter monachos*'; *Codex Carolinus* 68, pp. 595–6.

97 Noble, *The Republic of St Peter*, pp. 162–3.

98 Gasparri, *Italia longobarda*, pp. 146–60.

99 Erhart, 'Ambrosius Autpertus', p. 79.

100 De Jong, *Penitential State*.

101 P. Buc, 'Rituel politique et imaginaire politique au haut Moyen Âge', *RH* 620:4 (2001), 843–83, p. 858. On the capitularies, see O. Guillot, 'Une *ordinatio* méconnue: le Capitulaire de 823–825', in P. Godman and R. Collins (eds), *Charlemagne's Heir. New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)* (Oxford, 1990), 455–86, pp. 466–7.

emanated from that 'centre', and especially not in the numerous compilations of sermons in the first half of the ninth century that can be found throughout the empire, in which the threat of eternal damnation was deemed sufficient.[102]

The *Sermo de cupiditate* resembles most the admonishing writings of Alcuin and Paulinus of Aquileia; still, these lack Ambrose Autpertus's accurate and almost psychological observations of cupidity. The dialogic element contributed an aspect that might be the reason why his form of criticism didn't find any followers: he presented a society that eloquently tried to defend its position but that in fact only looked for excuses. Ambrose dissected and exposed the flaws in Lombard society for all to see; Alcuin and Paulinus, on the contrary, wrote for fellow courtiers. At the Frankish court proper admonition and proper reply were of highest importance.[103] Court culture guarded the limits of behaviour amongst those who acted within it. Ambrose Autpertus, it seems, transgressed these limits. His razor-sharp rebukes were not well received and he had to relinquish his post. Only a few years later the language of violence in Benevento superseded the words of admonition. Not only did Charlemagne's dealings with the south become considerably more direct in 787, but Ambrose himself was probably murdered whilst travelling to Rome to help resolve discord at San Vincenzo, discord that he and his *Sermo* had provoked only a few years earlier.[104] Yet Ambrose's use of moral exhortation did not die out with him. The techniques tried out in this politically fluid zone in the 770s were to be deployed again around the turn of the ninth century as a means to exert moral control over the empire's regional elites through a discourse of corruption and improvement. Ambrose's was but one part of the road that led towards the formation of the Penitential State.

[102] See further Diesenberger, *Predigt und Politik*.

[103] De Jong, *Penitential State*; and see also I. van Renswoude, 'Licence to speak: the rhetoric of free speech in late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages' (Ph.D. dissertation, Utrecht University, 2011).

[104] On the circumstances surrounding the death, see Erhart, '*Contentiones inter monachos*'.

12

Three annotated letter manuscripts: scholarly practices of religious Franks in the margin unveiled

Mariken Teeuwen

Annotating manuscripts was common practice in the Carolingian world. Four out of five, or maybe even nine out of ten manuscripts from the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries are annotated. Sometimes they are filled with extensive commentaries and dense interlinear glossing; sometimes we only find minute signs, a few corrections and some occasional structuring devices. It is a rarity, however, to find a completely unannotated manuscript. A second scarcity is the presence of names of authors revealed in these marginal and interlinear texts. In the overwhelming majority of cases, annotations are anonymous. They are difficult in almost every aspect: they are hard to read, since they are written in the tiniest of scripts at the vulnerable edges of manuscripts; they are hard to interpret, since their language often is a bare skeleton of a grammatically correct and stylised Latin; they are hard to date, since they typically come in several layers and multiple hands, and incorporate elements that are not script but rather signs; and they are hard to localise, since both manuscripts and their students travelled. They are, in other words, a hard code to crack when we want to discover the history of a manuscript, its makers and its subsequent adventures.

Still, now that more and more manuscripts are available in online facsimiles and a study of them is no longer the privilege of a few textual scholars, palaeographers and codicologists, the richness of the margins as a source for cultural history is opening up. Over the last few decades, attention to marginal practices has been growing, and this has resulted in a new perspective on Carolingian scholarship. In older scholarship, glossed manuscripts have been characterised rather unsubtly as 'school books', their main purpose being identified as set in the context of the exchange between master and student.[1] The

[1] G. Wieland, *The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius in Cambridge University Library Ms. Gg.5.35* (Toronto, 1983); G. Wieland, 'The glossed manuscript: classbook or library book?', *Anglo Saxon England* 14 (1985), 153–73.

glosses, either composed by a master or taken down by a student from the mouth of his master, provided the student with explanations, interpretations and additional knowledge. Indeed, many characteristics of glossing practices match this profile, but as the scholarship into these evasive sources advances, the shortcomings of the characterisation also surface. Religious Franks annotated their books in many ways, not only to make them useful for teaching, but also for consultation, for creating summaries and topical collections, for textual criticism and content criticism. They contrasted the authority of the central text with references to other sources, and marked passages as suspect or even dangerous. In the margins, they spoke to themselves, to their students and to their copyists. For all these processes, the scholars and scribes of the period had many tools in their kit, which were sometimes shared and sometimes specific to a scribe or scribal community.

In this chapter, it is my intention to analyse some of these annotating practices, in order to highlight the diversity and also the shared customs of reading and writing in the period, both in religious and in secular texts. I will showcase three letter manuscripts that share certain features but are different in other aspects, so that we may be able to see the diversity of practices in a comparable set of examples. The shared features are that each of my three examples contains the textual genre of letters, they all date from the last quarter of the ninth century, and they are all annotated with a set of signs and features that is loosely connected to Auxerre. The most prominent difference is the nature of the letter collections, which range from classical to biblical to contemporary. The first manuscript is a collection of the Moral Letters from Seneca to his pupil Lucilius, Paris, BnF, lat. 8658A.[2] The second manuscript is of a contemporary author, but instead of a pagan one it is of one of the most important Christian authorities: a collection of letters of St Paul, edited and put together by Florus of Lyon, Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 344.[3] The third one, Paris, BnF, lat. 2858, is the unique copy of the letters of Lupus of Ferrières, which are famous for their revealing insight into the mind and work of Lupus as a hunter for rare texts, a philologist and text critic, and a networker *pur-sang*.[4] From

[2] The digital facsimile is available at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8426791q (accessed July 2014).

[3] The digital facsimile is available at www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bbb/0344 (accessed July 2014).

[4] The digital facsimile is available at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10318625w (accessed July 2014); C. Beeson, *Lupus of Ferrières as Scribe and Text Critic. A Study of His Autograph Copy of Cicero's 'De Oratore' (with a Facsimile of the Manuscript)* (Cambridge, MA, 1930); É. Pellegrin, 'Les manuscrits de Loup de Ferrières. À propos du ms. Orléans 162 (139) corrigé de sa main', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 115 (1957), 5–31; B. Bischoff, 'Palaeography and the transmission of classical texts in the early Middle Ages', in B. Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, trans. and ed. M. Gorman (Cambridge, 1994), 115–33; L. Holtz,

these examples, I will move to observations on marginal practices in other manuscripts, to explore the personal annotation practices of ninth-century scholars further. But let me begin by describing the annotation practices that occur in the three mentioned letter manuscripts.

Paris, BnF, lat. 8658A: Letters from Seneca

The Paris manuscript Latin 8658A is one of the earliest copies of Seneca's Letters that survive.[5] It has been dated to the second half of the ninth century, and localised in north-east France (Reims?). It consists of 128 folia, and is of a real pocket size: it measures 16 × 11.5 cm, with a writing block of 12.5 × 8 centimetres, so a fairly average space (45 per cent of the total surface) is reserved for the margin.[6] Each page has twenty lines on fols 3–10, and between twenty-nine and thirty lines from fol. 11 onwards; the layout changes from very spacious to a more dense one. Except for one bifolium at the end (123/128) the manuscript has been written by a single hand, which uses only few abbreviations and ligatures, is characterised by a frequent use of uncial *N* and *nt*-ligature, and a peculiar shaped capital *H* that resembles a *K* rather than an *H*. These two features have contributed to the scribal practices of Auxerre.[7] Since Reims and Auxerre were closely connected at the time, and Auxerre scribes may have worked in Reims, the two suggested places of origin (Reims and Auxerre) do not really contradict each other, even when they are different.

'L'humanisme de Loup de Ferrières', in C. Leonardi (ed.), *Gli umanesimi medievali* (Florence, 1998), 201–13. M. Allen is preparing a new edition with introduction and annotation of the letters for *CCCM*.

[5] L. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 369–75.

[6] Together with my colleagues Irene van Renswoude and Evina Steinová, I have been collecting data concerning marginal activity (including the measurements and layout) in annotated manuscripts from the ninth and tenth centuries (www.huygens.knaw.nl/marginal-scholarship/?lang=eng). We have not fully analysed the data yet, but a quick survey teaches that a margin of around 40–50 per cent is fairly average.

[7] D. Ganz, 'Heiric d'Auxerre, glossateur du *Liber glossarum*', in D. Iogna-Prat, C. Jeudy and G. Lobrichon (eds), *L'école carolingienne d'Auxerre de Murethach à Remi, 830–908* (Paris, 1991), 297–312, esp. p. 298; V. von Büren, 'Auxerre, lieu de production de manuscrits?', in S. Shimahara (ed.), *Études d'exégèse carolingienne. Autour d'Haymon d'Auxerre* (Turnhout, 2007), 167–86, p. 181. Ganz refers to detailed descriptions of Auxerre script in J. Wollasch, 'Zu den persönlichen Notizen des Heiricus von Saint-Germain d'Auxerre', *DA* 15 (1959), 211–26; and B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, Vol. II (Wiesbaden, 1980), pp. 45–6.

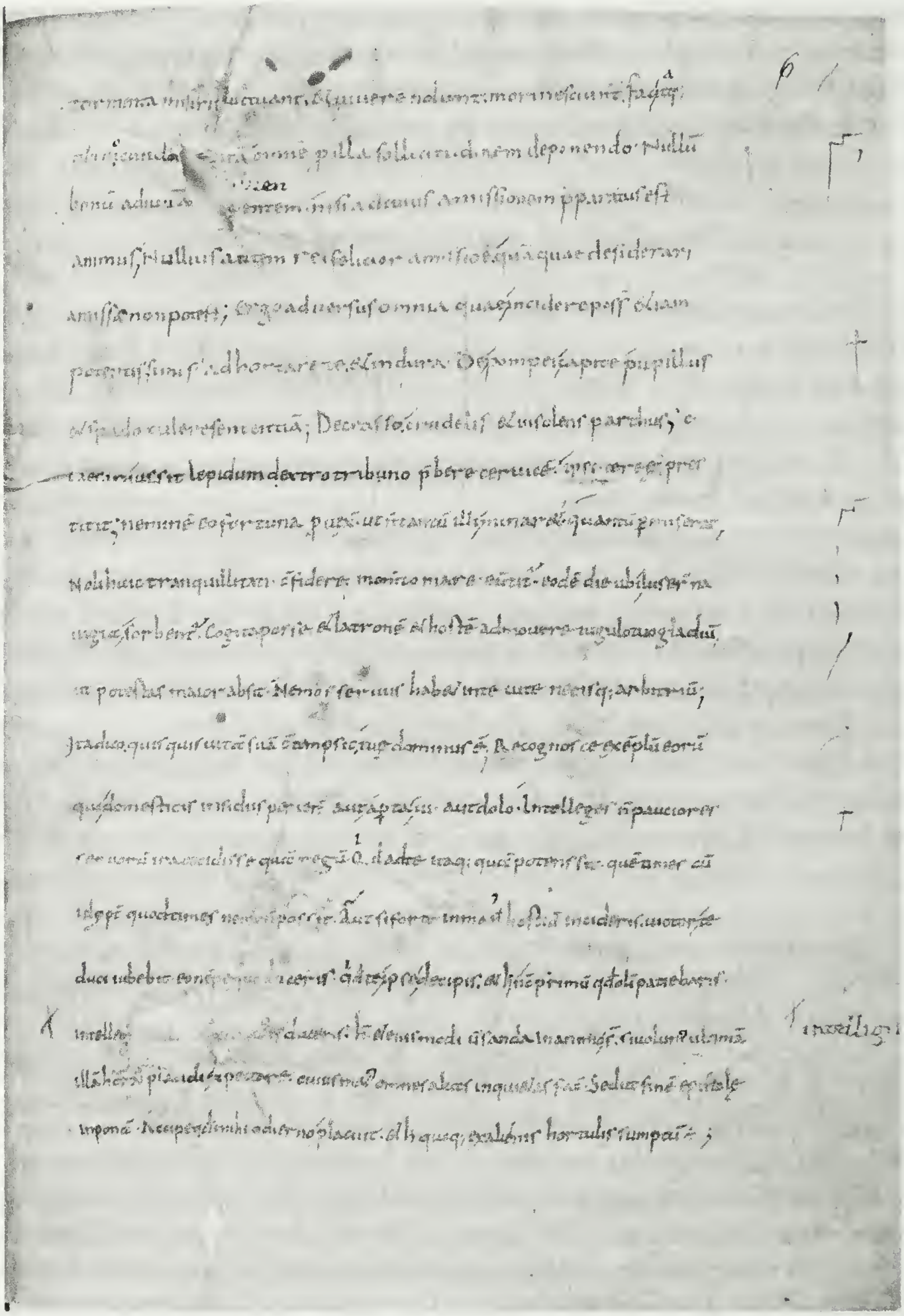

Figure 12.1 Page from the Letters of Seneca. Paris, BnF, lat. 8658A, fol. 6r

There is no hard evidence for a certain attribution to one place or the other.[8] The manuscript has no decorations or rubrications: it is sober in script and

[8] In fact, Von Büren recently questioned the very existence of a scriptorium in Auxerre in her article 'Auxerre, lieu de production de manuscrits?', and argued

layout, with only the skipping of one or two lines to indicate that a letter ends and the next one begins.

An annotator has been very active in the margins of roughly the first twenty folios. He uses a characteristic set of signs to make the text accessible and to note its relevance in his own studies. We do not find that many comments, explanations or summaries (although a few keywords can be found), but rather personal markings. Frequent are nota-signs (an *nt*-ligature with a typical, simplified and almost abstract shape), and an *r* with tilde (an abbreviation for 'require', 'look up'). Even more curious are the non-verbal signs, such as slashes or commas with long tails, crosses, asterisks (in the shape of an *x*) and obeli (in the shape of a hyphen). It is not entirely clear what these signs mean. They can mark difficult passages in the text, where (according to the annotator) corrections are perhaps needed; or passages that, compared to other manuscripts of the same text, have a deviant text transmission. They can mark places where the annotator agrees with Seneca (a frequent function of the asterisk), or where he disagrees (for which the obelus is generally used), or they can mark passages that should be remembered or quoted. It seems clear, however, that the main purpose of the signs was not to instruct, but rather to engage with the text in a scholarly way: the signs mark noteworthy elements, and passages that require further study or correction.[9]

that for each of the manuscripts that has been localised to Auxerre, an argument could also be made for a localisation to Reims, at the court of Hincmar. It seems to me, however, that the monastic school of Auxerre was a certain place of study and annotating practices, as argued by many of the contributors to Iogna-Prat, Jeudy and Lobrichon, *L'école carolingienne*, especially G. Lobrichon, 'L'atelier auxerrois aux x^{e} et xi^{e} siècles', 59–69; C. Coupry, 'Le groupe de manuscrits d'Heliseus. Étude paléographique', 71–91; and L. Holtz, L'école d'Auxerre', 131–46. Holtz posits that students from the school of Auxerre left their marks in manuscripts of Auxerre, Fleury, Ferrières, Soisson, Laon and Reims, which were in constant close contact with each other. In his study of Lupus's letters, Michael Allen also finds convincing evidence for the existence of a real centre of study in Auxerre, albeit in close connection with Ferrières; M. Allen, 'Poems by Lupus, written by Heiric: an endpaper for Édouard Jeauneau (Paris, BnF, lat. 7496, fol. 249v)', in W. Otten and M. Allen (eds), *Eriugena and Creation* (Turnhout, 2014), 105–35.

[9] In fact, in this manuscript the text of Seneca has been corrected quite heavily. In the text, numerous word-divisions have been marked, punctuation has been added and corrections are suggested. Because of their mostly non-verbal shape, however, these interventions are very hard to date. They are likely to be part of a younger layer of annotations, to be dated to the eleventh or the twelfth century, when the manuscript may have been part of the library of the monastery of St Peter in Corbie. See the description of Franck Cinato, at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8426791q (accessed July 2014).

Even though a firm identification has not been made, it has been suggested by several scholars that the annotating hand in this manuscript is that of Heiric of Auxerre. Very similar signs have been used in the margins of several other manuscripts that have been connected to him: notably a Priscian manuscript to which I will come back later in this chapter (Paris, BnF, lat. 7496) and the manuscript with Lupus's letters that I will treat as my third example (Paris, BnF, lat. 2858).

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 344: Letters of St Paul, compiled by Florus of Lyon

My second example is a manuscript from the late ninth or early tenth century, probably copied in Auxerre.[10] It contains the Letters of St Paul, with commentaries of Jerome and Gregory. The compilation has been redacted and reshaped by Florus of Lyon.[11] Bernhard Bischoff characterised the script, which was written by multiple, rather different hands, as 'typically Auxerre', because of some recognisable features in layout and letter shapes, including the earlier-mentioned *K*-shaped *H* and frequent use of uncial *N* and *nt*-ligature. It was, according to him, either copied in Auxerre, or by scribes trained in Auxerre (at least in part).[12] The manuscript consists of 143 folia, and is considerably larger than the Seneca manuscript: it measures approximately 24.5 × 22.5 cm, with a writing block of 16.5–19 × 15.5–17 cm. The marginal space in this manuscript is similar to the Seneca manuscript: about 40–50 per cent of the page is margin. Each page has between twenty-eight and thirty-one lines. It is not quite as sober as the Seneca manuscript, but not rich either: it has uncialis and rustica for titles, incipits and explicits, and some initials that stretch out over several lines, but these are undecorated, and in the same colour as the rest of the text.

The annotations in it are contemporary with the manuscript itself, or only slightly later. They are particularly dense on fols 3–28. Among them are keywords, which facilitate a quicker access to the content of the text, many nota-signs (their step-like shape remarkably similar to those in the Seneca manuscript) and *s*-shaped quotation symbols, which usually mark a quotation

[10] Description by Pierre Chambert-Protat and Florian Mittenhuber on the *e-codices* website: www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/description/bbb/0344 (accessed July 2014).

[11] P.-I. Fransen, 'Description de la collection hiéronymienne de Florus de Lyon sur l'Apôtre', *Revue Bénédictine* 94 (1984), 195–228; P.-I. Fransen, 'Description de la collection grégorienne de Florus de Lyon sur l'Apôtre', *Revue Bénédictine* 98 (1988), 278–317.

[12] B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, Vol. I: *Aachen-Lambach* (Wiesbaden, 1998), no. 575, p. 122.

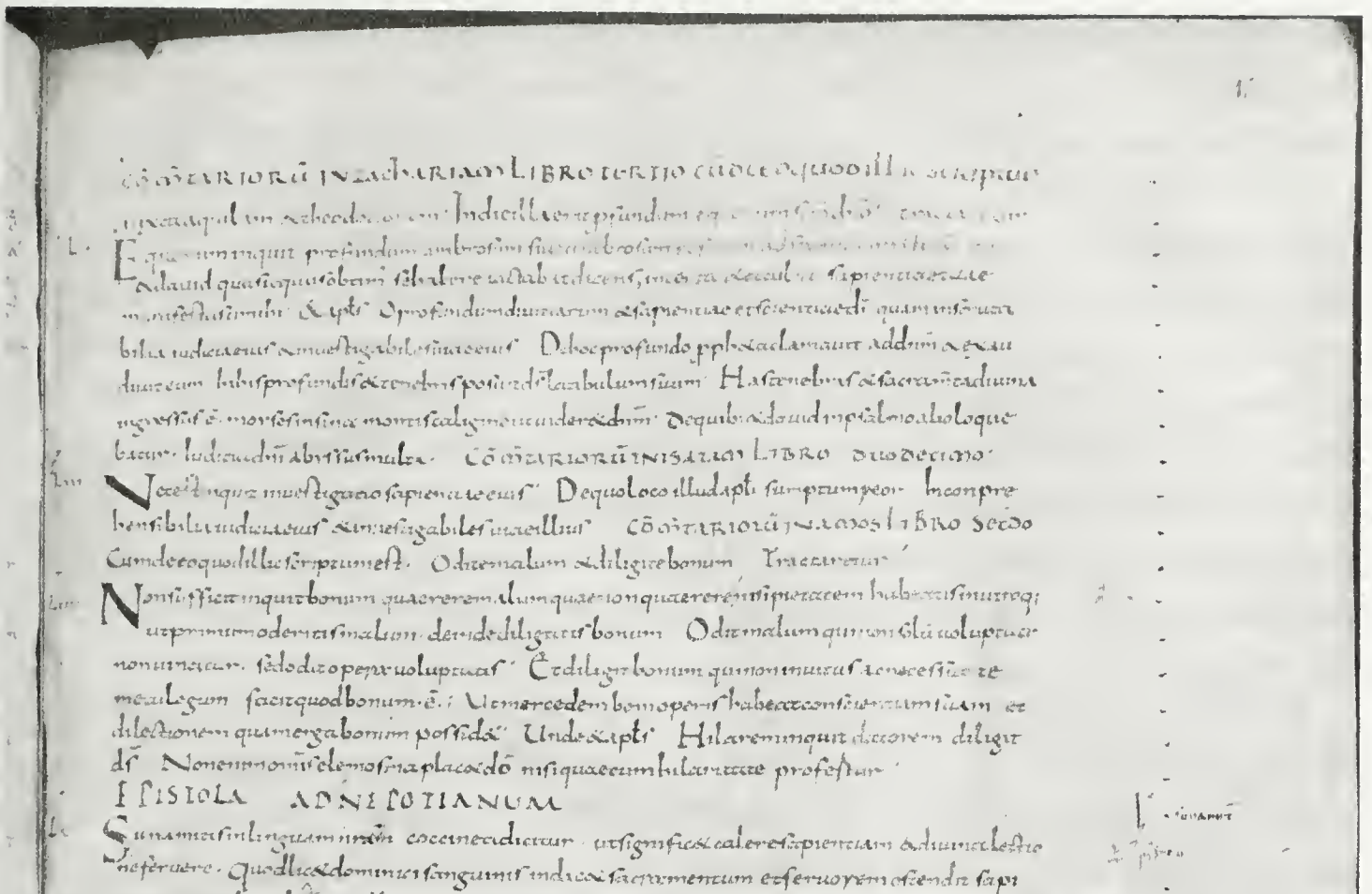

Figure 12.2 Page from the Letters of St Paul, compiled by Florus of Lyon. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 344, fol. 16r

in the text. Numbers and hooks structure the text for the eye: they mark the beginning or ending of sections or text units. These structuring devices, especially the hooks, may be a remnant of Florus of Lyon's initial working process, for he is famous for his intricate system of hooks and signs that guide the process of copying passages into a florilegium in a very precise way. Florus marked the beginnings and endings of these passages with hooks, numbered these with added dots to make their precise ordering in their new context clear, and sometimes added marginal notes to indicate in which collection or which section of it the passage would fit.[13] In this case, the hooks do not seem to mark

[13] This system of marking texts, not to guide the reader, but rather to guide the copyist, has been studied and described in detail by C. Charlier, 'Les manuscrits personnels

passages that ought to be transported to a new context, but they do structure the text for the eye of the reader. The numbers added in the margin have the same function, and are the more common way to achieve the same goal.

Another phenomenon of the marginal activity in this manuscript that stands out is a slash or long-tailed comma remarkably similar to those in the Seneca manuscript. I found one on fol. 33r, but in contrast to the Seneca manuscript it is not frequent here. Specifically eye-catching, however, are numerous annotations in Tironian notes, the Carolingian shorthand system that was readily used in Auxerre, especially by the circle around Heiric.[14] In this manuscript, numerous short passages in Tironian notes are found, and some longer annotations. They may be short summaries or excerpts of the letters, to guide the user through the contents of the work, or additions of missing letters in the collection.[15]

If I allow myself to speculate, the general impression of the marginal activity in this letter manuscript is that it was treated in a more formal way, even when some practices (such as the addition of nota-signs, a slash and crosses) are the same. Whereas the first manuscript gives the impression of a scholar who marks his text for his own reading, in a personal and informal way, this manuscript breathes the impression of a work completed in a regular setting, marked not for individual study but for use within the community. Its audience, however, would have been restricted to the most professional scribes and scholars of the community, since they would have to have shared an understanding of the symbols and writing practices used by the annotator, and would have to have been fluent in Tironian notes. Yet the script of the annotator, even his Tironian signs, is clear and precise, and so are his other signs: the notas, the *s*-shaped quotation marks, the marginal keywords and the text-structuring numbers.

Paris, BnF, lat. 2858: the Letters of Lupus of Ferrières

My last example is the unique manuscript in which the medieval letter collection of Lupus of Ferrières survives: a ninth-century manuscript, probably

de Florus de Lyon et son activité littéraire', in E. Podechard, *Mélanges E. Podechard. Études de sciences religieuses offertes pour son éméritat* (Lyon, 1945), 72–84, reprinted in *Revue Bénédictine* 119 (2009), 252–69; and L. Holtz, 'Le manuscrit Lyon, BM 484 (414) et la méthode de travail de Florus', *Revue Bénédictine* 119 (2009), 270–315. The subject is currently under investigation by P. Chambert-Protat, who is finalising a dissertation on Florus and his scribal practices.

[14] Ganz, 'Heiric d'Auxerre', p. 298.

[15] Since I myself am not familiar with Tironian notes, I cannot read them. Their content is a mystery to me.

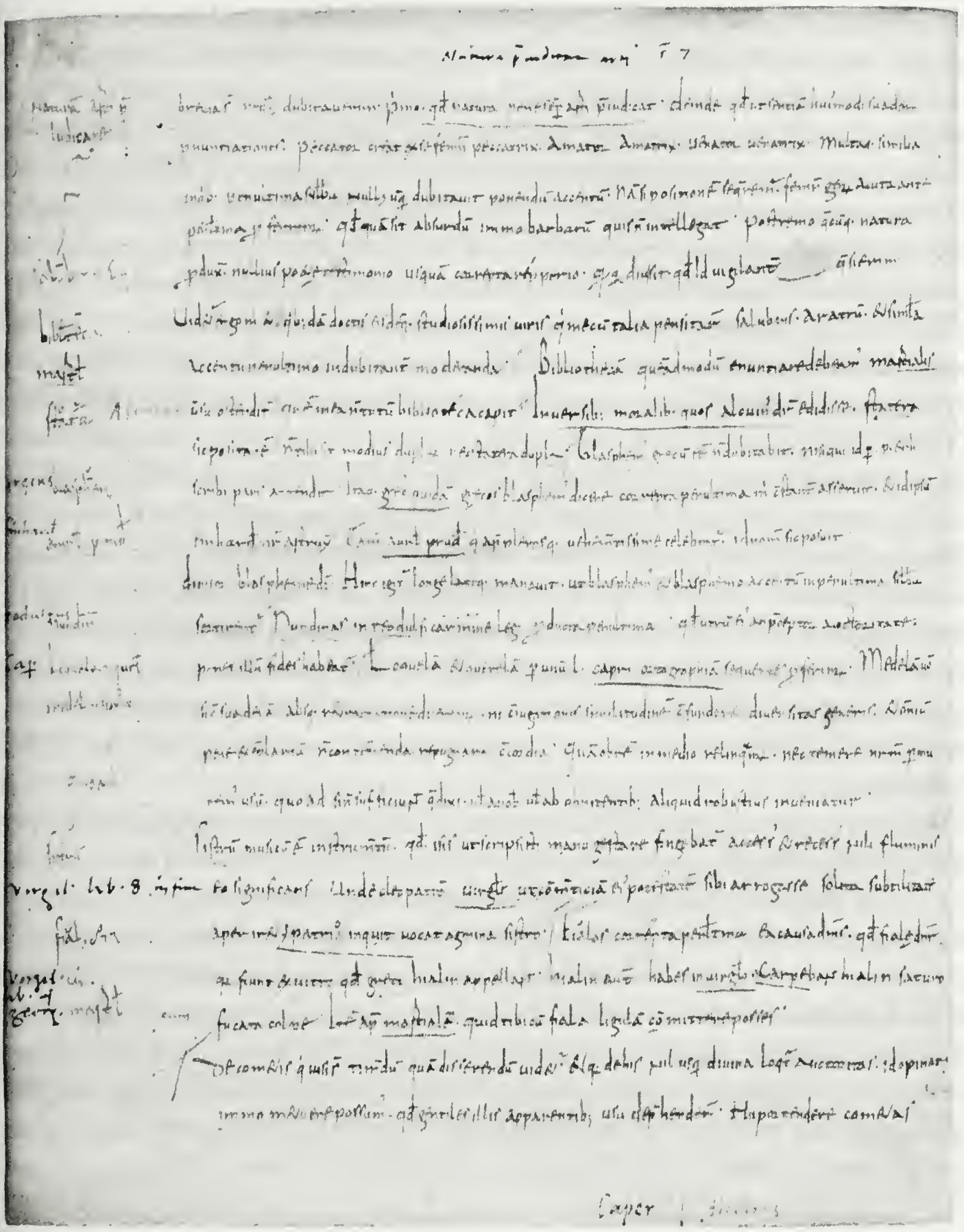

Figure 12.3 Page from the Letters of Lupus of Ferrières. Paris, BnF, lat. 2858, fol. 11v

copied in Ferrières, presumably shortly after Lupus's death in 862.[16] It is believed to be a tribute to the revered master Lupus, created by a scribe from his intimate circle. Heiric, Lupus's student, has been suggested as one of the

[16] Allen, 'Poems by Lupus'. In a footnote, he announces a full new description of the manuscript in his forthcoming edition of Lupus's letters for *CCCM*. For now, I rely on his remarks in 'Poems by Lupus', and on Bischoff, 'Palaeography and the transmission of classical texts', pp. 123, 127.

annotators. The manuscript contains sixty-three folia, and is today bound together with a few folia from the eleventh century with miscellaneous texts (fols 64–71). The measurements of this manuscript are 26 × 16.5 cm, with margins that take up approximately 40 per cent of the total space on the page. Almost every page of this manuscript is annotated, except for the last quire. In the annotations two hands have been distinguished: one that uses a rather narrow, long script, described by Bischoff as 'quick, and either steep or leaning towards the left', and a broad and flat hand, leaning markedly to the right.[17]

The long hand and the broad hand, Bischoff points out, are found together more often. He believes the broad, flat hand to be Heiric's own, the long and narrow one to belong to a close collaborator of Heiric. Among the manuscripts in which the two hands are found together is the ninth-century part of a manuscript of Julius Caesar, *Commentarii de bello gallico* (Paris, BnF, lat. 5763, fols 1–112), and a ninth-century copy of Seneca's *De beneficiis* and *De clementia* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1529). Bischoff found the long hand on its own in a copy of Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates* (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 118, copied in the early ninth century in Fleury).[18] The broad hand is found in Berlin, Phillipps, 1887 (Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*); London, British Library, Harley 2735 (the famous abbreviated copy of *Liber glossarum* glossed by Heiric); and Paris, BnF, lat. 16025 (Sallustius, *Catilina* and *Jugurtha*).[19]

In the annotations, several features stand out: numerous nota-signs (shaped similarly as in the two earlier described manuscripts: an *nt*-ligature shaped as a set of steps), hooks indicating the beginnings of text units, and numerous passages in Tironian notes. I found an occasionally used ancora sign (fol. 7r), a single Rq ('require', fol. 6r) and a single cross in drypoint (7v). Frequent are indications of authorities in the margins, often abbreviated ('bo&' for Boethius, 'aug' for Augustine, 'gg' for Gregory). The broad and the narrow hand use similar signs and techniques, but, in contrast, the first one employs Tironian notes only in rare cases, whereas the second frequently mixes them in with regular script.

[17] Bischoff, 'Palaeography and the transmission of classical texts', p. 127.

[18] M. Mostert, *The Library of Fleury. A Provisional List of Manuscripts* (Hilversum, 1989), no. 78; Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, Vol. I, no. 537. In the catalogue, Bischoff identifies the annotations of the long and narrow hand as 'Rd. Noten von einem Lupus-Schüler', p. 113.

[19] Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, Vol. I, no. 442, p. 93: 'H[an]d, z[um] B[eispiel] 28r, 40v – Heiric von Auxerre … Auxerre, IX. Jh., ca. 3. Viertel'; Ganz, 'Heiric d'Auxerre'; Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, p. 344: he mentions that Bischoff dated the manuscript's making to the middle or third quarter of the ninth century, probably in Auxerre.

If we step back from the details and compare the three examples from more distance, several observations can be made. First of all, in each of the three cases, Auxerre has been suggested as the place where the manuscript was either made (Bern, Cod. 344) or annotated (Paris, lat. 8658A and lat. 2858). If not in Auxerre, then at least by scribes trained in Auxerre, or by scholars from the school of Auxerre (notably Heiric) or his close circle. Features that are considered to be characteristic for Auxerre are some peculiarities in the script, such as the *K*-shaped *H* or the frequent use of uncial *N* or *nt*-ligature. In the margin, Heiric or his circle are recognised by a peculiar shaped *nt*-ligature for 'nota', the use of an abbreviated *r* for 'require', and the remarkably frequent use of Tironian script in marginal annotations and additional texts added on fly-leaves or in margins.

Two of the manuscripts, the secular Letters of Seneca and of Lupus, have the look and feel of manuscripts created and annotated for private use, with their cursive and highly personal sets of signs. In Bern, Cod. 344 (Florus's redaction of St Paul's Letters) the character of the annotation is somewhat different: this is not a pocket book annotated for private use, but rather a book kept for study and copying in a monastic library. The format of the book is larger; the annotations do not give the impression of haste or privacy that the annotations in the other two letter collections perhaps do. Yet it shares some remarkable features with the Paris letter manuscripts and others from 'the circle of Heiric': it has a similarly shaped *nt*-ligature for 'nota'; it has the long slash that is so prominent in the Seneca manuscript; and it has, most strikingly, long additions in Tironian notes. The presence of such long passages in Tironian notes is, perhaps, characteristic of the intellectual circle of Auxerre and Ferrières, but more research needs to be done here.

The manuscripts, moreover, each have their own circle of related manuscripts, in which similar hands or scribal practices are found. The Seneca manuscript (Paris, lat. 8658A) and the manuscript with Lupus's Letters (lat. 2858) have been connected with each other, because of the presence of the same annotating hand in both manuscripts (Heiric himself or a student of his?). Both, furthermore, have been connected to Paris, BnF, lat. 7496, a Priscian manuscript with a remarkably rich set of annotations: in the margins, in between the lines and on the fly-leaves. Let us have a closer look at this manuscript.

Paris, BnF, lat. 7496: Priscian annotated by Lupus, Heiric and Theotbertus

Teotbertus monahcus scripsit et supscripsit non fecit bene

This remark figures in the upper margin of fol. 211v of a manuscript of Priscian's *On Grammar*: a manuscript probably copied in the abbey of Saint-Germain in

Auxerre in the second half of the ninth century (Paris, BnF, lat. 7496).[20] The remark is generally interpreted as a humble colophon of one of the annotating hands, identifying himself and apologising for the bad job he has done: 'The monk Theotbertus wrote and annotated (this manuscript); he did not do well.'[21] I will come back to this interpretation in the following, but for now would like to emphasise that the presence of this name is a rare exception to the rule that annotations are anonymous. As such it offers a rare possibility to modern scholars to find out more about the biography of the manuscript in question.

Unfortunately, Theotbertus is a lousy clue, for we know next to nothing about him: his hand has been dated to a generation or two later than the writing hands of the text – around the turn of the century or in the first quarter of the tenth. He added annotations to the Priscian text when it was already annotated by two earlier hands, and these, in fact, offer better clues. One of these earlier annotators has been recognised as Lupus's student Heiric of Auxerre. This particular manuscript, moreover, offers us another lucky break: a second name is present in it, to wit that of Lupus of Ferrières himself. Firstly, his name is recorded in the interlinear space: on fol. 60r, an annotation is deleted by surrounding it with dots, and next to it is added 'sed lupus de suo istam glosam delevit' ('but Lupus deleted this gloss from his [commentary]').[22] The name Lupus is written over a small erasure. The original word is irretrievable: it could have been a different name, or an abbreviated form of Lupus that needed extension for some reason. We can be certain, however, that Lupus of Ferrières somehow belongs to the circle of scholars who wrote, corrected or used this manuscript, because another strong link to him is present: on one of the last folia (fol. 249v), a set of five poems from Lupus was entered. These have recently been edited and studied in detail by Michael Allen.[23] They include

[20] A digital facsimile of the manuscript is available online at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84789900; for a description by Franck Cinato, see http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000012889 (accessed July 2014); Pellegrin, 'Les manuscrits de Loup de Ferrières', pp. 15–16; Bischoff, 'Palaeography and the transmission of classical texts', p. 125 n. 39.

[21] It is uncertain, however, how 'supscripsit' (*sic*, read 'subscripsit'?) should be read in this context. *Annotare* or *glossare* are terms that are widely used for adding annotations to a text, but *subscribere* is not; the verb has the meaning of 'to write underneath', and from there also 'to grant' or 'approve' (Lewis and Short, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*). It also has the more general meaning of 'to write or note down', or 'to append', which brings us closer to the meaning of 'to annotate'.

[22] '[D]e suo' is difficult to interpret. Which noun is missing after 'suo': 'verbo', or 'commentario'?

[23] Allen, 'Poems by Lupus'. I thank Michael Allen for sharing this and a second article on Lupus with me before publication, and for discussing the scribal practices of Lupus of Ferrières and Heiric of Auxerre with me.

a self-written epitaph, which leaves no doubt that Lupus himself is speaking here:[24]

> *Ossibus hic propriis tegimen Lupus ipse paraui,*
> *Quod memor humanae condicionis eram.*
> *Vt mihi det saecli requiem sine fine creator,*
> *Qui pius es, lector, posce rogatus. Aue.*
>
> I, Lupus himself, have prepared this cover for my own bones,
> As I was remembering my human existence.
> That my creator, who is without end, might grant me peace forever;
> You who are pious, reader, please beg the requested. Farewell.

In another poem, Lupus is credited with the building of a 'crypt', suitable for scribes:

> *Hanc Lupus extruxit criptam scriptoribus aptam,*
> *Hic certus nusquam quod locus esset eis.*
> *Spernet hoc nullus nisi quem sapientia spernet*
> *Aut captum liuor quem stimulabit edax.*
> Lupus built this crypt suitable for writers,
> Because there was never a fixed place for them.
> Let nobody despise this place except him whom wisdom despises,
> Or him whom, as its captive, a destructive jealousy has spurred on.

As Michael Allen convincingly argued, these poems may have been added on the manuscript's final page by Heiric of Auxerre, who recorded works from his master at Ferrières. 'Heiric and Lupus', he concludes, 'shared time and space as master and pupil at Ferrières, where a school, a writing room, and library certainly existed'.[25] Whereas the presence of Theotbertus is thus not very revealing for the history of the manuscript, the presence of Lupus and Heiric is. They can be taken as evidence of the close relationship that existed between Lupus and his pupil Heiric, which was so strong that Heiric decided to write down words of his master and carry them with him in his manuscript. The poems, I would speculate, would both originally have been written on objects – an ossuary and a stone from a vault – and could not have been taken on a journey in their original form. But they could travel with Heiric on the fly-leaf of this manuscript. Furthermore, the possible presence of Heiric could be taken as further evidence of the close relationship that existed between Ferrières and Auxerre.

[24] Allen provides French translations of the poems in his article ('Poems by Lupus', Appendix 2, pp. 130–1); the English rendering is my own.

[25] Allen, 'Poems by Lupus', p. 105. At this point, Allen is explicitly and, to my mind, convincingly arguing against Veronika von Büren, who, as mentioned earlier, doubted the existence of a scriptorium in Auxerre in 'Auxerre, lieu de production de manuscrits?'.

A continuous traffic of manuscripts and scribes between the two abbeys – which are only about 75 km away from each other – can be reconstructed from the Letters of Lupus, and these annotations offer additional support for the hypothesis.[26]

A hierarchic organisation of the copying process

The presence of two hands working closely together, which is a feature of both the Priscian manuscript (Paris, BnF, lat. 7496) and the manuscript of Lupus's correspondence (Paris, BnF, lat. 2858), can be matched with numerous other examples from marginal annotation practices. Florus, deacon of Lyon in the turbulent times of the mid-ninth century when Agobard was banned and Amalarius appointed by Louis the Pious, has been shown to have run the copying processes of his scriptorium with a strict hand.[27] He directed, supervised and corrected the work of his scribes with a minute attention to detail. It has been shown that he developed his own system of scribal practices to do so, consisting of hooks, wavy lines, signs and short instructions in Tironian script. Anne-Marie Turcan suggested that he even had a system to mark annotations as 'private' versus 'to be copied', by using a different colour marking in the margin of a manuscript with annals, in which he recorded his personal reflections on the dark period of the division of the empire.[28] In his role as master of the scriptorium, Florus relied on the scribes working for him, especially on his trusted scribe Manno. And just as Florus had his Manno, so John Scottus Eriugena had his trusted collaborator i2, or Nisifortinus – a scribe who has been recognised in many of the manuscripts that carry John's autograph (also known as i1).[29] His nickname Nisifortinus ('Unless perhaps …') was given to him by Édouard Jeauneau, who picked up on his tendency in his marginal annotations to soften the master's words when they were perhaps too idiosyncratic or offensive.[30] Paul Dutton made a close study of a manuscript of

[26] Allen, 'Poems by Lupus', pp. 120–1.

[27] Charlier, 'Les manuscrits personnels de Florus de Lyon'; Holtz, 'Le manuscrit Lyon, BM 484'.

[28] A.-M. Turcan-Verkerk, 'Florus de Lyon et le manuscrit Roma, Bibliotheca Vallicelliana, E.26. Notes marginales', in P. Lardet (ed.), *La tradition vive. Mélanges d'histoire des textes en l'honneur de Louis Holtz* (Turnhout, 2003), 307–16.

[29] On i1 and i2, see É. Jeauneau and P. Dutton, *The Autograph of Eriugena*, Corpus Christianorum: Autographa Medii Aevi 3 (Turnhout, 1996).

[30] On i2 and his nickname Nisifortinus, see É. Jeauneau, '"Nisifortinus": le disciple qui corrige le maître', in J. Marenbon (ed.), *Poetry and Philosophy in the Middle Ages: A Festschrift for Peter Dronke* (Leiden, 2001), 113–29.

John's *Periphyseon*, which contains revisions and corrections by John himself (Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 875), in order to reconstruct his process of working on the text.[31] In this article, which considers every detail of the manuscript's script and marginal activity with a Sherlock Holmes-like scrutiny, he sketches a picture of John going over his text, moving passages from one place to another, inserting and deleting passages, writing them on wax tablets or scraps of parchment, and leaving it to his collaborators to work them into his master copy of the *Periphyseon*:

> [John] had employed the students of his school to work on his evolving text and may have used senior or trusted disciples such as Nisifortinus and the crooked man [a scribe who had severe trouble writing in straight lines] to add new materials to the margins of R[eims 875]. Most of these texts were probably passed to his student-scribes on wax tablets and scraps of parchments, and Eriugena himself, by using *signes de renvoi*, indicated where the additions belonged on the page … had we visited his school at the time he was creating the *Periphyseon*, I believe we would have seen him with wax tablets and stylus fixed to his belt for ready use, have watched as he bent over the open and unbound gatherings of R[eims 875], here erasing text, there inscribing new materials in its margins, have seen him speak to a student who was copying out a new gathering of the work as he handed him a wax tablet with a small text to be added at a point he had already marked, and we might have seen him number the new quires of the codex as they were readied.[32]

Multiple hands, multiple voices

But apart from these examples, which show a master at the head of a hierarchy, organising the work for his scribes and copyists, there are also

[31] P. Dutton, 'Eriugena's workshop: the making of the *Periphyseon* in Rheims 875', in J. McEvoy and M. Dunne (eds), *History and Eschatology in John Scottus Eriugena and His Time* (Leuven, 2002), 141–67.

[32] Dutton, 'Eriugena's workshop', pp. 163, 164. Dutton deduces the use of wax tablets from particular features in John's writing hand: a flat and broad letter, which sometimes looks a bit too large or crude for its placement in the margin. I wonder whether that hand characterised by Bischoff as Heiric's own, the broad and flat hand working in the margins of Paris, BnF, lat. 2858, does not share these characteristics: it could perhaps be Heiric's 'draft'- or 'wax-tablet'- hand. This would, then, also explain the absence of Tironian notes in annotations from this hand, which may be too subtle to press into wax with a stylus. The absence of these Tironian notes is, in any case, rather peculiar in the light of the widely shared assumption that Heiric and his circle were particularly prone to the use of Tironian notes for marginal comments.

examples where two or three scribes worked together in close collaboration without an apparent hierarchy or division of roles. In fact, for complex texts such as drafts and commentary traditions, a collaborative enterprise seems to have been the norm. In many copies of Martianus Capella, usually two or three main hands are seen to have been working together on copying the commentary tradition in the margins or gloss-columns around the main text, and in the spaces between the lines in the main text block. The phenomenon can be observed in multiple manuscripts with the oldest commentary tradition, and I described it in more detail for the oldest witness of this commentary: Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLF 48.[33] In this ninth-century manuscript, which was perhaps made (again!) in Auxerre, mainly two hands copy the commentary tradition into the manuscript's blank space.[34] They can be distinguished because of different colour ink, their pens' differing nib width, or different habits in the formation of certain letters. But apart from these minute differences in appearance, there seems to be no clear division in terms of roles or tasks in their copying activity. Both hands copied annotations in interlinear space and in marginal space; both hands corrected each other. They belonged to two equal scribes working together, simultaneously and on equal terms.

It is also in this manuscript, however, that criticism is voiced on (presumably) a contemporary master who commented on Martianus: on fol. 31v, a gloss mentions the name Hildebertus to point out that his interpretation of a particular sentence is, in fact, wrong. On fol. 32r, the annotator is picking on him again: Hildebertus is named as an example of an individual man (as opposed to the species mankind), but the epithet 'malus' is attached to his name, for no apparent reason.[35] This brings me back to the remark about Theotbertus in the Priscian manuscript I described above: what if the mention

[33] M. Teeuwen, 'Glossing in close co-operation: examples from the ninth-century Martianus Capella manuscripts', in R. Bremmer, Jr and K. Dekker (eds), *Practice in Learning. The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages* (Paris/Leuven/Walpole, MA, 2010), 85–99.

[34] A digital facsimile of this manuscript is available at the Digital Special Collections website of the Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek (https://socrates.leidenuniv.nl). In the search field type 'VLF 48' in order to find the facsimile. A full digital edition of the annotations in this manuscript has been made by me in collaboration with a team of consultants, to wit Sinéad O'Sullivan, Mary Garrison, Natalia Lozovsky, Jean-Yves Guillaumin and Bruce Stancefield Eastwood. The edition includes black-and-white reproductions of the manuscript, and is available at http://martianus.huygens.knaw.nl/path (both websites accessed September 2014).

[35] For these annotations, see the online edition at http://martianus.huygens.knaw.nl/path/facsimile/leiden_vossianus_48/book_4_dialectica/folio_31v and /folio_32r (accessed July 2014).

of Theotbertus in the upper margin of Paris, BnF, lat. 7496 should be interpreted not as a humble colophon in which the writer himself apologises for the bad job he has done, but as a critical remark by another annotator, who is disappointed in the work? In fact, the third-person verb suggests that it is not Theotbertus speaking to us, but an anonymous third person speaking about him and severely criticising him.

We have seen, in the above, that Carolingian scholars engaged with their texts from the margin in multiple ways. They not only prepared texts for a school or educational setting, they also worked with texts to accommodate other activities. They made them accessible and memorable, they imported texts from other contexts into new settings and they made passages from texts exportable to new contexts. They compared text versions, and compared authorities. Key to these activities is, to my mind, a critical mindset on behalf of the annotator. It was the annotator's job to spot differences, to criticise and to correct. This critical voice from the margin has already been pointed out by Christopher Baswell in his well-known article 'Talking back to the text', in which he illustrates how the practice of annotating manuscripts with commentary and authoritative explanations, meant for the classrooms, had the perhaps unwanted side-effect of creating space for differences of opinion and interpretation, and for doubting the authorities:

> To be sure, manuscript margins are also, perhaps predominantly, 'safe' arenas. Frequently they provide only straightforward pedagogical explanation of the text or suspend chunks of the culture's normative learning (cosmic, scientific, philosophical, spiritual) from small details in the master text. This latter habit of encyclopedizing the *auctor*, though, generating from that text great swathes of the reading culture's erudition, is itself a kind of respectful deformation. But I will focus on places where the margin is a field of play more in rebellion than in service, and where it sometimes succeeds through diachronic processes of reinscription – the recopying and redaction which are endemic to a manuscript culture – even in usurping the voice and place of the prior, central and would-be authoritative text.[36]

In his article Baswell discussed different materials from a different time than I discuss here: his examples are from late medieval manuscripts in Latin and in Middle English. For the Carolingian period, however, his observations are equally true. The margin was a space in which authorities were given their authorial weight, by explaining them and elaborating upon their arguments. But it was also a space where multiple authorities were gathered on a certain subject, which caused an open display of their oppositions,

[36] C. Baswell, 'Talking back to the text: marginal voices in medieval secular literature', in C. Morse, P. Doob and M. Woods (eds), *The Uses of Manuscripts in Literary Studies: Essays in Memory of Judson Boyce Allen* (Michigan, 1992), 121–60, p. 122.

contradictions and weaknesses. It was the edge of a manuscript that could be used for personal markings; that redacted, summarised and reorganised texts in order to make them ready for transport to new contexts. Works were dissected and reassembled, creating new authoritative compilations in the process.

In the Carolingian period, the critical voice of Florus of Lyon is heard loud and clear: in a Lyon copy of a work of his arch-rival, Amalarius's *Liber officialis*, the margins are filled with vicious and offensive remarks such as 'rara insania' ('rare insanity'), 'mira vanitas' ('strange vanity'), 'rabida locutio' ('a mad discourse') or 'stultissimum mendacium' ('the stupidest lie').[37] Above, I showed a small example of criticism in an annotated manuscript of Martianus Capella, where Hildebertus was not only proved wrong as an interpreter of the text but also mentioned as a bad example of an individual man. Another example is, perhaps, found in the remark about Theotbertus in the Priscian manuscript. In a recent article Van Renswoude and Steinová have illustrated another side of the same phenomenon: they showed how Hincmar (or his scribes) used marks and signs to criticise the work of Gottschalk on predestination, but did not order the destruction of the condemned work.[38] For, rather than destroying Gottschalk's unorthodox text, Hincmar wanted to use it to show the readers how wrong and dangerous he was. Only in the face of lies truth shines – so is his message.

With these examples it becomes clear that in the margin, Frankish scholars and students not only engaged with their texts, but also with their readers and their copyists. And in the process, they also engaged with each other, as fellow students or scholars and as opponents in private or public discussions. They debated over the correct transmission of texts, their interpretations and their implications, and also over hot religious issues in a period where court, abbots and bishops worked closely together to shape their religious identity. In order to do so, they used a full array of textual practices, from signs to Tironian notes to commentaries to critical remarks, which cloaked their texts

[37] Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 329. Text and annotations are edited by J.-M. Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia, 2 vols, Vol. II: Liber officialis* (Vatican City, 1949). See also A. Wilmart, 'Un lecteur ennemi d'Amalaire', *Revue Bénédictine* 36 (1924), 317–29; K. Zechiel-Eckes, *Florus von Lyon als Kirchenpolitiker und Publizist. Studien zur Persönlichkeit eines karolingischen 'Intellektuellen' am Beispiel der Auseinandersetzung mit Amalarius (835–838) und des Prädestinationsstreits (851–855)* (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 72–6; and most recently R. Kramer and I. van Renswoude, 'Dissens, Debatte und Diskurs: Kirche und *Imperium* in der Karolingerzeit', *Historicum* 31 (2014), 22–7.

[38] I. van Renswoude and E. Steinová, 'The annotated Gottschalk. Symbolic annotation and control of heterodoxy in the Carolingian age', *Collection des études Augustiniennes* (forthcoming, 2015).

in the right attire. As I hope to have shown in my small set of examples, the practices were *not* specific to a genre, such as, for example, classical versus patristic texts. They were part of a common and shared way of reading and annotating. But neither were they an undifferentiated toolkit: specific shapes and signs can be linked to certain masters or writing communities, and thus shed light on their origin and provenance. It is up to us to decipher these techniques, in order to come to a fuller understanding of the intellectual world of the period.

Part III

Monastic powerhouses and centres of learning

13

The Carolingians and the *Regula Benedicti*

Albrecht Diem

Trying to handle the project of Carolingian monastic reform is like putting together a picture from pieces belonging to different puzzles. Each set of sources – hagiography, chronicles, commentaries to the *Regula Benedicti*, charters, *capitularia* and acts of Church councils – tells a different story. Attempts to forge them into a cohesive narrative force us to overlook contradictions and necessarily expand on problematic master narratives. Wherever we start, we end up in irresolvable conundrums. Things get even more complicated when we place monastic reform within the wider context of the Carolingian attempt at *correctio* and *emendatio* that sought to reach all parts of society.[1]

It seems that one of the central objectives of Carolingian monastic politics was to submit all monasteries to the *Regula Benedicti* as a binding norm – and here the confusion starts. Instead of relying on a new set of regulations fitted to the specific circumstances of its time, rulers, bishops and abbots initially agreed to use a text that was roughly 200 years old when, in 742, the first Church council under control of the Carolingians declared that monks and handmaids of God should strive to order their specific way of life *iuxta regulam sancti Benedicti*.[2] The *Regula Benedicti* had been produced for ascetic enthusiasts finding their place in a world of fading *Romanitas*. It had little to do with Francia at the verge of the Carolingian takeover or with the ambitious plans of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious to shape an ideal God-pleasing society.

[1] Mayke de Jong has provided by far the best attempt to capture the spirit of monastic reform in the Carolingian period: M. de Jong, 'Carolingian monasticism: the power of prayer', in *NCMH*, Vol. II (Cambridge, 1995), 622–53. On the broader context of Carolingian reform, see M. de Jong, *The Penitential State. Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge, 2009); M. de Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', in J. Story (ed.), *Charlemagne. Empire and Society* (Manchester/New York, 2005), 103–35.

[2] *Concilium Germanicum* (*a.* 742), c. 7, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 1–4, p. 4.

Creating *ordo* in this brave new Carolingian world meant establishing clear categories: living as monk or nun was defined as living *regulariter* or *secundum regulam*. The *regula* was understood as a written rule to be followed and the *Regula Benedicti* became the text in question.[3] None of these three steps is entirely self-evident: the terms *regula* and *regulariter* were not always monastic (the best example would be the *Regula pastoralis*), a (monastic) *regula* was not necessarily a catalogue of written norms, and there were numerous other *regula*-texts aside from the *Regula Benedicti*. Yet *regulariter vivere* and the *Regula Benedicti* became, under the Carolingian rulers, distinctive markers that defined monks, nuns and monasteries.

It is easy to list aspects in which the text of the *Regula Benedicti* is incompatible with Carolingian monastic practice or to identify central aspects of Carolingian monastic life and matters of reform that would hardly be supported by introducing or enforcing the *Rule*. First and foremost, nothing in the *Regula Benedicti* points to the function of monasteries as powerhouses of intercessory prayer for the stability of the kingdom, the king, the Frankish people or for any individual founder or supporter of monasteries. Neither does it contain regulations aimed at creating a sacred space separated from the surrounding world or ensuring the level of purity that enables monks and nuns to perform intercession, nor did Benedict envision the eminent role monasteries would play in the Carolingian apparatus of power.[4]

Benedict's notion of *conversio* is hardly compatible with using monasteries as places of forced retreat for political opponents or dynastic competitors.[5] The role abbots played within Carolingian power structures was too important to allow monastic communities to elect a leader from their own ranks – as the *Regula Benedicti* prescribes.[6] Even though the *Regula Benedicti* says nothing about collective poverty, it is difficult to imagine that its author envisioned the enormous economic power many Carolingian monasteries would gain, to say

[3] A. Diem and P. Rousseau, 'Monastic Rules', in I. Cochelin and A. Beach (eds), *The Cambridge History of Monasticism in the Medieval West* (Cambridge, forthcoming).

[4] Mayke de Jong did pioneering work on all these aspects. See especially M. de Jong, *In Samuel's Image. Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden/New York/Cologne, 1996), pp. 132–55; De Jong, 'Carolingian Monasticism', 636–51; M. de Jong, '*Imitatio morum*: the cloister and clerical purity in the Carolingian world', in M. Frassetto (ed.), *Medieval Purity and Piety. Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform* (New York/London, 1998), 49–80.

[5] M. de Jong, 'Monastic prisoners or opting out? Political coercion and honour in the Frankish Kingdoms', in M. de Jong, C. van Rhijn and F. Theuws (eds), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden/Boston, MA/Cologne, 2001), 291–328.

[6] F. Felten, *Äbte und Laienäbte im Frankenreich. Studie zum Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche im früheren Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1980), 143–279.

nothing of their role in providing military force.[7] The double task of abbots as monastic leaders inside the walls and powerful aristocrats outside is not really compatible with their role as representative of Christ (*vices Christi*) in the monastery bearing the responsibility for the eternal salvation of each obedient member of their communities.

The *Regula Benedicti* contains regulations on child oblation and on priests in the monastery, but its author probably did not foresee that the oblation of pure and unstained children would become the default option of monastic recruitment or that most monks would be ordained priests in order to produce votive masses as an act of *intercessio*.[8] Turning monasteries into places of education and training of a future administrative elite and establishing thriving networks of scholars is hardly compatible with the 'Benedictine' ideal of silence and *stabilitas in congregatione*.[9] The same could be said about assigning monasteries a role as missionary outposts (i.e. bridgeheads for political expansion) or places of pastoral care for the surrounding world.

We should assume that monks, nuns and monastic reformers were well aware of the frictions between the prescriptions of the *sancta regula* and monastic practice. They knew that their monastic ideals, their practice and their reform agendas had roots other than the *Regula Benedicti*. Yet the rule of the *beatissimus pater Benedictus* gained too much prestige to be dismissed and it seems that the benefit of identifying monastic life with living *regulariter*, defining *regulariter* textually and defining the *Regula Benedicti* as *the* Rule outweighed the intrinsic contradictions between *regula* and practice.

This contribution addresses the question of how monks and monastic reformers dealt with the disconnect between the content of the *Regula Benedicti* and their own reality. Which textual techniques did they apply to reconcile norms and practice? This question forms part of a larger project: to get a sense of the concept of normative observance in general, assuming that a text-based monastic *vita regularis* is by no means an unchangeable basis of monastic life. Normative observance has its history and its genesis, and it is certainly not productive to reduce it to any modern legalistic understanding.

[7] W. Kettemann, *Subsidia anianensia: Überlieferungs- und textgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Witiza-Benedikts, seines Klosters Aniane und zur sogenannten 'anianischen Reform'* (Duisburg, 2000), pp. 393–484.

[8] De Jong, 'Carolingian monasticism', pp. 640–4; 647–8; De Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 126–32; J. Semmler, 'Benedictus II: una regula – una consuetudo', in W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (eds), *Benedictine Culture 750–1050* (Leuven, 1983), 1–49, pp. 40–4; A. Angenendt, 'Missa specialis. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Entstehung der Privatmessen', *FrSt* 17 (1983), 153–221.

[9] De Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 232–45; M. Hildebrandt, *The External School in Carolingian Society* (Leiden/New York/Cologne, 1992), pp. 24–71.

I suggest a typology of four basic models of textual techniques to bridge the gap between *regula* and reality: (1) exegesis, (2) selective reading, (3) 'objectivation' and (4) embodiment. None of these practices can be correctly described as a 'symbolic' reading of the *Regula Benedicti* (as Pius Engelbert phrased it) or using the *Regula Benedicti* simply as a metaphor (as Josef Semmler suggested it).[10] All of them demonstrate an intensive engagement with its content but also a variety of attempts to get around its normative character. Yet each of them approaches the *Regula Benedicti* in strikingly different ways, which vastly complicates the notion of normative observance.

Exegesis

The insight that the intellectual and theological achievements of the past cannot be understood straightforwardly any more, and that there is a need to collect, arrange, interpret and explain the works of the *sancti patres*, the Bible and the classical heritage, was a central aspect of the 'Carolingian Renaissance'. Carolingian scholars were, as Mayke de Jong has shown impressively, especially prolific in the production of biblical exegesis, and this exegesis played a crucial role in legitimating Carolingian rule and giving *correctio* and *emendatio* a proper scriptural basis.[11]

Carolingian intellectual life was, as Mayke de Jong's work and that of her students demonstrate, determined by a highly developed culture of discussion in which the margins of respectful disagreement and critique were much wider than we traditionally would have expected – be it on the level of theological debates or of criticising political developments, collective behaviour or even modes of ruling.[12] Carolingian monks and nuns were keen on discussion,

[10] P. Engelbert, 'Regeltext und Romverehrung. Zur Frage der Verbreitung der *Regula Benedicti* im Frühmittelalter', *Römische Quartalschrift* 81 (1986), 39–60, pp. 47–9; J. Semmler, 'Karl der Große und das fränkische Mönchtum', in B. Bischoff and W. Braunfels (eds), *Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, Vol. II: *Das geistige Leben* (Düsseldorf, 1965), 255–89, pp. 263–5; Semmler, 'Benedictus II', pp. 1–2 and 28–32.

[11] M. de Jong, 'Exegesis for an empress', in E. Cohen and M. de Jong (eds), *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts* (Leiden, 2001), 69–100; M. de Jong, 'The empire as *ecclesia*: Hrabanus Maurus and biblical *historia* for rulers', in Y. Hen and M. Innes (eds), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), 191–226.

[12] See especially I. van Renswoude, 'Licence to speak: the rhetoric of free speech in late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages' (Ph.D. dissertation, Utrecht, 2011); and R. Kramer, 'Great expectations: imperial ideologies and ecclesiastical reforms from Charlemagne to Louis the Pious (813–822)' (Ph.D. dissertation, Freie Universität of Berlin, 2014).

reflection, criticism, argument and negotiation about the proper practice and correct understanding. Both the practice of exegesis (in a broad sense) and the attitude of respectful dissent manifested themselves especially in the context of introducing the *Regula Benedicti*. It seems that for more than half a century after 742 all attempts to impose the *Rule* in a top-down manner had little impact. The only way to succeed in introducing the *Regula Benedicti* appeared to be to explain the text, to teach it, to convince monasteries to follow it and discuss ways to implement it. The acts of the Council of Aachen of 802 extensively describe how monks and abbots gathered to read the *Regula Benedicti*, figure out where their practice contradicted the *Rule* and decide what needed changing.[13] The same applies to at least some of the councils held in 813 in which abbots and monks, but also other groups involved, had to sit down to read and discuss the texts crucial to fulfilling their respective roles in the project of *correctio* and *emendatio*.[14]

Of all the texts that played a role in the world of Carolingian reformers and teachers, the *Regula Benedicti* held a very unique place. Not only was it considered a text to be read, recited and discussed at Church councils and memorised by monks, but it was also submitted to exegesis and sentence-by-sentence (and partly even word-by-word) commentary and explanation. Carolingian scholars produced commentaries on biblical texts and on the main texts for pastoral use (such as the Lord's Prayer or the Creed), but no one wrote similarly detailed commentaries or analyses of the works of the *sancti patres* – not even on Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis*, which was the text that priests and clerics read and discussed at the Councils of Reims, Mainz and Chalon in 813. This emphasises the enormous prestige of the *Regula Benedicti*, but it shows also an awareness that its content (and maybe its language) needed to be explained and interpreted rather than just applied as a norm to be followed.

The most important product of the endeavour to discuss and explain the *Regula Benedicti* are commentaries – a new genre that emerged in the context of Carolingian monastic reforms efforts. The common pre-Carolingian way of engaging critically with existing monastic rules was to write new ones that excerpted, supplemented, combined or rephrased the older texts in order to adjust them to new circumstances. Most of the roughly thirty preserved monastic *regulae* can be read as responses to already existing ones.[15] Carolingian

[13] *Concilium Aquisgranense* (*a.* 802), ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 229–30, p. 230.

[14] *Concilium Remense* (*a.* 813), cc. 7–16, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 253–6, pp. 254–5; *Concilium Moguntinense* (*a.* 813), ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 258–72, p. 259.

[15] A. Diem, *Das monastische Experiment. Die Rolle der Keuschheit bei der Entstehung des westlichen Klosterwesens* (Münster, 2005), pp. 131–272; Diem and Rousseau, 'Monastic Rules'.

monastic reformers decided instead to stick with the *Regula Benedicti* and to write commentaries on the text rather than replace it with a new Rule. Four extensive Carolingian commentaries on the *Regula Benedicti* have been preserved: Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia regularum*, the *Glosae in Regula sancti Benedicti*, the *Expositio in Regulam sancti Benedicti* by Smaragdus of St Mihiel and Hildemar of Corbie's *Expositio regulae*. All of them approach the *Regula Benedicti* in different ways, from different perspectives and with distinct results, and show how little even the commentators of the *Regula Benedicti* agreed on the meaning and function of this text.

Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia regularum* is a compilation of extracts from monastic rules (and a limited number of other texts) organised alongside each chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* – a florilegium as commentary to the *Rule*. In its prologue, Benedict of Aniane explains his objective to corroborate the authority of the *Regula* by showing that it condensed and improved the existing normative tradition: that it is the best of all rules because it incorporates the best of all rules.[16] His commentary thus looks backwards and constructs a tradition of normative observance. By doing so, it legitimates the use of the *Regula Benedicti* as the norm – curiously by emphasising that the text was *not* original at all. It is not a holy text, but just an extremely well executed summary of the *Regula patrum*. A very similar idea is expressed in Benedict of Aniane's collection of monastic rules. All rules for monks he collected – including the *Regula Benedicti*, whose author he does not even mention – form together one *Regula patrum*.[17]

Another early commentary on the *Regula Benedicti* that was written roughly at the same time is the as yet unpublished *Glosae a diversibus patris collectae in Regula sancti Benedicti abbatis*, which is preserved in two ninth-century manuscripts.[18] This work consist of two parts: a glossary that provides word explanations and lists of synonyms of key terms of the *Regula Benedicti*, and a florilegium of more than 300 biblical and patristic quotations arranged by each chapter of the *Rule*. The glossary is almost entirely based on the writings

[16] Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*, prologus I.7–9, *CCCM* 168A (Turnhout, 1999).

[17] In the only preserved copy, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 28118, the work begins on fol. 1r with 'Incipit prologus sanctorum regulae patrum sanctorum', followed by the prologue and the text of the *Regula Benedicti*, which implies that the prologue of the *Regula Benedicti* serves in fact as prologue to the entire collection. The last Rule written for a community of monks, the *Regula magistri*, ends on fol. 184v with 'Explicit regula sanctorum patrum'. All remaining monastic rules in Benedict of Aniane's collection are written for female communities.

[18] Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, 288, fols 2v–87v; Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 763, fols 4r–34v and 43r–97v. Matthieu van der Meer is currently producing a critical edition of the text for the *Corpus Christianorum*.

of Isidore of Seville. It might point us to a rather particular use of the *Regula Benedicti*: a school text for training in Latin vocabulary. The second part of the *Glosae* engages with the *Regula Benedicti* in an entirely different way. The compiler did not place it in the tradition of other monastic rules but in the context of the works of the *sancti patres*, particularly exegetical texts (by Jerome, Augustine, Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great and Bede). Again, there is no attempt to relate the *Regula Benedicti* to the specific circumstances in which the text was supposed to become the *una regula* to be followed in all monasteries in the Carolingian realm. It is a commentary that makes the *Regula Benedicti* part of a venerable past, though a different past than the one evoked by Benedict of Aniane.

Roughly 80 per cent of the *Glosae in Regula sancti Benedicti* appear in our third work, the *Expositio Regulae sancti Benedicti* of Smaragdus of St Mihiel (d. c. 840), which became the most widespread commentary on the *Rule*. It was probably written in the context of the monastic reforms at the beginning of Louis the Pious's reign.[19] Different from Benedict of Aniane's works and the *Glosae in Regula*, Smaragdus's *Expositio* is no longer a florilegium but an uninterrupted discourse in which quotations from other works are tied together.

The close textual proximity of the *Glosae* and the *Expositio* and the fact that we find material of the *Glosae* in other works of Smaragdus as well indicate that Smaragdus himself may have compiled the *Glosae* in the process of writing his *Expositio Regulae*: turning a card box (or a database) into a monograph. If this were the case – which future studies could bring to light – the *Glosae* and the *Expositio* would give unique access to the way a Carolingian scholar read, selected and processed the patristic basis for his own understanding of the *Regula Benedicti*. Matthieu van der Meer is currently analysing subtle differences between the *Glosae* and the *Expositio*, particularly on the questions of grace and the justification of works. These subtle differences, generally moving away from a stricter notion of justification through grace towards a stronger emphasis on the salutary effect of monastic life and discipline, may shed new light on the theological grounding of Carolingian monastic reform.

Smaragdus's *Expositio regulae* consists of three books. The first two discuss the prologue and the first seven chapters of the *Regula Benedicti*, the parts that received relatively little attention from Benedict of Aniane. For its third book, Smaragdus did not find much useful material in the *Glosae*. Instead he used Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia regularum* and selected those parallels from other rules he considered the most significant. If we accept that Smaragdus wrote his *Expositio Regulae* in the context of the Aachen reform synods, which he had attended himself, it is surprising how 'apolitical' this work actually was. Aside from one side-remark on incompetent abbots and a

[19] J. Semmler, 'Die Beschlüsse des Aachener Konzils 816', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 74 (1963), 15–82.

clear statement in favour of following the liturgical *ordo* laid out in the *Regula Benedicti*, Smaragdus did not take a strong position with regard to any of the reform topics and did not make much effort to reconcile the *Regula Benedicti* with the monastic practice in his world. He emphasised reading the text as a source of monastic spirituality rather than a straightforward monastic norm.

Hildemar of Corbie's *Expositio Regulae*, a massive sentence-by-sentence commentary to the *Rule*, is the most puzzling of all the texts that interact with the *Regula Benedicti* – and it is again Mayke de Jong's achievement to have introduced this text as a key source for understanding Carolingian monasticism.[20] Hildemar received his training in Corbie and later became a *magister noviciorum* at the monastery of Civate. His task was to teach novices about the *Regula Benedicti*, and probably also to export the monastic practice of his home monastery to Civate. He used none of the previous commentaries. Like Smaragdus, Hildemar showed a strong interest in the 'theological' sections of the *Regula Benedicti* (prologue, Chapters 4 and 7), which cover about a third of the commentary. Still more than 400 pages addressed indiscriminately all the other chapters of the *Regula Benedicti*. Hildemar supported some of his insights with lengthy quotations from patristic sources (particularly from Isidore of Seville, Cassiodorus and Gregory the Great), though the *sancti patres* did not play as prominent a role as in Smaragdus. Other monastic rules – which were so important to Benedict of Aniane – are virtually absent in Hildemar's work.

Hildemar's approach to the *Regula Benedicti* is much less systematic than that of previous commentators. Large parts of his commentary provide little more than word explanations, fictitious dialogues, rhetorical questions and endless paraphrases that add very little to the content. Then there are sections in which Hildemar addresses the text – often more inventively than Smaragdus – as a theological treatise using the works of the *sancti patres* as the basis for his own reflections. On other occasions, often unexpectedly and at odd places, Hildemar embarks on lengthy digressions that bring us closer to life and practice in a Carolingian monastery than any other text, talking about dietary restrictions, prevention of sodomy, monastic dress codes or the distribution of soap. Moreover, he describes rituals, for example for monastic entry or the return from a journey, that are much more sophisticated than those laid out in the *Rule* itself. Some of these excurses address topics not covered in the *Rule*, while others explain why the *Rule* could not be followed to the letter, or detail the specific practice at Hildemar's home monastery. Sometimes Hildemar shows full awareness of the topics addressed at the reform councils and takes positions on those that had become contested. Two recurring themes are Hildemar's anxiety over abbatial abuse of power and the importance of rituals. Here he often vastly enlarges the perimeters provided by the *Regula Benedicti*.

[20] M. de Jong, 'Growing up in a Carolingian monastery: magister Hildemar and his oblates', *Journal of Medieval History* 9 (1983), 99–128.

It seems that Hildemar did not strive for much consistency in his approach to the *Regula Benedicti*. Sometimes he reads it in the context of late ancient asceticism, particularly John Cassian's ideas of striving towards monastic perfection. At other places he exhibits a very ritualistic view of monastic life that disregards the individual monk's inner disposition. Sometimes he is bluntly pragmatic, explains why it does not make sense to follow the *Rule* and explains an alternative way to proceed. Still, in the 850s, there is not yet any sense of a strictly normative understanding of the *Regula Benedicti*. It seems that Hildemar was more than willing to downplay those aspects of the *Rule* that he did not consider particularly relevant while at the same time showing great understanding of the theological dimensions of monastic life.

Despite their differences, all four commentaries on the *Regula Benedicti* have two things in common. Firstly, they claim to engage with the *Regula Benedicti* in its entirety. Even though all four commentators have different emphases, they imply that the *Regula Benedicti* must be treated as one work, as a unity and not just as an assemblage of more or less suitable and agreeable regulations. Secondly, all commentators share a complete disinterest in the author of the *Regula Benedicti* and the narrative tradition around him. Gregory's *Vita* of Benedict in the second book of his *Dialogi* is not used as an authority by any of the commentators, possibly out of fear that the *vita*, the exemplary behaviour of individuals, may undermine the authority of the *regula*.

Selective reading

One of the secrets of the success of the *Regula Benedicti* was that the text could mean everything to everyone and that it could easily be used to support different, sometimes even incompatible reform agendas. Numerous acts of councils and royal *capitularia* between 742 and the great reform councils of 816 and 817 address the use of the *Regula Benedicti* or impose on monks and nuns the requirement to live *regulariter*, *secundum regulam* or following the *sancta regula*. On the one hand, there is Charlemagne's request to explain whether there were other monastic norms at all, and which rules monks like St Martin followed, since they undoubtedly lived before Benedict.[21] On the other hand, there is evidence of several initiatives to send out the *Regula Benedicti*, to inform monasteries of its existence and to investigate not only whether monasteries *follow* the *Regula Benedicti* but also whether they understand the text.[22]

[21] *Capitula tractanda cum comitibus episcopis et abbatibus* (*a.* 811), ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 161–2.

[22] *Interrogationes examinationis*, c. 10, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, p. 234; *Concilium Remense* (*a.* 813), c. 9, p. 255; *Concilium Cabillonense* (*a.* 813), c. 22, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 273–85, p. 278.

It may indeed be the case that monasteries in different parts of the *regnum* were exposed to the *Regula Benedicti* to different extents, but the acts of councils and *capitularia* also deploy a wide range of expressions of implementing the *Regula Benedicti* that are different enough not to assume a stable notion of normative observance.[23] The first one (from 742), *iuxta regulam sancti Benedicti ordinare et vivere*, belongs to the rather straightforward directives to follow the *Rule*, though it adds the notion of (abbatial) leadership according to the *Rule* (*ordinare*) – an aspect that returns in many later legal texts that focus on the abbot or abbess and his/her duty to exercise power *secundum regulam* but also the monastery's right to choose their leader *secundum regulam*.[24]

The next reference to the *Regula Benedicti* at the Council of Les Estinnes (743) emphasises another essential way of using the *Rule*. Monasteries *receperunt sancti patris Benedicti regulam ad restaurandam normam regularis vitae*.[25] Here the *Regula Benedicti* serves as a reform tool meant to restore a more abstract *norma regularis vitae*. In a similar fashion, the *Statuta Rhispacensia, Frisigensia, Salisburgensia* state that monks need to be educated in *ordo regularis vitae* as it is expressed in the *Regula Benedicti*.[26] Then, there are several references to performing or reforming specific aspects of monastic life according to the *Regula Benedicti*: abbots need to share sleeping quarters with their monks according to the *Regula Benedicti*; *cellararii* (supply keepers) need to be qualified for their task and elected according to the *Regula Benedicti*; monasteries should have *decani* instead of *praepositi* because that's what the *Regula* says.[27] None of these regulations claims that the *Regula Benedicti* should be followed entirely.

One specific regulation of the *Regula Benedicti*, the right of choosing the abbot from one's own ranks, may have strongly contributed to the willingness of monasteries to adopt this Rule. Royal charters of immunity and foundation charters of monasteries especially refer to the *Regula Benedicti* mostly in the context of the community's election right. Nevertheless, even councils that otherwise promoted the *Regula Benedicti* could at the same time dismiss the

[23] Semmler, 'Karl der Große', pp. 255–7.

[24] *Concilium Germanicum* (*a.* 742), c. 7, p. 4; *Quibus de rebus in synodo quadam provinciali tranctandum sit*, c. 5, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 236. See also Charlemagne's privilege for Aniane, *Vita Benedicti abbatis Anianensis*, c. 18, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SS* 15:1, 198–220, pp. 207–8.

[25] *Capitulare Liptinense* (*a.* 743), c. 1, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 27–8, p. 28. See also the Annals of Lorsch on the Council of Aachen (*a.* 802): *Concilium Aquisgranense* (*a.* 802), c. 25, p. 230; *Concilium Turonense* (*a.* 813), c. 25, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 286–93, p. 290.

[26] *Statuta Rhispacensia, Frisigensia, Salisburgensia* (*a.* 799–800), c. 19, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 226–30, p. 228.

[27] *Synodus Franconofurtensis* (*a.* 794), cc. 11 and 14, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 73–8, p. 75; *Concilium Moguntinense* (*a.* 813), c. 11, p. 263.

community's election right.[28] Another key aspect of monastic life for which the *Regula Benedicti* could provide arguments for both sides was the question of which liturgical *cursus* the monks should pray, the *Ordo Romanus*, the *cursus* laid out in Chapters 8 to 18 of the *Regula Benedicti* or any other *cursus*.

A number of *capitularia* listed in detail which chapters of the *Regula Benedicti* were to be followed or, at least, which were the most important. Yet it is striking that each of these *capitularia* singles out different chapters of the *Rule*.[29] This indicates a lack of unanimity on what it actually meant to implement the *Regula Benedicti*. The text (and its prestige) simply served as an instrument to push forward a variety of agendas.

The *Regula* as object

A third possible way of engaging with the *Regula Benedicti* was to turn it into an *object* that could be used outside a narrow normative framework. On an abstract level this happened by turning the *Regula Benedicti* into a *sancta regula* – a text that is in itself holy, thus beyond a plainly pragmatic use.[30] Carolingian sources refer to the *sancta scriptura* and, occasionally, to the *canones sancti*, but there is no other text besides the *Regula Benedicti* that is consistently called *sanctus*. Authors may have been *sancti* or *beati*, but that does not usually apply to their works. This emphasises again the enormous prestige of the *Regula Benedicti* and the very special position it held in the Carolingian world.

[28] *Synodus Franconofurtensis* (*a.* 794), c. 17, p. 76.

[29] *Duplex legationis edictum* (*a.* 789), cc. 1–14, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 62–4, p. 63, refer to *RB*, cc. 1, 2, 5, 21, 31, 52–4, 58, 59, 64 and 67; *Synodus Franconofurtensi* (*a.* 794), cc. 11–18, pp. 75–6, refer to *RB*, cc. 22, 31, 52 and 59; *Statuta Rhispacensia, Frisigensia, Salisburgensia* (*a.* 799–800), pp. 228–9, refer to *RB*, cc. 39, 58 and 67; *Concilium Moguntinense* (*a.* 813), cc. 11, 14 and 19, pp. 163–5, refer to *RB*, cc. 21, 57, 65 and 66. See also *Capitula ad lectionem canonum et regulae S. Benedicti pertinentia* (*a.* 802), c. 23, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 108–9: 'Si placet domno meo, legatur capitula VII. III. VI. VIII. LIX, LX et LXI id est "De generibus monachorum", "Qualis debet esse abba", "De obedientia discipulorum", "De disciplina suscipiendorum novitiorum", "De filiis nobilium vel pauperum qui offeruntur", "De sacerdotibus qui voluerint in monasterio habitare", et "De clericis seu et de monachis peregrinis"'. The chapter numbers do not correspond to the commonly used chapter numbers, which implies that the text may have referred to a different version of the *Regula Benedicti*.

[30] Some examples: *Pippini principis capitulare Suessionense* (*a.* 744), c. 3, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 28–30, p. 29; *Pippini capitulare papiense* (*a.* 787), c. 11, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 198–200, p. 199; *Capitularia missorum generale* (*a.* 802), c. 13, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 91–9, p. 93; *Concilium Moguntinense* (*a.* 813), cc. 11 and 13, pp. 263–4.

The most obvious form of 'objectifying' the *Regula Benedicti* was to look at the *Rule* as a physical object. There are no *Regula Benedicti*-relics similar to the venerable codex that Boniface had allegedly used to protect himself from the blows of Frisian robbers, but there is the supposed autograph of the *Regula Benedicti* that was owned by the community of Montecassino and served as a model for the 'exemplar' that Charlemagne had ordered be kept at his palace library. For the monks of Montecassino this autograph, allegedly saved by the monks when the monastery was destroyed by the Lombards, helped to bridge the long gap between the destruction of their monastery around 577 and its re-foundation in 711.[31] No other Carolingian book claimed its value and authority on the fact of having been written by the hand of its (saintly) author.

The extant early medieval manuscripts of the *Regula Benedicti* can tentatively be divided into two groups: very simple copies of the text, often combined with other works, clearly meant for everyday use; and highly elaborate copies, beautifully decorated and most carefully written. Examples of the second group would be the manuscript at Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 19408, written at the end of the eighth century in Tegernsee; the two ninth-century manuscripts of the *Regula Benedicti* at the Stiftsbibliothek St Gallen (Cod. 914 and Cod. 915); the *Regula Benedicti* preserved in the Universitätsbibliothek of Würzburg (M.p.th.q.22); or the tenth-century copy preserved in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (M. 642).[32] In addition, the oldest manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 1 from the early eighth century, was certainly not written as a text for everyday use or as a codex employed to memorise the *Rule* or to explain it to monks and novices turning the pages with sticky fingers. Those books were treasures and prestigious objects rather than collections of norms and rules – though, admittedly, more work needs to be done on the physicality of early medieval Rule manuscripts.

[31] *Epistola ad Regem Karolum de Monasterio Sancti Benedicti directa et a Paulo dictata*, ed. D. K. Hallinger and D. Wegner, *CCM* 1, 157–75, pp. 159–60. On the autograph see also Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* VI, c. 40, ed. L. Bethmann and G. Waitz, *MGH Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX*, 12–219, pp. 178–9. The only preserved copy is St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 914. See also the letter of Tatto and Grimalt to Reginbert, *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, Vol. II, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 5, 302; and Engelbert, 'Regeltext', p. 51.

[32] See B. Bischoff, 'Die ältesten Handschriften der Regula S. Benedicti in Bayern', *Studien und Mitteilungen des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 92 (1981), 7–16; M. Kloft, 'Die Reform der Klöster und der Benediktregel durch den karolingischen Hof im 8. Jahrhundert', in J. Fried (ed.), *794 – Karl der Große in Frankfurt am Main. Ein König bei der Arbeit* (Sigmaringen, 1994), 171–8.

Embodiment

Benedict of Aniane regarded the *Regula Benedicti* as the best possible summary of the *Regula patrum*; Smaragdus and Hildemar used it as a starting point for reflections on monastic spirituality and theology. None of them showed interest in the person of Benedict of Nursia or the potential insights drawn from his (or any saint's) exemplary life – and this applies to almost all texts related to the Carolingian monastic reforms. The impact of exceptional individuals and the power of exemplary acts may have been suspicious to Carolingian reformers who strove for the uniformity of monastic practice and a standardised understanding of the *Rule*.

The absence of narrative elements in normative texts does not, however, mean that they played no role in the context of monastic reforms. On the contrary: saints' Lives offered yet another important option for explaining the *Regula Benedicti* and bridging the gap between *Rule* and practice. Individuals and communities could 'embody' the *Regula*, and those who told their stories could powerfully convey how the *Rule* needed to be used and understood and could explain the differences between norm and life.[33]

Benedict of Aniane's hagiographer Ardo produced one of the most elaborate and complicated examples of a narrated Rule. An analysis of the techniques he applied to convey his view of the *Regula Benedicti* and Carolingian reform might provide a productive framework for analysing other Carolingian hagiographic texts.[34] In the prologue of the *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, Ardo places his work explicitly in the tradition of the *vitae patrum*. He states that the reader will encounter in his work just what he finds there, which makes Benedict of Aniane a true saint of his own time. What follows reads indeed to a large extent like a pastiche of motives from a wide range of previous hagiographic works: the *Vita Antonii*, *Vita Martini*, *Vita patrum Iurensium*, *Vita Radegundis*, *Vita Columbani* and Gregory of Tours's *Liber vitae patrum* leave abundant traces in the text. Motives from Gregory's stories about Benedict of Nursia appear as well, though they are not much more prominent than the other *vitae patrum*. Ardo does not – as we might expect – explicitly name Benedict of

[33] K. Hosoe, '*Regulae* and reform in Carolingian monastic hagiography' (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 2014) investigates this tension on the basis of a selection of Carolingian hagiographical texts.

[34] I provide a preliminary list of Carolingian saints' Lives using the *Regula Benedicti*, in A. Diem, 'Inventing the Holy Rule: some observations on the history of monastic normative observance in the Early Medieval West', in H. Dey and E. Fentress (eds), *Western Monasticism 'ante litteram'. The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2011), 53–84, pp. 55–56 nn. 14–15.

Aniane after Benedict of Nursia, although both show through their name that they were blessed (*benedictus*).[35] He is not a *Benedictus secundus*.

The *Regula Benedicti* plays a curious role in the *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*. Initially, Benedict of Aniane develops a somewhat ambivalent love of the text because his fellow monks were, unlike himself, unable to aspire to more demanding rules.[36] The idea that a monk should just *try* and *aspire* to live according to the *Regula Benedicti* remains present throughout the text.[37] Subsequently, Ardo describes Benedict of Aniane and his community as poor monastic enthusiasts who do indeed both imitate the acts of the *sancti patres* and 'perform' various aspects of the *Regula Benedicti*.[38] We read, quite straightforwardly, which aspects of the *Regula Benedicti* Ardo considered the most relevant.

Roughly in the middle of the text three fundamental changes take place. Benedict of Aniane submits his monastery to the control of Charlemagne who lavishly supplies the community and its founder with gifts, protects its

[35] Compare Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 1, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SS* 15:1, 198–220, p. 201 ('nomine et merito Benedictus') with Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* II, prologue 1, ed. A. de Vogüé, trans. P. Antin, *Grégoire le Grand. Dialogues*, SC 251, 260 and 265 (Paris, 1978–80), SC 260, p. 126 ('Fuit vir vitae venerabilis, gratia Benedictus et nomine').

[36] Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 2, p. 202.

[37] For example Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 37, p. 218.

[38] Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 2, p. 202: owning only two sets of clothes (*RB*, c. 55:10, SC 182, p. 620); no baths (*RB*, c. 36:8, p. 570); the *Rule* for beginners (*RB*, c. 73, pp. 672–4); education through example (*RB*, c. 64:16–19, SC 182, p. 652); role of the *cellararius* and care for the guests (*RB*, c. 31, pp. 556–60); responsibility for the salvation of others (*RB*, c. 2:34, SC 181, p. 450 and c. 64:7, SC 182, p. 650); c. 3. Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 2, p. 203: election of the abbot *uno animo parique consensu* (*RB*, c. 64:1–2, p. 648); measuring bread and wine, wine only at feast days (*RB*, cc. 39–40, pp. 576–80). Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 4, p. 203: hosting guests (*RB*, c. 53, pp. 610–16). Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 5, pp. 203–4: kitchen duties (*RB*, c. 35, pp. 564–6); monastic entry and giving up property (*RB*, c. 58:19–25, pp. 630–2). Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 10, p. 205: damage caused by monks leaving the monastery (*RB*, c. 58:28–9, p. 632). Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 16, p. 205: the arrogant *praepositus* (*RB*, c. 65, pp. 654–8). Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 16, p. 205: corporal punishment (*RB*, c. 2:28, SC 181, p. 448). Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 18, p. 207: election of the abbot (*RB*, c. 64:1–2, *SC* 182, p. 648). Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 21, pp. 208–9: no drinking during work (cf. *RB*, c. 50:5, p. 580). Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 21, p. 209: no *murmuratio* but constant prayer during work (e.g. *RB*, c. 53:16–18, p. 614). Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 21, p. 209: wine only on feast days (*RB*, c. 40:6, p. 580). Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 21, p. 209: vegetarianism (*RB*, c. 39:11, p. 578); abbot's care for the sinners (*RB*, c. 27, pp. 548–50). Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 41, p. 218: reading of the *vitae patrum* (*RB*, c. 42:3–4, p. 548).

possessions, and grants it immunity from any external interference – on the condition that the monks perform intercessory prayer for his family and the stability of the *regnum*.[39] Along with the integration into worldly power structures and the resulting fundamental economic changes, Benedict of Aniane implements a number of alterations in monastic practice. Initially the community of Aniane was barely surviving on the modest alms of nearby women. Its roofs were covered with straw and not with tiles. Benedict refused to use liturgical vestments of silk and only reluctantly replaced the wooden altar vessels with those of glass or silver-plated metal.[40] He strictly abstained from both wine and meat and hardly ever took a bath – not someone you want to have around at a royal court. The tiles, liturgical vestments and altar vessels return in the context of Charlemagne's takeover – and we can assume that Ardo deliberately juxtaposed the states of the monastery before and after this event: the newly built monastery of Aniane is covered with tiles and adorned with a splendidly decorated church that is described in great detail, and the saint now develops an elaborate taste for exquisite liturgical vestments while the altar vessels are of solid silver, worthy of performing the *opus Dei* properly.[41] Liturgical tools and vestments, so it seems, need to be adequate to pray for king and kingdom. The monastery is now, as we read no fewer than four times in Charlemagne's charter, a *locus sanctus* – a *place* rather than a community, and as such it needs to be splendid and adorned.[42]

The third fundamental change relates to the role of the *Regula Benedicti*. It is no longer the *Rule* that Benedict of Aniane and his community dutifully try to act out straightforwardly; it is now a text full of obscurities and secrets that needs to be studied, taught, discussed and explained. For this purpose Benedict of Aniane began comparing it to other rules and studying monastic practice at other places.[43] After this shift the steady stream of allusions to the *Regula Benedicti* in the *Vita Benedicti Anianensis* dries up. Other praiseworthy acts that are not endorsed by the *Regula Benedicti* move into the foreground, such as supporting the poor, redeeming captives and preaching to outsiders. Moreover, we find a new concern for purity, the proper handling of relics, liturgical discipline and the protection of monastic space, and a series of miracles taking place through the intercessory prayer of the community or at the graves of the martyrs housed in the monastery.[44]

[39] Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 18, pp. 207–8. The inserted charter, however, may not have been part of the original *Vita*.

[40] Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 4, p. 203; c. 5, p. 204.

[41] Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 18, p. 207.

[42] Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 17, pp. 205–6.

[43] Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 18, pp. 206–7; c. 38, p. 217.

[44] Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 19, p. 208; and cc. 25–8, p. 240.

According to Ardo, Benedict of Aniane aims at bringing monasteries back on to the path of the *vita regularis* and worked to spread the *norma salutifera*, but the basis for these efforts is now an obscure text that needs to be revealed and clarified. His knowledge of other rules, traditions and practices allows him to claim a monopoly on bringing its secrets to light. Towards the end of the *Vita Benedicti Anianesis* Ardo describes quite bluntly Benedict's view on the applicability of the *Regula Benedicti* to monasteries in Louis the Pious's empire: there are aspects to be followed; aspects monks and monasteries should *strive* to follow at their own discretion; aspects that are inapplicable; aspects that are not sufficiently addressed and need to be expanded upon; and, finally, topics that are crucial to a good monastic life, though not addressed in the *Regula Benedicti* at all. Ardo then inserts a short version of the *consuetudo* that, now sanctioned by Louis the Pious, should be followed by all monasteries and become part of the *norma salutifera*. This inserted text, which is entirely different from Benedict of Aniane's *Collectio capitularis* (the *una consuetudo* Benedict had drafted for the reform synod of 816), makes a strong point about the key function of Carolingian monasteries: intercessory prayer for the living and the dead, liturgical discipline, more refined and elaborated monastic rituals, and the protection of the monastic space.[45]

Despite all these changes, Ardo emphasises on several occasions that Benedict of Aniane, his ascetic standards and everything that makes him a true saint never changed despite his remarkable career, which began at the royal court and ended with his becoming a monastic member of a monasticised royal court. Benedict of Aniane, as described by Ardo, is certainly not the inflexible *Generalabt* who tries to force all monasteries within the range of his power mercilessly to follow *una regula* and *una consuetudo*.

Another particularly rewarding example of a 'narrated' *Regula Benedicti* is provided in Walahfrid Strabo's *Vita Galli*.[46] Aside from the short reference to the *libellus* given to the monks of St Gallen by King Pippin, Walahfrid does not mention the *Regula Benedicti* at all.[47] Nevertheless, he depicts Gallus and his community as the embodiment of the *Regula Benedicti* and, at the same

[45] Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 38, p. 216.

[46] See also A. Diem, 'Die *Regula Columbani* und die *Regula Sancti Galli*. Überlegungen zu den Gallusviten in ihrem karolingischen Kontext', in P. Erhart, F. Schnoor and E. Tremp (eds), *Gallus und seine Zeit. Leben, Wirken, Nachwirken* (St Gallen, 2015), 67–99.

[47] Walahfrid, *Vita Galli*, c. 10, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 4, 280–337, p. 320: 'Cum igitur ab Otmaro abate praesentatam Pippinus princeps accepisset epistolam, annuens petitioni fraternae, libellum, quem Benedictus pater de coenobitarum conversatione composuerat, eidem abbati tradidit et alia regiae dignitatis impertiens dona …'.

time, of the ideals of Carolingian monastic reforms. He develops a remarkably similar programme to Ardo's.

Walahfrid's agenda becomes clear if we compare his work with the *Vita Galli* written by his teacher Wetti (d. 824) only a couple of decades earlier. At first glance Walahfrid follows Wetti's outline of the life of Gallus so closely that it is hard to explain why he wrote a new *Vita Galli* at all instead of just a continuation that connected Gallus's life to the present. Yet if we move beyond the story line we see that Wetti's and Walahfrid's main characters represent rather different types of saints. Wetti's Gallus and his teacher Columbanus are traditional holy men, similar to those we find in the works of Gregory of Tours: pious, humble, strict, educated in the liberal arts, following the examples of the fathers who transmit their sweet teaching to those surrounding them. Zealous in offering his life to Christ Gallus performed miracles right from the beginning.[48] This is the material Walahfrid had to work with. His Gallus comes from noble stock. He is offered with a gift (*cum oblatione*) to Columbanus in order to embark upon a life of *disciplina regularis*, to perform *militia spiritalis* along with his fellow monks through *oboedientia* and by following the *exempla* of his superiors. Wetti's Gallus may have imitated the *sancti patres*, but Walahfrid's Gallus teaches them. Like a good Carolingian monk he receives his education within the walls of the monastery, he becomes proficient in the study of the holy Scriptures so that he can bring forth new and old insight, and excels in the study of grammar and the rules of metre. Everyone praises and admires him for his capacity to explain the secrets of the Scriptures, probably both the Bible and the works of the *sancti patres*. Thanks to his knowledge he is selected by consent of all and by order of Columbanus to go through all the steps of ordination in order to attain the priesthood as a good rule-abiding Carolingian monk would do. Through constant prayer, vigils and tears he aims to please God and soothe the eyes of the *supernus inspector* (how Carolingian can you go!) and is loved by everyone. Instead of performing miracles, he shows perfect liturgical discipline.[49] Walahfrid's Gallus represents, on the one hand, *intercessio*, education in the monastery, exegesis and *ordo*; and on the other hand, proper child oblation, *humilitas*, obedience, mutual love, discipline in prayer and Christian *militia*: a perfect blend of *Regula Benedicti* and Carolingian monastic ideals.

Moreover, Walahfrid discreetly inserted numerous references to the *Regula Benedicti* and to *vita regularis* in general: the entry of aristocrats to Luxeuil, Gallus's decision to join the heremitical life after gaining the explicit permission of the abbot, the care for the sick deacons Magnoald and Theodor (two members of Gallus's community), the willingness of Magnoald to perform an impossible task, the refusal to become bishop without the *permissum* and

[48] Wetti, *Vita Galli* I, c. 1, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 257.

[49] Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* I, c. 1, p. 285.

praeceptum of the abbot, the welcoming of the poor by the *cellararius* and the readings of the gospels during the *nocturnes secundum consuetudinum regularis officii*.[50] All of this is *regula* in action.

To be sure, Gallus and his community embody the *Regula Benedicti* (naturally, even without knowing it); yet, the author also uses them to legitimate contemporary practices and, more importantly, the transformation of the original poor and ascetic community to the grand, rich and powerful monastery of St Gallen as it exists in his day. Walahfrid provides his community with a story that links a perfect past with an equally perfect present.

Epilogue

Turning Gallus and his teacher Columbanus into monks who practise the *Regula Benedicti* but also act like perfect Carolingian monks makes sense in an unexpected way. If we look at Carolingian hagiographical production, we see a revival of narratives related to Columbanus, his foundations and his legacy. Walahfrid's and Wetti's *Vitae Galli* are by no means the only 'sequels' to Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Columbani* that were either produced or at least thoroughly revised in the Carolingian period. Other examples would be the Lives of Sadalberga, Anstrudis, Eligius, Germanus of Grandvalle and Wandregisl. All of them wait to be read and analysed in the context of Carolingian monastic reform.

Columbanus's works and the texts produced by his followers play no prominent role in Carolingian reform discourse. There was, it seems, no place for another *regula*. Yet if we try to find the roots of many aspects of Carolingian monastic life that clashed with the *Regula Benedicti*, we may come to the conclusion that the Columbanian tradition played a role at least as crucial in Carolingian monasticism as the *Regula Benedicti*. Columbanian

[50] The entry of aristocrats to Luxeuil: Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* I, c. 2, p. 286; *RB*, c. 59, SC 172, pp. 632–4 (not in Wetti). Gallus's decision to join the heremitical life after gaining the explicit permission of the abbot: Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* I, c. 9, p. 291; *RB*, c. 1:3–5, SC 171, pp. 436–8 (not in Wetti). The care for the sick deacons Magnoald and Theodor: Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* I, c. 9, p. 291; *RB*, c. 36, SC 172, pp. 570–2 (similar in Wetti). The willingness of Magnoald to perform an impossible task: Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* I, c. 26, p. 304; *RB*, c. 68, p. 664 (not in Wetti). The refusal to become bishop without the *permissum* and *praeceptum* of the abbot: Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* I, cc. 19–20, pp. 298–9; *RB*, c. 5, SC 171, pp. 464–8 (see also c. 4:61, pp. 460–2; c. 49:8, SC 172, p. 606; c. 54:1, p. 616; c. 70:6, p. 666). The welcoming of the poor by the *cellararius*: Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* II, c. 42, p. 335; *RB*, c. 66:3, p. 660 and esp. c. 53:15, p. 614. The readings of the gospels during the *nocturnes secundum consuetudinum regularis officii*: Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* II, c. 43, p. 335; *RB*, c. 9:8, p. 512.

monasteries – perfectly sanctioned by the saint himself – were richly endowed royal and aristocratic foundations populated by monastic and liturgical professionals right from the beginning. No other monastic Rule is as explicit about performing intercessory prayer for the outside world, for kings, kingdom and *stabilitas* as Columbanus's *Regula monachorum*, and no monastic Rule is as concerned about purity and the proper execution of rituals as the *Regula coenobialis*.[51]

If we are looking for a programmatic text describing the sacredness and inviolability of the monastic space and the idea of the monastery as an enclosed *locus sanctus*, we find it in Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Columbani*, which also shows how kings should cooperate with monasteries and how rulers and aristocrats can partake in monastic ideals (by material support and obedience to the moral standards established by the monks).[52] Carolingian royal charters remain modelled on the first privileges granted to Columbanian monasteries where we find the connection of living *regulariter*; being free of episcopal and royal interference; having the right to choose one's abbot; and the duty to pray for the ruler, political stability, and benefactors. Luxeuil and Corbie were among the monasteries whose *scriptoria* may have formed the basis for the Carolingian revival of learning, and Columbanus himself belonged to the few Merovingian monks who produced works of biblical exegesis. Columbanus and his successors criticised rulers, travelled to the court, mingled in politics, performed pastoral care, promoted penance, and established networks of monasteries and missionary outposts. Yet many of these Columbanian contributions to monastic life were probably too established, internalised and self-evident in the Carolingian world to give credit to the person who supposedly inspired them. Nevertheless, the *Regula Benedicti* promoted by Carolingian reforms might be best described as a '*Regula Columbani*' in disguise.

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[51] Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 7, ed. G. Walker, *Columbani opera* (Dublin, 1970), 122–43, p. 130.

[52] A. Diem, 'Monks, kings, and the transformation of sanctity. Jonas of Bobbio and the end of the holy man', *Speculum* 82 (2007), 521–59.

14

Reichenau and its *amici viventes*: competition and cooperation?

Régine Le Jan

In the ninth century religious and political domains were closely intertwined: empire was identified with *ecclesia* and the royal palace with the *sacrum palatium*.[1] As *miles Christi*, the emperor, in close cooperation with the bishops, was in charge of the Church – i.e. of Christian society and its salvation – while Carolingian elites, deeply filled by Christian values, were anxious about salvation. Church reform had been a constant preoccupation of Carolingian rulers since at least the middle of the eighth century; but reform can no longer be regarded from just a religious perspective or a political one.

For the eighth century, at least, giving to the saints was pursued as the best way to create bonds of friendship with religious communities, to be commemorated by monks and to obtain prayers for the soul. German historians recognised *memoria* as a central part of Carolingian culture, or, to use a Maussian expression, a 'fait social total'.[2] Praying for the dead was not a Carolingian invention, however, nor a duty for monks only, but Carolingian monasteries played a central part in *memoria*, creating an integrative superstructure, not only for monasteries and religious communities, but also for the elite. Some monasteries produced confraternity books, or *libri memoriales*, including entries of *amici* and benefactors: an enterprise related to the great reforming movement, passing through councils; *ordinationes*; capitularies; and moral, liturgical and exegetical writings on the one hand; through practical writings

[1] Brilliantly demonstrated in M. de Jong, *The Penitential State. Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge, 2009); and in her '*Sacrum palatium et ecclesia*: l'autorité religieuse royale sous les Carolingiens (790–840)', *Annales: histoire, sciences sociales* 58:6 (2003), 1243–69.

[2] See K. Schmid and J. Wollasch (eds), *Memoria. Das Geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter* (Münster, 1984); O. Oexle (ed.), *Memoria als Kultur* (Göttingen, 1995). J. Autenrieth, D. Geuenich and K. Schmid (eds), *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau (Einleitung, Register, Faksimile)*, *MGH Libri memoriales et necrologia*, n.s. 1.

on the other.[3] Like other liturgical books, the *libri memoriales* contributed to the ordering of Carolingian Christian society in general, and were instrumental in publicising specific social connections and networks, but at the same time they also reveal political competition at different levels. From that viewpoint, the *liber confraternitatum* of Reichenau certainly occupies a central place in Carolingian *memoria*.[4]

Reichenau was founded by Pirmin, a monk who probably came from Neustria, in 724. Its location on an island of Lake Constance made the monastery a neighbour of St Gallen, founded by Gallus, a disciple of Columbanus, in the seventh century.[5] The monastery developed very quickly, and, at the end of the eighth century it counted among the most famous Carolingian monasteries. Like other episcopal and monastic establishments, it was deeply influenced by the Council of Attigny in 762, when bishops and abbots promised to engage themselves with their priests and monks to pray for the dead of each other's communities. In 800, Abbots Werdo of St Gallen and Waldo of Reichenau came to such an agreement of confraternity, with great consequences for the involvement of memorial duties in both communities. In the next two decades, St Gallen, Pfäfers and Reichenau began writing confraternity books: St Gallen in 813, Pfäfers in about 820 and Reichenau from the year 824, under Abbot Erlebald. Each book was different; but Reichenau's book is the most impressive as an instrument of symbolic communication: it is a monument in itself.[6] The monks there were not the only ones to register lists of *amici*, both lay and clerics, men and women, for whom they committed themselves to pray in exchange for donations and favours.[7] Such entries were found in all the *libri*

[3] D. Geuenich, 'A survey of the early medieval confraternity books from the Continent', in D. Rollason, A. Piper, M. Harvey and L. Rollason (eds), *The Durham Liber vitae and Its Context* (Woodbridge, 2004), 141–7. G. Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas. The West Frankish Kingdom (840–987)* (Turnhout 2012).

[4] K. Schmid, 'Die Reichenauer Fraternitas und ihre Erforschung', in R. Rappmann and A. Zettler (eds), *Die Reichenauer Mönchsgemeinschaft und ihr Totengedenken im frühen Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen, 1998), 11–34, pp. 13–14.

[5] According to Hermann of Reichenau (1013–54), Pirmin founded the monastery of Pfäfers, in Churrätien, with monks coming from Reichenau, in 732, and both the Alsatian monasteries of Hornbach and Murbach too. Even if Pfäfers was close to Reichenau in the eighth and ninth centuries, the circumstances of its foundation are questionable. See R. Kaiser, *Churrätien im frühen Mittelalter. Ende 5. bis Mitte 10. Jahrhundert, 2nd rev. and expanded edn* (Basel, 2008), p. 140.

[6] Autenrieth, Geuenich and Schmid, *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau.*

[7] On the importance of lists, see K. Schmid and J. Wollasch, '*Societas et fraternitas*: Begründung eines kommentierten Quellenwerkes zur Erforschung der Personen und Personengruppen des Mittelalters', *FrSt* 9 (1975), 1–48.

vitae, and cartularies also served, at least partially, to commemorate benefactors, and were used in praying for their salvation. Reichenau's *liber*, however, is the only one set up in two parts: the first ninety-seven pages were intended for *capitula*, i.e. lists of communities with which abbots had come to agreements and exchanges; then follow two sections entitled *nomina amicorum viventium* and *nomina amicorum defunctorum*, which were composed at the same time as the first lists and written in the same hand. By comparison, the *liber viventium* of Pfäfers contained a list of *feminarum laicarum viventium*, probably a mirror of *hominum laicorum viventium*, but this gender-categorisation was made only in the latter part of the ninth century.[8]

At least thirteen of the fifty *capitula* in the Reichenau confraternity book corresponded to establishments bound at the time of Pippin the Short, as a consequence of the Council of Attigny.[9] In the ninth century, bonds with monastic (both male and female), canonical and priestly communities created a large network, much more supraregional than the networks observable in the confraternity books of St Gallen and Pfäfers.[10] As a map drawn up by Karl Schmid demonstrates, Reichenau's network extended over northern Italy and Rhetia in the south; Bavaria in the east; and Francia, Hesse and Alemannia in the west; with a centre in the region of Upper Moselle, Black Forest and Vosges: Reichenau's horizon was clearly an imperial one.[11] But its centrality did not only depend on its religious confraternity network, created in the decades around the year 800. The monastery was also involved in political networks, owing to its ability to connect with imperial elites and the royal court. Abbot Waldo (786–806), who combined this position with that of abbot of St Gallen (and, after 806, abbot of Saint-Denis, where he died in 814), and Abbot Heito (806–822/23), who was also bishop of Basel, were very influential personalities at the imperial court. Waldo belonged to a family related to Queen Hildegard, whose father Gerold was buried in the church choir of the monastery in the year 799. Bishop Heito undertook important diplomatic missions and should probably be seen as the mastermind behind the confraternity book, even if it was realised under his successor, Erlebald. I would like to demonstrate in this chapter that the lists of *amici, viventes et defuncti* reflected how such a royal

[8] A. von Euw, *Liber viventium Fabariensis. Das karolingische Memorialbuch von Pfäfers in seiner Liturgie-und-Kunstgeschichtlichen Bedeutung* (Bern/Stuttgart, 1989).

[9] K. Schmid and O. Oexle, 'Voraussetzungen und Wirkung des Gebetsbundes von Attigny', *Francia* 2 (1974), 71–122.

[10] K. Schmid, 'Wege zur Erschliessung des Verbrüderungsbuches', in Autenrieth, Geuenich and Schmid, *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, lx–lxiii.

[11] Schmid, 'Wege zur Erschliessung', p. lxi; for the connections to northern Italy and the southern parts of Rhetia, see U. Ludwig, *Transalpine Beziehungen der Karolingerzeit im Spiegel der Memorialüberlieferung, MGH Studien und Texte* 25, p. 128.

monastery was interacting with ruling elites, at different levels, and how such interactions were an essential part of its identity.

Royal family

Both sections of *amici* begin with the royal family, the first one –the living friends – at p. 98, the second –the dead benefactors – at p. 114:

> p. 98. *Hludowicus imp Hludharius imp Pippinus rex Hludowicus rex hludowicus iunior Iudith regina Karolus Kisala Bertha*
>
> p. 114. *Karolus maiordomus Pippinus rex Karlomannus maiordomus Karolus imp. Karlomannus Karolus rex Pippinus rex Bernardus rex Ruadrud Ruadheid Suanahil regina Bertha regina Hiltikart regina Fastrat regina Liutkart regina Ruadheid Hirminkar regina Lantfrid Hiltrud Adaltrud Deotdrat Hata.*[12]

Both lists complemented each other. As expected, living Carolingians were conducted by Emperor Louis the Pious, followed by his sons, each with his own title: Emperor Lothar, King Pippin (of Aquitaine) and King Louis (of Bavaria). Queen Judith, who married the emperor in February 819, was registered, and Bertha, sister of Emperor Louis, too. Neither Irmengard, who married Lothar in October 821, nor Hringart, the wife of Pippin, was registered. Some names were added a short time after the first entry: Louis the Younger, first son of Lothar and Irmengard, born in 825; Gisela, born in 821 and Charles, born in 823, children of Judith. As Irmengard's family, the so-called Etichonids, were closely associated with Reichenau, and as her father, Hugh, was the first count registered, her absence was an important act of symbolic communication. It presented the emperor and the queen as the centre of gravity of the imperial court without any place for another queen, or another royal couple, even for Lothar, co-emperor, and his wife Irmengard. Adding Louis, Gisela and Charles, however, changed the meaning of the list and must have been negotiated between Louis the Pious, his son Lothar and the empress Judith.

The second list (p. 114) is different. The first sixteen names were those of the Carolingian family, in order from its founding ancestor, Charles Martel, mayor of the palace, who died in 741, to the last dead woman, Empress Irmengard, the first wife of Louis the Pious. Charles Martel was followed by his two sons, King Pippin the Short and Carloman, mayor of the palace. Although Carloman was the elder one, he was registered after his brother, who became king. As Pippin and Carloman did not recognise Grifo as an heir to their father, although in fact he was, the monks did not mention him, nor Charles's illegitimate sons (Bernard, Ieronyme, Remi). Interestingly, Grifo's mother Swanahild

[12] Autenrieth, Geuenich and Schmid, *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, pp. 98 and 114.

was registered as a queen, which she never was … In the next generation, Charlemagne, the elder of Pippin's sons, appeared as emperor, but the monks did not grant Carloman the title of *rex*, although he died as a king in 771, and his wife's name was omitted from the women of the royal family. Entries really served to concentrate symbolic power on/within the lineage of Charlemagne. The next two names refer to legitimate sons of Charlemagne: Charles the Younger, the elder son, died in 811, and Pippin of Italy died in 810. They are both designated as *rex*. Pippin was followed by his son Bernard, king of Italy, who died in 818, after he had been condemned by his uncle, Emperor Louis the Pious. He was registered as *rex*, which confirms that the section was written after the rehabilitation of Bernard and the public penance of the emperor at Attigny, in 822. These observations demonstrate how deeply the book was connected with Carolingian political values and how it emphasises relations between Reichenau, Pippin, and Bernard's family and northern Italy.

Carolingian deceased wives have been registered after men: Rotrud, Ruadheid and Swanahild, wives of Charles Martel; Bertrada, wife of Pippin the Short; Hildegard, Fastrad and Liutgard, wives of Charlemagne; Rothais, wife of Pippin of Italy; Irmingard, first wife of Louis the Pious. The case of the Bavarian princess Swanahild, third wife of Charles Martel, is to be noted, as she was recognised as a *regina*, a queen, while Charles himself was just mayor of the palace. The monks also mentioned Rothais, Pippin of Italy's wife, as *regina*, but at some point the word *regina* was erased from the manuscript, maybe because she was not recognised as a legitimate wife. That Swanahild was given the title *regina* above all emphasises how important the Agilolfingian wife of Charles Martel was to the memory of Reichenau. This could also explain why the monks were registering one Lantfrid, immediately after the royal family itself. I suggest that he was the duke of the Alemannians who died in 730. He was probably placed right after the Carolingians because the monks considered him to have taken part in founding their monastery, together with Charles Martel, in 724. The list could therefore be read as going from one founder, Charles Martel, to the other, Lantfrid. As such it illuminates the central place of Swanahild among the Carolingian wives, because Lantfrid was her uncle and she was a mediator between both families, a place and a role Reichenau was also claiming.

Five women were registered after Lantfrid: Hiltrud, Ruadheid, Adaltrud, Deodrat and Hata. Four of them were members of the royal family: the first three may have been daughters of Charlemagne who all died before 820; Deodrat may have been a daughter of Pippin of Italy. The last one, Hata, is not identified.[13] A last name, Imma, was written in another hand. At least two members

[13] If Hata was a hipochoristic form for Adula, she may have been another daughter of Pippin of Italy; the daughters of Pippin had been housed at the court of Charlemagne, after the death of their father.

of the Alemannian ducal family bore this name: a sister of Duke Lantfrid and the mother of Swanahild, Queen Hildegard's mother. The Agilolfingian family was registered on p. 115: 'Lantfridus dux' (duke of Alemannia, founder of Reichenau), 'Deotpold' (Theodebald, his brother), 'Liutfrid' (from the same family), 'Uatilo' (Odilon, duke of the Alemannians and the Bavarians), 'Hiltrude' (his wife, daughter of Charles Martel and step-daughter of Swanahild), 'Tessilo' (Tassilon III, duke of the Bavarians, their son) and 'Heresint', followed by Alemannian counts. All this underlines the importance that the monks of Reichenau attached to the former ducal family, as founders and benefactors of the community. The list was apparently organised to bring together the descendants of Charles Martel and of Lantfrid, an enterprise that can be compared with Thegan's genealogy of Emperor Louis. In his biography of Louis, Thegan related that Louis descended from Bishop Arnulf of Metz and Charles Martel on his paternal side, and from Duke Gottfried, to whom Lantfrid was related, on his maternal side. The list had to demonstrate Reichenau's connections with Carolingians and Agilolfingians. The monastery was constructing its own past and its identity, and was presenting itself as leading mediator in great Carolingian politics.

Order and centrality

Let us turn back to pp. 98 and 99. Initially, the monks divided p. 98 into four columns: royal family, bishops, abbots and priests. The first name of each column was written on the same line, and by the same hand. A list of counts was written in the first column of p. 99, on the same line, in another hand, contemporary with the other one. Each column has been completed, sometimes very quickly, as for the additions of Louis the Younger, Charles and Gisela around 825; then a lot of entries have been added – above, below, between columns, in the margins and on the following folios.

What monks had initially planned on pp. 98 and 99 represented the ordered Christian society, even if the additions may give an impression of confusion. Christian society was led by Carolingian rulers and their *ministri*, both ecclesiastical and lay magnates. Under the influence of Pseudo-Dionysius's writings, earthly hierarchy must correspond to the heavenly one. In this world, bishops, abbots and priests formed the *ordo clericorum et monachorum*, and counts the leading part of the *ordo laicorum*. The book initially registered twenty-three bishops, nine abbots and four priests, and then sixteen counts, conforming to the ecclesiastical and lay hierarchy. Constructing the list of their living *amici*, monks produced a mirror for the ruling elite, an act of symbolic communication comparable to palaces and monasteries, images of rulers in the great Bibles, writings of *specula* or poems, and finally ceremonies at court.[14]

[14] I. Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World (c. 751–877)* (Leiden/Boston, MA, 2008).

Carolingian rulers amply used symbolic communication and visual supports to strengthen a political construction, which remained fragile.[15] For understanding the political significance of the list of Reichenau's living friends, we have to compare it with texts written at the same time, especially with Ermold the Black's poem for Louis the Pious, describing royal ceremonies. The poem was written around 828, before the first great crisis of the reign of Louis the Pious, during Ermold's exile at Strasbourg, and it would serve its author in regaining him royal favour. Grand ceremonies at court were described as theatrical performances, the meaning of which was established in the interactions between actors and public. We only know ceremonies through written descriptions, but writings were part of a mirror game, with its own sense and performativity, because they had to be read in public: through an intersubjective and socially defined relation between narrative and reading, they became a text with its recreated – partly real, partly imagined – truth, but no less 'true' than the feelings of actors and spectators.[16] Reichenau's list can fruitfully be compared with Ermold's description of Pope Stephen IV's *adventus* at Reims in 816: Emperor Louis assigned clerics, people and nobles their right place (*clerum populumque senatum*); he arranged, ordered and decided who would be placed at his right and who at his left, who would walk just behind him and who farther behind. On his right, the crowd of priests extending in a long line would walk singing Psalms and devoutly turning their eyes to the king. On his left, he had the elite of princes and the most powerful elders of the empire. Behind came the people. At the front of the procession, with the elite of the *proceres*, the emperor himself glistened with precious stones, and even more with his piety.[17] Ermold expressed how the Carolingian elite represented the world, as an ordered and hierarchical society; each was in his place: the emperor and the *proceres*; clerics and lay people, associated with royal *ministerium*; and behind them the *populus*. It was them that the protection of Christ was called for in the *Laudes regiae:* the pope and the bishops, the emperor and his family, the clergy, the *principes*, the judges and the army.[18] The monks of Reichenau shared the same world representation: the royal family, led by the

[15] M. Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages. The Middle Rhine Valley, 400–1000* (Cambridge, 2000); M. Gravel, *Distances, rencontres, communications. Réaliser l'empire sous Charlemagne et Louis le Pieux*, Haut Moyen Âge 15 (Turnhout, 2012).

[16] F. Gaudez (ed.), *La culture du texte*, Vol. II: *Approches socio-anthropologiques de la construction fictionnelle* (Paris, 2010), p. 12.

[17] Ermoldus Nigellus, *In honorem Hludovici pii christianissime caesaris augusti*, ed. and trans. E. Faral, *Poème sur Louis le Pieux et Épîtres au roi Pépin*, Les classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Âge 14 (Paris 1964), pp. 68–9.

[18] E. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae. A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley, 1946).

emperor and his sons, was closely bound to bishops, abbots and priests on the one hand, and to counts on the other. Together they formed the governing elite: its divine ordering and earthly authorities blended into heavenly hierarchy.[19] Both texts imposed the same idea of hierarchy and unity, which was the centre of Carolingian ideology.

It is clear that each list of *ministry* was carefully structured, at least for the earliest part. An important question for our purpose is to ask if individuals were classified according to their closeness with the monastic community or according to their relation with the first one on the list, or for other reasons.

Eighteen bishops were registered: Ratold (of Verona), Adalhelm (of Châlons?), Wolfleoz (of Constance), Noting (of Vercelli), Victor (of Chur), Petrus (of Arrezzo), Aldebert (of Milan), Benedict (of Angers), Ebbo (of Reims), Betto (of Langres), Teotbert (of Marseille), Adalhelm (of ?), Stabilis (of Clermont), Bernold (of Strasbourg), Waldker (of?), Otrich (of ?), Badurich (of Regensburg) and Inchad (of Paris). Bishop Ratold heads the list, where we would have expected Wolfleoz, the bishop of nearby Constance, but Reichenau had obtained exemption from episcopal authority. Ratold, bishop of Verona in northern Italy, had close links to Reichenau: of Alemannian origin, he had been a monk at the monastery, as had Egino and Noting, his predecessor and successor on the bishop's seat of Verona.[20] Indeed, Verona was located on a major road into Alemannia, especially to St Gallen and Reichenau, and most of its bishops were Alemannians. Furthermore, Ratold had for a long time been chaplain to King Pippin of Italy and was an important member of Louis the Pious's entourage. He was one of those who handed over Bernard of Italy to Louis the Pious, in 817.[21] His heading the list was due to the relations between Reichenau and the seat of Verona, and to the close personal links between Ratold and the monastery, as well as his fidelity to Emperor Louis. The second on the list, Adalhelm, is probably to be identified with the bishop of Châlons-en-Champagne of the same name (*c.* 809–35), who was present at the Council of Paris of 829 among the bishops of the Reims province.[22] Adalhelm/Adelhelm is a name belonging to the Rupertian group, of the middle Rhine, with connections in Thuringia and

[19] D. Iogna-Prat, 'Penser l'Église, penser la société après le Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite', in D. Iogna-Prat, F. Bougard, and R. Le Jan (eds), *Hiérarchie et stratification sociale dans l'Occident médiéval (400–1100)*, Haut Moyen Âge 6 (Turnhout, 2008), 55–82.

[20] Ludwig, *Transalpine Beziehungen*, pp. 130–1.

[21] Ph. Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux (781–840)* (Sigmaringen, 1997), no. 225, pp. 358–60.

[22] If he cannot have been the just-deceased Bishop Adalhelm of the *Visio Wettini*, with Charlemagne and Abbot Waldo – because the *Visio* was written in 824–25 – he may have been one of his relatives.

Alemannia.[23] Wolfleoz, bishop of Constance, is mentioned in third place, just before Noting, bishop of Vercelli in Italy, and Victor, bishop of Chur, third of his name, a member of the important dynasty of the Victorids, who founded the monastery of Pfäfers and occupied the seat of Chur during the eighth century. Chur was located on the road from Lake Constance to the plain of the Po River and the Vercelli–Verona road.[24] Since the *divisio* of 806, Alemannia, Rhetia and northern Italy had belonged to the same (sub-?) kingdom. Through their seats and their personal bounds, these bishops belonged to the same Alemannian–Italian network, closely linked to Reichenau. Other names reveal links to the Loire region (Angers), to Burgundy (Langres) and to the Île de France (Paris). To conclude, Bishop Ratold is mentioned as the first in the list because of his origin, his friendship with the monks and his place in the Alemannian–Italian network, but also because of his *Königsnähe* and his membership of the court.

Let us now look to the column in the confraternity book listing abbots. Abbot Hilduin of Saint-Denis is head of the list. Saint-Denis was of course one of the most prestigious royal monasteries, and Hilduin's predecessor Waldo was a former Reichenau monk. Hilduin was also abbot of the monasteries of Saint-Médard in Soissons, Saint-Germain des Près and Salonnes. As arch-chaplain he was one of the most influential counsellors of Emperor Louis. His position at court was very strong because of his family background: Hilduin and his brother, Count Gairoldus, were related to Queen Hildegard, and their mother bore the same name, Beletrud, as Swanahild's aunt. Einhart, the second in the list, is well known as Charlemagne's biographer. He was abbot of Saint-Peter in Ghent, Fontenelle and other monasteries. He was very close to Benedict of Aniane, the great reformer of Carolingian monasteries, who had died only a few years before the confraternity book was composed. In another entry in the book, Einhart appeared together with Helisachar, the third abbot on the list.[25] Helisachar was of Aquitanian origin, like Benedict of Aniane. He was abbot of Saint-Aubin of Angers, and entertained close links with Fridugise and with Hugh and Matfrid, the two

[23] Williswinda, who founded the monastery of Lorsch with her son Count Cancor in 764, was a daughter of Count Adalhelm, and the name passed through their descent. See R. Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc (VII^e–X^e siècle). Essai d'anthropologie sociale* (Paris, 1995), pp. 53, 213, 440; Innes, *State and Society*, p. 55.

[24] See D. Geuenich, 'Regionale und überregionale Beziehungen in der alemannischen Memorialüberlieferung der Karolingerzeit', in I. Eberl, W. Hartung and J. Jach (eds), *Früh-und-hochmittelalterlicher Adel in Schwaben und Bayern*, Regio. Forschungen zur schwäbischen Regionalgeschichte 1 (Sigmaringendorf, 1988), 197–216, p. 203; Kaiser, *Churrätien im frühen Mittelalter*.

[25] *Libri confraternitatum Sancti Galli Augiensis Fabariensis*, I, 9, 4, ed. P. Piper, *MGH Antiquitates, Necrologia Germaniae* 5, p. 11.

counts who headed the list of secular magnates among the living friends of the monks. Fridugise was arch-chancellor; abbot of Saint-Riquier, Saint-Bertin and Saint-Martin de Tours (where a brother of Abbot Waldo of Reichenau was a monk); and also active at the royal court.[26] Grimald was not yet abbot of Wissembourg and St Gallen, honours he obtained respectively before 833 and in 841, but he belonged to a prestigious family in the Sarre-Moselle region, and was already chaplain to Emperor Louis and connected to Reichenau, where he studied under the control of his relative Wetti, schoolmaster of the monastery. Apollinarius was abbot of Flavigny in Burgundy, a monastery entertaining long-standing connections with Reichenau, because Pirmin's closest relatives lived in Flavigny.[27] The following name in the list of abbots is Wala. He was registered without the title of abbot, because at this point he was not yet abbot of Corbie but a monk, and a very powerful man in Italy, beside Lothar.[28] Aldric has been abbot of Ferrières-en-Gâtinais from 821 to 828, before he became archbishop of Sens. He was close to Pippin of Aquitaine. All abbots on the list, therefore, were influential figures at court, close to the emperor and his sons; they were mostly active in the west, more than in Alemannia and Italy. Hilduin, the first one on the list, was clearly the most powerful of them, the leader.

To conclude this long enumeration, all the bishops and abbots mentioned in the list were closely connected to Reichenau, sometimes because they had been oblates and monks in the monastery, or because they had studied at its school; sometimes because they belonged to a family with close ties to the monastery, or because their *ministerium* was located in its area of influence. There are, however, differences between the episcopal and the abbatial network becoming visible in the lists: the episcopal list was orientated towards Italy and Rhetia, with links to Francia. The abbatial list was directed to the west. In both cases, the first name seems to have given the group its main orientation and identity.

The list of counts on p. 99 recorded sixteen individuals as counts: 'Huc com, Mathfridus com, Richuinus com, Erchanker com, Albkar com, Cotafrid com., Theotricus com, Lantfrid com. Tiso com., Karaman com, Baldrich com, Erchanbald com., Hemminc com., x com, x com'. The list is headed by Hugh. He was a member of the former Alsatian ducal family, the Etichonids,

[26] A. Zettler, 'Fraternitas und Verwandschaft: Verbindungen und Wirkkräfte des Austauschs zwischen frühmittelalterlichen Klöstern', in H. Keller and F. Neiske (eds), *Vom Kloster zum Klosterverband. Das Werkzeug der Schriftlichkeit* (Münster, 1997), 101–17, p. 113.

[27] A. Angenendt, 'Kloster und Klosterverband zwischen Benedikt von Nursia und Benedikt von Aniane', in Keller and Neiske, *Vom Kloster zum Klosterverband*, 7–35, p. 30.

[28] Wala became abbot of Corbie in 826.

who had founded the monastery of Murbach with Pirmin. Pirmin had been a link between both monasteries and the founders. From that viewpoint, it is not surprising that Hugh appears at the head of the list. Since the end of Charlemagne's reign, he had been one of the most powerful magnates at Court. In 811, he was ambassador in Rome with Bishop-Abbot Heito, and he witnessed Charlemagne's testament. At the beginning of the reign of Louis the Pious, he was established as count of Tours and Sens, both strategic positions, although his possessions were mainly located in Alsace – where his daughter Irmengard received her *dos* from Lothar – and in Alemannia.[29] The marriage of his daughter to Lothar in February 821 was a masterstroke. Matfrid, the second on the list, was his brother-in-law. Of Austrasian origin, he was made count of Orléans at the beginning of the reign of Louis, and although he had no official function at court, just like Hugh, he was so powerful that Archbishop Agobard of Lyon reproached him for being a screen between the emperor and the others.[30] He was involved in Alsatian questions too. Ricuin, the third man on the list, was another powerful magnate: he was count in Thurgau.[31] He may be the same person as Count Rihwin of Padua, who in 814/15 was appointed to escort the Byzantine legates back home in the company of the bishop of Reggio.[32] Erchanker (Erchangar) had his office in Alp-and-Breisgau and in Alsace, and his brother Worad was count of Verona.[33] Emperor Louis the Pious confirmed an exchange of land in Alsace between him and Bishop Bernold of Strasbourg, at the request of Matfrid in 823.[34] All three were registered among the living *ministri*. Albkar/Alpker, son of Autcherius/Autcharius *de finibus Alamanniae*, count in Alemannia, was also linked to Frioul, as *dux* in Carinthia.[35] He was close to Duke Balderich and had been *baiolus* of Adelaide,

[29] R. Le Jan, 'Douaires et pouvoirs des reines en Francie et en Germanie (VIe–Xe siècle)', in R. Le Jan, *Femmes, pouvoirs et société dans le haut Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2001), 68–88.

[30] Ph. Depreux, 'Le comte Matfrid d'Orléans (av. 815–836)', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 152 (1994), 331–74.

[31] M. Borgolte, *Die Grafen Alemanniens in merowingischer und karolingischer Zeit. Eine Prosopographie* (Sigmaringen, 1986), 206–9.

[32] G. Tellenbach, 'Der grossfränkische Adel und die Regierung Italiens in der Blütezeit des Karolingerreiches', in G. Tellenbach, *Studien und Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte des grossfränkischen und frühdeutschen Adels*, Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte 4 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1957), 40–70, pp. 65–6.

[33] For Erchanker see Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 105–9; for Worad, Tellenbach, 'Der grossfränkische Adel', pp. 64–5.

[34] J.-D. Schoepflin (ed.), *Alsatia diplomatica*, Vol. I (Mannheim, 1772), no. 87, p. 71.

[35] Tellenbach, *Der grossfränkische Adel*, p. 58–60. Borgolte, *Die Grafen*, p. 46–8; Alpker is mentioned in Walahfrid Strabo, *Carmina*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Poet. lat.* 2, 259–422, p. 409.

one of the daughters of Pippin of Italy. Cotafrid/Gotafrid may be related to Matfrid, whose daughter had a son, called Godfrid. Teotricus (Thiotrich) had his office in *Bertholdisbar*, an Alemannian county, and appears in an entry of St Gallen with Rihchini (Richuinus).[36] Lantfrid was count in Alemannia.[37] His name belonged to the onomastic patrimony of the former ducal Agilolfingian family. Tiso was another Alemannian count, as attested by charters of St Gallen, just like the next person on the list: Count Karaman/Caraman, who can probably be identified as the *dux* in Italy.[38] Caraman, Erchanger and Rihwini appear together in a charter of St Gallen, dated 817.[39] The next count, Baldrich/Balderich, is the well-known duke in Frioul. He had been *legatus imperatoris* against the Danes in 815 and *dux Foroiuliensis* since 819.[40] He was discharged with Hugh and Matfrid at Aachen in 828. Erchanbald/Erchanpold was count in Alemannia and appears frequently in the charters of St Gallen between 824 and 834.[41] Hemming (Hamming) was another count in Alemannia, close to Count Chadaloh, a member of the Alaholfingian family.[42] The two last names are illegible.

All counts on the list, except Hugh and Matfrid, were of Alemannian origin and held office in Alemannia and/or Italy. Some were related to the former ducal family in Alemannia or to the Alaholfinger. Hugh and Matfrid had family possessions and connections in the same area, and entertained close connections with the same persons as well as with the monks of Reichenau, but their *honores* were located in the Loire region: they were members of the *Reichsaristokratie*. In fact, *honores* were important for these magnates, but

[36] H. Wartmann (ed.), *Urkundenbuch der Abtei Sanct Gallen*, Vol. I: *700–840* (Zurich, 1863), no. 220. Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 244–5; *Libri confraternitatum Sancti Galli*, I, 24, 20, pp. 15, 14.

[37] Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch*, Vol. I, no. 310; Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 175–6.

[38] For Tiso, see Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch*, Vol. I, nos 236, 237, 240, 269, 294. Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 246–7. For Caraman, Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch*, Vol. I, no. 230 (817). Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 157–9; he is found with Liutfrid in five entries of the *liber* of Reichenau (Tellenbach, 'Der grossfränkische Adel', p. 65). Liutfrid is associated with Erchanpold com., Lantfrid com. and Erchanker in another entry of the *Liber* (*Das Verbrüderungsbuch*, Cod. Aug. I, 497, p. 120). Liutfrid and Lantfrid are names of the Agilolfingian family.

[39] Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch*, Vol. I, no. 226.

[40] Depreux, *Prosopographie*, no. 41, p. 119.

[41] Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch*, Vol. I, nos 278, 284, 285, 286, 288, 317, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 332, 336, 337, 340, 341. Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 101–2.

[42] M. Borgolte, 'Die Alaholfingerurkunden: Zeugnisse vom Selbstverständnis einer adligen Verwandtengemeinschaft des frühen Mittelalters', in M. Borgolte, D. Geuenich and K. Schmid (eds), *Subsidia Sangallensia*, Vol. I (St Gallen, 1986), 287–322, pp. 315–16. Borgolte, *Grafen*, p. 140.

social relations, networks and heritages even more so. They were registered in the Reichenau confraternity book as members of the Alsatian and Alemannian elites, connected to Reichenau and Italy. We cannot know if they chose the followers with whom they were associated on the list, alone, or together with the monks. It is clear, however, that because of their position at court, their patrimony and networks in the east, and their offices and relationships in the west, Hugh and Matfrid had a central position and a pivotal role, probably like the one Hilduin occupied among the abbots.

Competing and cooperating: an unrealisable project?

Competition develops at all levels of society, but for the elite, competing was a matter of predominance and power. Kings had to maintain peace; they had to press their competitors to cooperate, a process for which we can use the sociological concept of 'coopetition', at least as an ideal: competition and cooperation must go hand in hand, on an equal footing, through negotiations and the avoidance or managing of conflicts.[43] Economists insist on the psychological dimension of coopetition in social games. The decision to collaborate with a player with whom one competes depends on trust, and trust is now considered to be the essential factor in determining social order and stability. It makes it possible to take risks and to overcome uncertainty when considering collaboration with partners who are also competitors.

It is not possible to understand how competition spread and organised the Carolingian elite without taking into account the ideal of cooperation developed by religious authorities. *Fides* – which combined fidelity, faith and trust – was the essential lubricant of Carolingian society. It gave meaning to relations among men, and to the relations between Christians and God. In fact, this social game was not played on a two-dimensional board, but took place within a three-dimensional structure, since natural and supernatural, earthly and divine were intimately connected. In such a cosmology, the king played an essential role, creating a climate of trust, able to stimulate cooperation among competing elites without putting salvation and peace at risk.

Royal monasteries were central places, where common values and identities were permanently reaffirmed and recreated, on supraregional, regional and local levels. Lists of *amici* emphasise Reichenau's bonds to the emperor, to the imperial family and to the court; they also demonstrate that such communities, just like the most powerful magnates, played a mediating role among the emperor, the kings, the court and other high-standing political actors, while taking part in the same political game.

[43] R. Le Jan, 'Les cérémonies carolingiennes: symbolique de l'ordre, dynamique de la compétition', in *Le corti nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane 62 (Spoleto, 2015), 167–95.

The imperial court had to be the most important of central places. It was a society in itself, with its own values, tensions and rifts – a place of competition and at the same time a place of cooperation. In the middle of the 820s it seemed to be well ordered, if one follows Ermold the Black, relating the luxurious ceremonies organised for the baptism of the Norman chiefs at Ingelheim in 826. After the baptism of Harald and the others, the emperor and his retinue were processing into Mass in the church. Emperor Louis advanced in the middle of his court: Hilduin was at his right, Helisachar at his left. Lothar and Harald followed behind. The young and handsome Charles cheerfully walked in front of his father. Then Empress Judith advanced, adorned with her royal dignity; two magnates of the court, Hugh and Matfrid, escorted her. Behind Judith followed Harald's wife, and then Fridugise, with his assistants. Arch-chaplain and abbot Hilduin, arch-chancellor Helisachar, Abbot Fridugise, and Counts Hugh and Matfrid, the first of the *amici* of Reichenau, were the most powerful magnates at the imperial court, the closest counsellors of the emperor. In fact, they were friends: their advancement began or accelerated at the beginning of Louis the Pious's reign and their offices were located in the Loire area, near the borders of Aquitania and northern Burgundy, where Pippin, son of Louis, had been installed as a king. They fought together against the Britons: with Count Lambert of Nantes, another magnate, whose family founded the monastery of Hornbach, with Pirmin, and who was also settled in Alsace. So, in terms of networking, Ermold's narrative emphasises the centrality of Reichenau and its linkage to imperial court.

In February 828, Hugh of Tours, Matfrid of Orléans and Balderich of Frioul were discharged of all their offices, because they were held responsible for the military defeats of the Franks against the Muslims and Slavs. Two years later they revolted against the emperor, after he had promoted Bernard of Septimania as *camerarius* and second in the empire, and had given a part of the empire, located in Alsace, Alemannia, Rhetia and northern Burgundy, to young Charles, Judith's son. These parts were taken out of Lothar's and Pippin's heritage. Thegan reported the names of those who went to Compiègne with Pippin of Aquitaine in May 830: Arch-chaplain Hilduin and Bishop Jesse of Amiens, Hugh and Matfrid, Abbot Elisachar, Gottfried, and a lot of 'perfidious men'.[44] They were close to Lothar and Pippin, and hostile to any change of the *ordinatio* of 817.[45]

[44] Thegan, *Gesta Hludowici imperatoris*, c. 36, ed. E. Tremp, *MGH SRG* 64, 167–278, p. 222.

[45] R. Le Jan, 'Aux frontières de l'idéel, le modèle familial en question?', in Ph. Depreux and S. Esders (eds), *La productivité d'une crise. Le règne de Louis le Pieux (814–840) et la transformation de l'Empire carolingien – Produktivität einer Krise. Die Regierungszeit Ludwigs des Frommen (814–840) und die Transformation des karolingischen Imperiums*. Relectio. Karolingische Perspektiven – Perspectives carolingiennes – Carolingian Perspectives 2 (Ostfildern, 2015), forthcoming.

The dominant party at court has been registered as *amici* of the community and *ministri* of the emperor, which they definitely were in 824–28. How was Reichenau situated with regard to these competitors? How did such a royal monastery encourage competing groups to cooperate? The three lists, of bishops, abbots and counts, differed from the entries in the confraternity book written in the margins. In a sense, they are comparable to the entries of associated monastic communties as friends of the monastery of Reichenau. Individuals were recorded with their titles of bishop, abbot or count, as *ministri* of the emperor. All of them were friends of the monks of Reichenau, but this was no complete list of all the friends of the monks among the bishops, abbots and counts. These lists were not neutral, they were steered by the 'top dogs' in the list, who integrated their friends and followers and excluded their competitors and enemies. This is particularly obvious in the list of counts.

None of Empress Judith's parents or friends was registered among the list of living counts conducted by Hugh and Matfrid. Although Judith's father Welf may not have been duke in Bavaria, as Thegan claims, and the Saxon connections of her mother were probably an important element for Louis the Pious's choice of wife, Count Welf certainly had interests in Bavaria and in Alemannia, where he may have had his office, and where some members of the family made donations to St Gallen.[46]

Even though Judith was empress, Abbot Erlebald did not list her brothers and cousins as counts, among other Alemannian counts. But they have been added on p. 98 in a later period, in relation to the royal list. In fact, that first column has been continued by several entries. At least two of them were related to the royal list: 'Heilwig, Chonrat, Ruadolf Ruadroh, Hemma, Morentio and Truago eps., Huc, Theotrich, Deoterat'. The second listed four half brothers and a sister of Emperor Louis, led by Archbishop Drogon of Metz. The first entry was that of Judith's family, led by a certain Ruadpreht, who may have been another brother of Judith's; he was followed by Heilwich, mother of the empress; Conrad; Rodolf and Ruadoh, her brothers; and Hemma, her sister. Because Hemma married Louis the German, son of Emperor Louis, around 828, the entry must be prior to the marriage.[47] Around 825, Lothar agreed to be godfather to Young Charles, and after the marriage of Hemma with Louis the German, Adelaide, sister-in-law of Lothar, married Conrad, Judith's brother. Marriage and spiritual kinship were the best way of creating bonds, of urging cooperation, in spite of competition.

Reichenau has played its role in this power game. As a holy place, it developed an ideal of fidelity and trust; as a central political actor, it maintained the balance of power in favour of the most powerful men of the empire, who were

[46] B. Schneidmüller, *Die Welfen. Herrschaft und Erinnerung (819–1252)* (Stuttgart, 2000), p. 48.

[47] If she had been married to Louis and thus had become queen, she would not have been inscribed with her mother and brothers.

its closest friends.[48] From their side, these magnates used the holiness and the centrality of the monastery to reinforce their position in competition. Adding the son of Lothar and Irmengard and the children of Judith to the royal list, entering Welf's family among their *amici* were acts of symbolic communication, with consequences in terms of politics. It probably came about in the years 825–26 and publicised an agreement or a compromise. It resulted from the royal capacity for reducing tensions and making cooperation among competitors easier, without changing the balance of power at court. In fact, before Hugh and Matfrid were excluded from the court and discharged from their offices, Judith's brothers and friends were almost absent from court, which remained dominated by the same group of men.

Conclusion

Reichenau was a holy and central place. In the 820s, its position was prominent because of its involvement in religious reform; its local, regional and super-regional networks; and its ability to concentrate symbolic capital. Its confraternity book is an extraordinary source for understanding how monastic identity was built up, how the past was used and the present interpreted in terms of social relations, and in terms of mediation between heaven and earth. Lists of *amici defuncti* gave the monastery a role as mediator, using its foundation to recreate a past of cooperation between Carolingians and Agilolfingians. Lists of *amici viventes* bound the monastery to imperial agents, or magnates, who were acting in different regions of the empire and were powerful at court; for a long time, it had been oriented to Italy. In the 820s, its confraternity book reflected its high degree of centrality. Both sections of *amici* denoted its ability to be a central player in the game of power; its network of *amici* was extended to the empire-*ecclesia*, even if its regional base was an essential part of its power. It contributed to instilling a climate of peace and trust, and to pushing competitors and rivals to cooperate for the stability of the empire, and the salvation of the Christian Franks.

Memorial structures slipped into the imperial mould, shaping the empire-*ecclesia*, with actors like Reichenau and its *amici*. But after 840, the empire disappeared as an integrative structure and, like other main royal monasteries, Reichenau suffered the political crisis of those years and the division of the empire. Alemannia was the object of competition between Louis the German and Lothar. After 833, the leaders of its *amici* turned to Lothar and

[48] In the 840s–850s, when Reichenau depended on the East Frankish Kingdom, it played an important role of mediation between the kingdom of Louis the German and the kingdom of Italy, as the entries of the monks of Reichenau in the *Liber* of Brescia indicate. Cf. Ludwig, *Transalpine Beziehungen*, pp. 147–53.

Italy, while the monastery was part of East Francia. After the death of Emperor Louis, Abbot Walahfrid turned to Lothar and had to leave his monastery, when Louis the German took control of Alemannia. Only after Louis and Lothar came to an agreement in the 840s could the monastery play a mediating role again, using its network of *amici* and pushing competitors to cooperate; but its scope of action was now reduced to East Francia and northern Italy.[49]

[49] Ludwig, *Transalpine Beziehungen*, pp. 150–3.

15

Monte Cassino and Carolingian politics around 800

Sven Meeder

Perhaps one of the earliest witnesses to a fundamental difference in Italian and French couture is a late-eighth-century letter from Monte Cassino. Its sharp observation of fashion differences is arguably still an accurate representation of the variation in dress on either side of the Alps: 'the Gallic monks dress in more wide and more generous clothes, whereas the Italian monks, like ours, have shorter and tighter garments'.[1]

The text in question is not principally concerned with the apparently persisting Italian fancy for figure-hugging clothes, or the more laissez-faire French approach to accoutring. The passage comes from the letter accompanying a copy of the *Rule of Benedict* that was sent by Abbot Theodemar of Monte Cassino to Charlemagne. It represents a seminal episode in the monastic reforms instigated by the Carolingians: the arrival at the Frankish court of a 'pure' version of the *Regula Benedicti* from Benedict's own foundation of Monte Cassino. In many undergraduate handbooks on the Middle Ages this episode is presented as an important moment in monastic history: after requests made to the papacy for model liturgical and canonical books, the future emperor in his reforming zeal again goes straight to the source and initiates the rise of the *Regula Benedicti* as the dominant monastic Rule in the West. With Theodemar's letter as a veritable companion to the Benedictine text, the community of Monte Cassino presents itself as a guide through the intricacies of the Rule of its founder. Yet, we often read little more about the

[1] 'Nam Galliarum monachi hoc laxius et prolixius induuntur; Itali vero monachi, sicut nostri, breuius huiuscemodi et strictius uestimentum habent'; *Theodemari abbatis Casinensis epistula ad Karolum Regem*, c. 5, ed. K. Hallinger, *CCM*, Vol. I: *Initia consuetudinis Benedictinae consuetudines saeculi octavi et noni* (Siegburg, 1963), 137–75, pp. 168–9. A transcription of the version in St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 914 and accompanying English translation is included in the recent Dumbarton Oaks translation of the *Regula Benedicti*, ed. and trans. B. Venarde, *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 6 (Cambridge, MA/London, 2011), pp. 244–8.

abbey of Monte Cassino in the same undergraduate handbooks, and its role in the Benedictine mission appears to have been played out at least for the Carolingian period.

The current essay examines the context of Monte Cassino's fading into the background, in the conviction that both political and religious concerns were at play. What Mayke de Jong has emphasised in her publications and teaching is that a too sharply defined distinction of political and religious concerns and ambitions misses the mark for our period. Spiritual concerns had secular components and repercussions, and vice versa.[2] In his efforts to further his reforms Charlemagne relied on networks based on trust, loyalty and values shared with his *fideles*. The two meanings of the word *fides*, 'faith' and 'fidelity', exemplify the interwovenness of politics and religion in the Carolingian empire. When it comes to assessing Monte Cassino's position within Charlemagne's network of *renovatio*, important clues are held by Theodemar's epistolary guide to the world of Benedictine monastic discipline, including his lengthy discussion of fashion. But it is important not to disregard the political context of late-eighth-century Italy in the Carolingian dealings with the abbey of Monte Cassino. Its repute depended not only on faith, but on fidelity as well, underscoring Mayke's important lesson.

Monte Cassino in Italian politics

Monte Cassino's role in eighth-century Italian politics starts with its re-foundation in 717, some 140 years after the destruction of the abbey by the Lombards in 577 (the first of four recorded destructions).[3] This disaster, as foretold by Benedict himself, followed a nightly invasion of Lombards and resulted in all resident monks fleeing to Rome, where they found refuge with the papacy. According to Paul the Deacon, writing over two centuries after the event, the fleeing monks had the presence of mind to take the most important Benedictine items with them, including a copy of the *Rule of Benedict*, some other writings, and measures of bread and wine and other utensils.[4]

[2] See especially M. de Jong, *The Penitential State. Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge, 2009); M. de Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', in J. Story (ed.), *Charlemagne. Empire and Society* (Manchester/New York, 2005), 103–35.

[3] The others are the destruction by the Saracens in 883, by an earthquake in 1349, and by allied bombing in 1944.

[4] 'Circa haec tempora coenobium beati Benedicti patris, quod in castro Casino situm est, a Langobardis noctu invaditur. Qui universa diripientes, nec unum ex monachis tenere potuerunt … Fugientes quoque ex eodem loco monachi Romam petierunt, secum codicem sanctae regulae, quam praefatus pater conposuerat, et quaedam alia scripta necnon pondus panis et mensuram vini et quidquid ex supellectili

The destruction by the Lombards inaugurated a prolonged period in which the hill was abandoned by all but a little-organised group of ascetics, before Pope Gregory II (r. 715–31) and 'a divine love' moved the Brescian Petronax to re-establish a monastery at *castrum casinense*.[5] Petronax was elected the leader of these *viri simplices* already living on the hill, instituted life under the *Rule of Benedict*, and built *hoc sanctum coenobium* in its present spot. Soon, Paul assures us, the site harboured many monks of noble birth as well as of more humble station.[6]

Despite this influx of inmates, the earliest growth of Monte Cassino's landed wealth appears to have been slow.[7] In this respect, it was similar to its neighbour San Vincenzo al Volturno, established *c.* 700 by the Beneventan noblemen Paldo, Tato and Taso. The history of both foundations would be intertwined for the next centuries.[8] The increase of Monte Cassino's prestige and landed wealth seems to have sped up in the 740s, in a tumultuous period that saw alliances forged and broken among Spoleto, Benevento and the papacy.[9] It was Pope Zachary (r. 741–52) who returned to the abbey the treasures that their fleeing predecessors had taken to Rome, including the aforesaid

subripere poterant deferentes.' Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* IV, c. 17, ed. L. Bethmann and G. Waitz, *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX*, 12–192, p. 122.

[5] 'Circa haec tempora Petronax, civis Brexianae urbis, divino amore conpunctus, Romam venit hortatuque tunc Gregorii apostolicae sedis papae huc Cassinum castrum petiit, atque ad sacrum corpus beati Benedicti patris perveniens, ibi cum aliquibus simplicibus viris iam ante residentibus habitare coepit.' Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* VI, c. 40, p. 178. On the interpretation of the phrase 'viri simplices', see R. Grégoire, 'Montecassino ospitava alcuni eremiti nel 717', *Benedictina* 25 (1978), 413–16.

[6] 'Hic non post multum tempus, cooperante divina misericordia et suffragantibus meritis beati Benedicti patris, iamque evolutis fere centum et decem annis, ex quo locus ille habitatione hominum destitutus erat, multorum ibi monachorum, nobilium et mediocrium, ad se concurrentium pater effectus, sub sanctae regulae iugum et beati Benedicti institutione, reparatis habitaculis, vivere coepit atque hoc sanctum coenobium in statum a quo nunc cernitur erexit'; Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* VI, c. 40, p. 178.

[7] C. Wickham, 'Monastic lands and monastic patrons', in R. Hodges and J. Mitchell (eds), *San Vincenzo al Volturno, Vol. II: The 1980–1986 Excavations*, Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome 9 (Rome, 1995), 138–52, p. 142.

[8] Paul the Deacon certainly seems to view the two foundations as associated, judging from his description of their establishment in the same chapter of the *Historia Langobardorum* VI, c. 40. Ninth-century Beneventan donors have been known to give gifts simultaneously to both houses; see Wickham, 'Monastic lands', p. 145.

[9] C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy. Central Power and Local Society 400–1000* (London/Basingstoke, 1981), pp. 44–5.

copy of the *Rule*.[10] Around the same time, high-ranking rulers chose the abbey as their place of monastic exile: Frankish house mayor Carloman in 747 and the Lombard King Ratchis in 749. In 747 Fulda's first abbot, Sturmi, and two monks spent a year at Monte Cassino in a bid to learn about the Benedictine way of life.[11] Parallel to its growing esteem, the abbey's landed wealth increased from the 740s onwards. The possessions of the abbey, known as the *Terra Sancti Benedicti*, were established through a significant grant by Gisulf II, duke of Benevento (r. 743 –749 × 753) in the heady days of 744, which saw the death of King Liutprand as well as the deposition of his successor Hildeprand and the rise of Duke Ratchis to the royal throne.[12] For Gisulf II the departure of the centralising Lombard King Liutprand probably constituted a convenient occasion to assert Benevento's autonomy: at the same time his gift would have met with approval from the papacy, which maintained strong ties with Monte Cassino, as well as the new, philoroman King Ratchis.[13] Duke Gisulf II possibly also donated the churches of Santa Maria in Cingla and Santa Maria in Piumarola.[14]

In the subsequent decades, the monastery attracted more ducal interest with donations that must be viewed in the context of the altered political context in Italy after 774. The stage was set with King Charles's conquering of the Lombard kingdom following the taking of Pavia. Although it lay outside the *regnum Langobardorum*, the monks of Monte Cassino, with its possessions in the duchy of Spoleto, must have followed the political developments closely: one of the earliest Cassinese manuscripts, containing paschal tables

[10] 'Deo dilectus pontifex Zacharias plura adiutoria contulit, libros scilicet sanctae scripturae et alia quaeque quae ad utilitatem monasterii pertinent; insuper et regulam, quam beatus pater Benedictus suis sanctis manibus conscripsit, paterna pietate concessit.' Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* VI, c. 40. See *Chronica monasterii Casinensis* I, c. 4, ed. H. Hoffmann, *Die Chronik von Montecassino (Chronica monasterii Casinensis)*, *MGH SS* 34; and P. Meyvaert, 'Problems concerning the "autograph" manuscript of Saint Benedict's Rule', *Revue Bénédictine* 69 (1959), 3–21.

[11] Eigil, *Vita Sturmi abbatis Fuldensis*, c. 14, ed. P. Engelbert, *Die Vita Sturmi des Eigils von Fulda. Literarkritische-historische Untersuchung und Edition* (Marburg, 1968); Rudolf of Fulda, *Vita sanctae Liobae*, c. 10, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SS* 15:1, 118–31, pp. 127–31.

[12] *Chronica* I, cc. 5, 6.

[13] On Roman–Lombard relationships in the 740s, see T. Noble, *The Republic of St Peter. The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 42–57.

[14] L. Fabiani, *La Terra di S. Benedetto: Studio storico-giuridico sull'Abbazia di Montecassino dall'VIII al XIII secolo*, Miscellanea Cassinese 33–4 (Monte Cassino, 1968), p. 25; Three of Gisulf's charters are printed in E. Gattola (ed.), *Historia abbatiae cassinensis* (Venice, 1733), pp. 26–8.

whose entries up to 774 almost exclusively pertain to Byzantine emperors, has for that year the ominous gloss 'the Franks came to Italy'.[15]

Although the south was not directly threatened, the power change in the north did inspire power shifts in the south. Duke Theudicius of Spoleto met his death in the battle against the Franks, cementing the outcome of the recent coup in the duchy by Hildeprand (r. 774–89), who was initially an ally of the papacy but about a year later swore an oath of loyalty to Charlemagne.[16] The Carolingian influence in the duchy was sustained until well into the ninth century when Winigis (d. 822), a former Carolingian *missus* and probably not a local, assumed the ducal throne in 789.

The changed political circumstances seem to form the context of some of the most impressive donations to Monte Cassino in this period. In the autumn following the capture of Pavia, Duke Arichis II of Benevento (r. 758–87) gave his prestigious foundation of Santa Sofia in Benevento to the monks of Monte Cassino, as well as lands around Capua.[17] Duke Hildeprand of Spoleto gave large amounts of land in the Abruzzo in 782.[18] Both duchies thus tried to draw Monte Cassino closer within their orbit. Their competition must be understood in the context of Carolingian presence in Italy. Spoleto's Duke Hildeprand was allied to Charlemagne, whereas the Lombard conquest of 773–74 inspired Duke Arichis II of Benevento to adopt a more independent attitude, styling himself as 'prince' rather than 'duke'.[19] Indirectly, Spoletan gifts pulled the abbey within the Carolingian sphere of influence, something that is reflected in the ostentatious reference to Charlemagne as king of the Lombards in Hildeprand's charter.[20]

[15] Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 641 (fols. 1–81, s. ix^{in}). The paschal tables are found on fols. 49r–75v, following works by Alcuin and astronomical texts. On the manuscript, see A. S. Revignas (ed.), *Catalogo dei manoscritti della biblioteca casanatense (nuova serie)*, Vol. VI (Rome, 1978), pp. 151–7. The only other non-Byzantine entry concerns Petronax's re-foundation of Monte Cassino. The focus on Monte Cassino as evinced by the entry on Petronax and the centennial of his arrival suggests that the glossator was working from the abbey before the manuscript moved to Benevento sometime around 875.

[16] See O. Bertolini, 'Carlomagno e Benevento', in H. Beumann and W. Braunfels (eds), *Karl der Grosse. Leben und Nachleben*, Vol. I (Düsseldorf, 1965), 609–71, pp. 611–16; G. West, 'Charlemagne's involvement in central and southern Italy: power and the limits of authority', *EME* 8:3 (1999), 341–67, p. 343.

[17] Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, cc. 4, 14, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SS rer. Lang.*, 231–64, pp. 236, 240; cf. *Chronica* I, c. 9.

[18] *Chronica* I, cc. 14, 39. On the substantive grant, see Wickham, 'Monastic lands', p. 142.

[19] See H. Kaminsky, 'Zum Sinngehalt des Princeps-Titels Arichis' II. von Benevent', *FrSt* 8 (1974), 81–92.

[20] Printed in E. Gattola, *Historiam abbatiae cassinensis accessiones* (Venice, 1734), p. 18.

Besides inspiring local rulers to donate large gifts, the Frankish presence north and the expectations of further Carolingian advancements south appear to have impacted on monastery politics in both Monte Cassino and San Vincenzo. Similar to Nonantola and Farfa in the north, Monte Cassino and San Vincenzo may have acted as channels of 'subtle intrusion of Frankish influence'.[21] At the monastery of San Vincenzo the concerns for the looming Frankish expansion came to the fore in the matter of the Lombard abbot, Poto, who in the years 783 and 784 fell victim to pro-Carolingian forces within his own monastery and was deposed on the accusation of refusing to pray for the king and his family.[22] At Monte Cassino the long shadow of the Carolingians may have contributed to the election of a Frank as abbot in 777 or 778. Theodemar, the new abbot, had clear pro-Carolingian sentiments.[23]

Pro-Carolingian sentiments thus seemed to have the winning hand in the decade and a half since the fall of Pavia. In addition, Benevento's progressively independent course, was severely challenged during Charlemagne's only incursion into the south of Italy, against Benevento, in 787. It was during this campaign that Charlemagne visited the abbey of Monte Cassino: on his journey towards Capua in that year, Charlemagne climbed the hill overlooking Cassino *causa orationis*, 'in order to pray to the blessed father Benedict'. Here he committed himself, according to the *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, to the 'brothers serving God'.[24] After arriving in Capua, he gave out charters for the

[21] The phrase is Noble's: *The Republic of St Peter*, p. 159. On Farfa, see M. Costambeys, *Power and Patronage in Early Medieval Italy. Local Society, Italian Politics and the Abbey of Farfa, c. 700–900* (Cambridge, 2007); S. Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity. Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca, NY, 2006); and F. Felten, 'Zur Geschichte der Klöster Farfa und S. Vincenzo al Volturno im achten Jahrhundert', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 62 (1982), 1–58. On Nonantola under Frankish influence and dominion, see R. Pollard, '"Libri di scuola spirituale": manuscripts and marginalia at the monastery of Nonantola', in L. Del Corso and O. Pecere (eds), *Libri di scuola e pratiche didattiche dall' Antichità al Rinascimento. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Cassino, 7–10 maggio 2008* (Cassino, 2010), 331–401.

[22] *Codex Carolinus* 66–7, ed. W. Gundlach, *Codex epistolaris Carolinus*, *MGH Epp.* 3, 469–657, pp. 593–7. See H. Houben, 'Karl der Grosse und die Absetzung des Abtes Potho von San Vincenzo am Volturno', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 65 (1985), 405–17; Bertolini, 'Carlomagno e Benevento', pp. 625–31.

[23] G. Falco, 'Lineamenti di storia cassinese nei secoli VIII e IX', *Cassinensia* 2 (1929), 457–548, pp. 478–81. For the dates of his abbacy, see H. Hoffmann, 'Die älteren Abtslisten von Montecassino', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 47 (1967), 224–354, p. 249.

[24] *Chronica* I, c. 12.

cathedral of Benevento and the abbey of San Vincenzo, and back in Rome some days later he issued a charter for Monte Cassino, which may be seen as a confirmation of the bond established during his visit some weeks earlier.[25] These Italian charters are important witnesses to Charlemagne's Italian politics. They do not simply reflect a business arrangement, but are the remains of a performative social action that established a reciprocal relationship between the Carolingian king and the recipient religious centres. The understood, but not often advertised, reciprocal gift could be one of political support and loyalty, or spiritual benefit, or any combination of both.[26]

Charlemagne did not give land in his diplomas to Italian ecclesiastical institutions. Instead, he granted Monte Cassino, the cathedral of Benevento and San Vincenzo confirmation of past grants and immunity, and both monasteries also the right to free elections of abbots. The latter privilege especially was a rare and significant benefaction.[27] These diplomas were powerful political acts: instead of reflecting a reality in which the king was in a position to fulfil these promises and protect the granted rights, they were probably meant to forge or influence reality. At the time of issuing, it was not at all certain that Charlemagne would be in a position to enforce these new privileges, or to uphold his confirmations of others'. Prince Arichis of Benevento was still holding out in Salerno, making these charters politically provocative gestures, especially since Charles confirmed some of Arichis's grants, including his most prestigious, the gifting of Santa Sofia di Benevento to Monte Cassino.[28]

The agency in these arranged relationships, however, was not limited to Charlemagne: the monasteries were also active parties in these connections. This is reflected in the none too common formula chosen for the Monte

[25] Cathedral of Benevento: E. Mühlbacher (ed.), *Die Urkunden Pippins, Karlmanns und Karls des Grossen*, *MGH DD Kar.* 1, no. 156, pp. 211–12 (Capua, 22 March 787). Abbey of San Vincenzo: Mühlbacher, *Die Urkunden*, no. 158, pp. 213–16 (Rome, 28 March 787). Monte Cassino: Mühlbacher, *Die Urkunden*, no. 158, pp. 213–16 (Rome, 28 March 787). On the genuineness of the core of this charter, see E. Caspar, 'Echte und gefälschte Karolingerurkunden für Monte Cassino', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde zur Beförderung einer Gesamtausgabe der Quellenschriften deutscher Geschichten des Mittelalters* 33 (1908), 53–74.

[26] See M. de Jong, *In Samuel's Image. Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden/New York/Cologne, 1996), pp. 275–9. For Italy, see M. de Jong and P. Erhart, 'Monachesimo tra i Longobardi e i Carolingi', in C. Bertelli and G. P. Brogiolo (eds), *Il futuro dei Longobardi. L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno* (Milan, 2000), 105–27; M. de Jong, 'Carolingian monasticism: the power of prayer', in *NCMH*, Vol. II, 622–53.

[27] West, 'Charlemagne's involvement', p. 354.

[28] West, 'Charlemagne's involvement', p. 354; Wickham, 'Monastic lands', pp. 142–6.

Cassino and San Vincenzo charters. In the formula, Charles declares his belief 'that the greatest bulwark of the realm is strengthened' when the petitions of priests and servants of God are heard with a willing heart and acted upon.[29] This suggests that Charles acted on supplications by the communities of the two monasteries, although this is not explicitly stated by the text. This formula may be aimed at exactly that: suggesting a request by the clergy and suggesting that the clergy recognised Carolingian dominance and put their trust in Charles. Since the two monasteries at this stage were, to some degree, in a position in which they could choose their patrons, the 'choice' of the monasteries was all the more meaningful. It makes these charters, for Monte Cassino as well, powerful physical traces that embodied and memorialised an act of patronage or alliance.[30]

The charters for the three southern Italian institutions have been described as 'near carbon-copies' by Chris Wickham, although there are some small differences between the diploma for the house on the Volturno and the one for Monte Cassino: the latter's connection with St Benedict is made explicit in the mention that his 'most holy body' was buried there.[31] Furthermore, a link between the Carolingian family and the monastery is suggested by the somewhat puzzling sentence, not present in the San Vincenzo charter, closing the list of previous grants. In the Cassinese charter it reads 'and furthermore … all other possessions … are donated through the beneficence of our father Pippin and our father's [father] Charles and other kings or queens, dukes, princes or good men'.[32] It suggests earlier grants from Charlemagne's forefathers to

[29] 'Maximum regni nostri in hoc augere credimus munimentum, si petitionibus sacerdotum atque servorum dei, in quo nostris auribus fuerint prolate, libenti animo obtemperamus atque ad effectum perducimus regiam consuetudinem exercemus et hoc nobis ad mercedis augmentum vel stabilitatem regni nostri in dei nomine pertinere confidimus.' Mühlbacher, *Die Urkunden*, nos 157, p. 212; 158, p. 214. The formula in this form is used for the first time in 775 (in a grant of immunity to the monastery of Farfa; see Mühlbacher, *Die Urkunden*, no. 99, pp. 142–3), ostensibly for grants on request. For background to the significance of formulas, see H. Wolfram, 'Political theory and narrative in charters', *Viator* 26 (1995), 39–51.

[30] See G. Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas. The West Frankish Kingdom (840–987)* (Turnhout, 2012), esp. Chapter 1.

[31] Wickham, 'Monastic lands', p. 146. On the presence of Benedict's body, see Hoffmann, 'Die älteren Abtslisten', pp. 342–6. On the tradition of Benedict's translation to Fleury, see P. Geary, *Furta sacra. Theft of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1978; rev. edn 1990), pp. 120–2.

[32] '[I]nsuper et cetera monasteriola vel cellulas ut villas seu reliquas possessiones, que ex largitate genitoris nostri Pipini ac patrui nostri Caroli aliorumque regum vel reginarum, ducum sive principum vel bonorum hominum ibi sunt date vel delegate'; Mühlbacher, *Die Urkunden*, no. 158, p. 215. Cf. no. 157, p. 212.

the abbey. This is not impossible in light of Carloman's sojourn: it is possible that the charter refers to donations of treasure or immunities granted by Charlemagne's forebears. As Mayke de Jong explained, monasteries represented a 'sacred space', as well as a 'hands-off zone' where secular rulers and courtiers might retire if their position became untenable or dangerous.[33] It was important for these places to have their sacrality confirmed in exemptions and immunities. With Carloman's retreat to Monte Cassino, the sacrality of this house must have been established for the Carolingians, and it is possible that this was substantiated through earlier Carolingian privileges. At the very least, the sentence in Monte Cassino's charter emphasises an established direct connection between Charles's family and the abbey.

Another variance from the San Vincenzo diploma may constitute a reference to the *Rule of Benedict*: at the conclusion of the text, the monks and abbots are enjoined to live 'in peace according to the holy order' (*secundum ordinem sanctum*), whereas the community of San Vincenzo is simply expected to live 'regularly' (*regulariter*).[34] This possibly implies that a special responsibility for Monte Cassino was perceived in the maintenance of the Benedictine *Regula*, and perhaps the subject had come up during Charlemagne's visit.

Charlemagne's campaign in southern Italy came to a somewhat unexpected close when Prince Arichis died in 787 and his heir-apparent to the princely throne, Grimoald, happened to be in the king's custody as a hostage. Despite major objections from Pope Zachary, Charlemagne decided to free Grimoald after he had pledged to recognise Carolingian dominance and to display this in coinage, the shaving of Beneventan men and charter formulas.[35] Together with these symbolic affirmations of Carolingian domination, it seems that even in practice Charlemagne was able to exert some influence over Benevento in these years. This paid off with the defeat of the Byzantine fleet by a Carolingian coalition including Grimoald (r. 788–806), Hildeprand of Spoleto and Winigis, the future Carolingian appointee for the duchy of Spoleto. In 791, however, the principality reclaimed its autonomy and rejected the outward formal symbols of homage, which signified a loss of Carolingian influence in the region and resulted in an inconsequential frontier war with Charlemagne's sons Pippin and Louis. Slightly later, in 796, the Carolingian foothold on Monte Cassino

[33] M. de Jong, 'Monastic prisoners or opting out? Political coercion and honour in the Frankish Kingdoms', in M. de Jong, C. van Rhijn and F. Theuws (eds), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden/Boston, MA/Cologne, 2001), 291–328, pp. 293–4.

[34] Mühlbacher, *Die Urkunden*, no. 158, p. 215; no. 157, p. 213.

[35] B. Kreutz, *Before the Normans. Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1993), p. 7. On the pope's objections, see *Codex Carolinus* 80, pp. 612–3. On the superficial signs of deference, see Erchempert, *Historia*, c. 4, p. 236.

took a blow with the election of Gisulf, a Lombard related to the Beneventan princely family.[36]

With the election of Gisulf in 797, Benevento had succeeded in installing its own candidate and effectively forging anew a strong interdependent relationship between Benevento and one of the most important monasteries in the region. The new orientation of the monastery was reflected in two grants given by Grimoald in 797.[37] In the subsequent decades, the passing of the danger of Carolingian dominance over the Monte Cassino elicited a wave of Beneventan gifts that resulted in impressive ninth-century building programmes, as well as the preservation of the abbey within the Beneventan political orbit.[38] Conversely, Charlemagne's 787 grants were looking worthless from a Cassinese viewpoint, but especially from a Carolingian perspective. Subsequently, no more royal or imperial charters with the abbey as beneficiary are known to have been issued since Charlemagne's charter in 787 until Lothar I's in 835.[39] As G. V. B. West commented: 'Monte Cassino seems to have had nothing to do with the Carolingians for a generation after 797.'[40] By contrast, San Vincenzo held a much more ambiguous stance towards the patronage of the Carolingians and the Beneventans in the half-century between 787 and 835, receiving three Carolingian charters in the same period.[41]

The ascendency of Gisulf to the abbacy appears to have made a profound impression on the Carolingians. From 796 we find increased political and military activity in the duchy of Spoleto, with forces moving southwards in 797, 800–01 and 803.[42] Gisulf's abbacy of Benedictus's own monastery perhaps demonstrated to the Carolingian rulers what the consequences could be of a self-assuredly independent region to the south of the empire's border.

[36] *Chronica* I, c. 17, p. 57. On the dates of his abbacy, see Hoffmann, 'Die älteren Abtslisten', pp. 249–53.

[37] West, 'Charlemagne's involvement', p. 359. The charters are printed by Gattola, *Accessiones*, pp. 18–19.

[38] Wickham, 'Monastic lands', p. 147.

[39] T. Schieffer (ed.), *Die Urkunden Lothars I. 822–855*, *MGH DD Lo I/Lo II*, 1–365, no. 24, pp. 96–8 (Pavia, 21 February 835); see H. Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages* (Rome, 1986), p. 831 (no. 324). See also Falco, 'Lineamenti', pp. 509–10. On the context of Lothar I's 835 charter, see E. Screen, 'Lothar I in Italy, 834–40: charters and authority', in J. Jarrett and A. S. McKinley (eds), *Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Charters* (Turnhout, 2013), 231–52; and see West, 'Charlemagne's involvement', p. 359 n. 106.

[40] West, 'Charlemagne's involvement', p. 367; Wickham, 'Monastic lands', pp. 146–7.

[41] Although not in the period between 800 and 819; see West, 'Charlemagne's involvement', p. 360.

[42] *ARF*, *s.a.* 800, 801; Bertolini, 'Carlomagno e Benevento', pp. 656–7. See West, 'Charlemagne's involvement', p. 363.

Theodemar's letter: intents and purposes

Before all this was to transpire, sometime after Charlemagne's visit to Monte Cassino, Abbot Theodemar sent the king a copy of the *Rule of Benedict* with an accompanying letter. It survives in over thirty manuscripts, including St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 914. This early-ninth-century manuscript contains a version of the *Regula Benedicti*, which is believed to be a copy in a direct line with the specimen sent by Theodemar to Aachen. The manuscript also contains a copy of the letter sent to Reginbert, librarian of Reichenau, by Tatto and Grimalt, who went to Benedict of Aniane's monastery on the Inde to transcribe what they believed to be an immediate copy of Benedict's autograph of the *Regula Benedicti*: that is, the text carried from Monte Cassino.[43] The letter by Theodemar similarly seems to declare that the copy he sent to Charlemagne was produced from an exemplar written by the saint himself.[44]

Rubrics in the manuscript witnesses to Theodemar's letter suggest a role in the composition of the text for Paul the Deacon, who was an inmate of Monte Cassino at the time. Perhaps he even acted as a 'ghost writer'.[45] There is, however, no reason to doubt that the letter was produced at Theodemar's instigation or that it reveals anything other than the intentions of the abbot of Monte Cassino, and in the remainder of the chapter I shall consider him to be the author. Jacques Winandy, who questioned the letter's authenticity, described its style as 'heavy, swollen and verbose'.[46] Rather than serving as circumstantial

[43] *Regula Benedicti*, ed. and trans. A. de Vogüé and J. Neufville, *La règle de Saint Benoît*, SC 181–6 (Paris, 1971–72). On the so-called 'autograph', see Meyvaert, 'Problems', pp. 3–21.

[44] '[E]n uobis regulam eiusdem beati patris de ipso codice, quem ille suis sanctis manibus exarauit, transscriptam direximus'. *Theodemari epistula*, pp. 159–60. The operative word here is 'quem' (as it appears in St Gallen, Cod. 914). A number of manuscript witnesses from the Monte Cassino tradition, however, have 'quam', whereby Benedict's act of writing now refers to the text of the *Regula*, rather than the physical copy of it (*codex*). The references of Paul the Deacon to the specimen of the *Regula Benedicti* taken to Rome by the fleeing monks in 577 and returned by Pope Zachary also use the relative pronoun 'quam'; see Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* IV.17, VI.40.

[45] St Gallen, Cod. 914 states that it was *a Paulo dictata*, 'dictated by Paul'.

[46] J. Winandy, 'Un témoignage oublié des usages cassiniens', *Revue Bénédictine* 50 (1938), 253–92. Winandy's case for the letter to be a forgery composed in the context of the 816 Aachen Council has been convincingly repudiated by Jean Neufville, who maintains its late-eighth-century date of composition and argues for the authorship of Paul the Deacon; J. Neufville, 'L'authenticité de l'"Epistula ad regem Karolum de monasterio Sancti Benedicti directa et a Paulo dictata"', *Studia monastica* 13 (1971), 295–309. Winandy's qualification of the letter's style ('lourdeur, boursoufflée et prolixe') is found on p. 280 of his article.

evidence against its authenticity, I should like to maintain that the style sheds light on the author's intentions and ambitions. It is worthwhile to study it more closely.

The dispatch of the copy of the *Regula Benedicti* and the composition of the accompanying letter appear to have taken place relatively soon after Charlemagne's visit, but not before further correspondence in the form of a now lost letter from the king and a visit by a certain bishop named Adalgarius (presumably of Troyes), both of which reported the health and well-being of the royal family and the military achievements of the king, as well as the latter's ambitions to improve the religious life of monks.[47] With the phrase *iuxta praeceptionem uestram*, the letter preserves evidence that the sending of the *Rule* followed from an explicit request by the king. Apparently, the king had not only requested a copy, but also asked questions concerning basic interpretation or factual knowledge: in Theodemar's discussion of monks' clothing, he reveals that the king had inquired what he was to understand to be a 'coculla', mentioned in Chapter 55 of the *Regula Benedicti*.[48] The letter should thus be read as a guide to the *Regula Benedicti*.

After the initial introductions, Theodemar cuts to the chase rather quickly and identifies a potential aspect of the attached *Regula* that might strike Frankish readers as odd or objectionable, namely the prescribed recitation of only one Old Testament reading during the night offices in the summer. The very first words of the paragraph devoted to this topic hint at a possible negative response from his audience: 'If it bothers anyone'; *Si quem autem movet*. Theodemar explains that when this stipulation was entered into the text of the *Regula*, there was no other ecclesiastical custom current in the Roman Church. After that, however, either Pope Gregory (d. 604) or Honorius I (d. 638) instituted the recitation of three readings daily. The *maiores* of Monte Cassino subsequently decided to follow this new custom in 'our sacred monastery', *in sacro nostro coenobio*, rather than follow the instruction of Benedict, 'lest they appear to differ from the holy Roman Church'. The obvious question as to whether it is permissible to deviate from the *Regula Benedicti* is answered immediately by Theodemar: in fact, Benedict would be pleased to see that, for the love of God, people took the trouble to add to the prescribed praise of God.[49] The same logic applies, Theodemar continues, to the arrangement of the Psalms to be sung on each day of the week: although Monte Cassino chose to continue adhering to Benedict's stipulations, 'if anyone thinks some

[47] 'Tam per epistulae seriem quamque et per sanctum uirum Adalgarium episcopum uestra famina suscipientes magna sumus exultatione gauisi'. *Theodemari epistula*, c. 1, p. 158.

[48] 'Sane quia percontari dignati estis, quod uestimentum coculla debeat intellegi'. *Theodemari epistula*, c. 5, p. 166.

[49] *Theodemari epistula*, c. 3, pp. 160–2.

arrangement better than the one the blessed father himself established, he has permission from him to sing as he thinks best'.[50]

The text goes on to discuss a number of other elements that call for further clarification. Theodemar mentions the objects that accompany the copy of the *Regula*: a weight of 4 lb of bread to measure the ration of four monks and a measure for drink during dinner and supper, as well as a measure for a single cup of wine. Theodemar touches on the subject of drinking wine at special occasions and briefly addresses the topic of eating fowl. The abbot furthermore applies himself to Charlemagne's enquiries into the clothing of the monks, explaining the meaning of certain dress terms in the *Regula* and explaining variation. He concludes with comments on fasting beyond the prescriptions in the *Regula Benedicti* and attaches the text of a pledge by which monks formerly professed the holy *Rule*.

For each of these elements, Theodemar's discussion demonstrates that there is local variance, room for alternative forms and manners according to specific circumstances, flexibility with the prescribed rules and leeway for personal discretion. This is in accordance with the contemporary view of monastic rules as texts that had to be studied, discussed, explained, interpreted and supplemented, rather than strictly and literally observed.[51] To see the *Rule* in action, including all its practical modifications, was at least as important as studying it from parchment. Theodemar at the outset refers to Charlemagne's desire to learn from Benedict's brilliant example as much as his teachings.[52] Even Benedict of Aniane, according to his biographer Ardo, understood that one of the ways to understand the text was *circumiens monasteria*, to study the monastic practice of those who followed the *Rule*.[53] How Theodemar describes this licence, the background of the choices made and the limits to variety is revealing of his own motives and ambitions.

The context in which Theodemar worked becomes clear in his discussion of the arrangement of the Psalms to be sung. In this case, it seems the abbey continued to follow the stipulations set out in the *Regula Benedicti* and not to comply with the customs in use in Rome. Theodemar is quick to explain

[50] *Theodemari epistula*, p. 162.

[51] A. Diem, 'Inventing the Holy Rule: some observations on the history of monastic normative observance in the Early medieval West', in H. Dey and E. Fentress (eds), *Western Monasticism 'ante Litteram'. The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2011), 53–84, p. 71; and see his contribution to this volume.

[52] *Theodemari epistula*, c. 2, p. 159.

[53] 'Dedit autem cor suum ad inuestigandum beati benedicti regulam eamque ut intelligere possit satagere, circumiens monasteria, perito quosque interrogans que ignorabat, et omnium sanctorum quascumque inuenire potuit regulas congregauit.' Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 18, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SS* 15:1, 198–220, p. 206.

that on this topic, as with the readings during night office, there is again room for variance. This is specified for those monks who celebrate according to the Roman fashion: they should not be forced to adhere to the Benedictine stipulations, but be allowed – if it pleases the king's 'most wise heart' – to sing as they are accustomed to do.[54] The passage reveals the textual tightrope that Theodemar is trying to walk: he is defending the choice of Monte Cassino to follow the teachings of Benedict in this matter, while explicitly steering away from giving any impression of disapproving of the Roman custom. At the same time, perhaps sensing the king's attraction to unity if not uniformity, he leaves the final say in the matter to Charlemagne's 'most wise heart'.

Theodemar appears to attempt to adopt a position amidst Carolingian expectations, Roman practice and Cassinese traditions, while at the same time manoeuvring himself into the position of allowing deviation from Benedict's instructions and permitting variety to exist. With all his wordiness, he is performing a balancing act, trying to pay lip-service to Roman Church customs, trying not to antagonise churchmen north of the Alps with different customs, and all while attempting to gain a status of authority on matters of monastic discipline.

The basis of this authoritative position is without doubt his abbacy of the monastery founded by Benedict himself. Although Monte Cassino is never explicitly mentioned by name or geographical location, the abbey – *sacrum nostrum coenobium* – is unmistakably ever-present in the letter that introduced the 'pure' copy of the *Rule* to the Carolingian court. The weight for bread was found here (*in hoc est loco repertum*); the measure for drink constitutes what Theodemar's predecessors thought to be Benedict's *hemina* (*aestimauerunt maiores nostri emine mensuram esse*).[55]

An elementary role is played by the *maiores* of Monte Cassino – perhaps best translated as the 'elders' – the illustrious predecessors of Theodemar. In the aforementioned case of the Old Testament readings during summer, we see Theodemar labouring to come to some resolution regarding the difference in local practice, the observance in Rome and the text of Benedict's *Rule*. When faced with differing practices, it is clear that the *maiores* of Monte Cassino had made the correct judgement call and, in this case, followed Rome.

Again, Theodemar posits himself as the person to moderate between the differing views, with the current practice – instituted by the *maiores* – at the abbey of Monte Cassino as his benchmark. When diversity is present within the walls of the abbey itself, Theodemar himself displays flexibility. For instance, although

[54] 'Nam et de psalmorum canendorum per singulos septimane dies diuisione, si cui melius uisum fuerit quam ipse beatus pater instituit, ab ipso habet licentiam, ut melius estimauerit, canere. Nec debent cogi monachi, si tamen uestro sapientissimo sacrae huius regule psalmos diuidere; sed possunt, si uobis ita uidetur, solito more canentes artioris uitae normam suscipere.' *Theodemari epistula*, c. 3, pp. 161–2.

[55] *Theodemari epistula*, c. 4, pp. 162–3.

Benedict took a somewhat lenient stance on the eating of poultry, Theodemar assures that many of Monte Cassino's monks still opted not to eat birds and to observe a stricter regime. And, concerning the dress of monks, it is Theodemar who decides that Benedict's silence on the subject should be viewed as a liberty to vary according to region.[56]

What Winandy disqualified for its verbosity is, in my opinion, the product of an abbot who conspicuously tries to steer a middle course between instructing and placating, all while establishing his authority to adjudicate in matters of monastic discipline. His position as abbot of St Benedict's own foundation and as successor of the abbey's *maiores* is supposed to grant him this authority on monastic life.

The centre of Benedictine monasticism

In some respects, this impressive display of ownership of the Benedictine *Rule* by Monte Cassino formed the culmination of the promotion since the 740s of the abbey as the focal point of the Benedictine mission. For while the central role of Monte Cassino in medieval monasticism is a historiographical topos that historians in the twentieth century have found difficult to shake off at times, in the late eighth century this centrality of the abbey was a relatively recent invention.[57] In fact, Benedict and his *Rule* were often associated with Rome, rather than Monte Cassino: a seventh-century letter from Abbot Venerandus of the otherwise unattested monastery of Altaripa addressed to Bishop Constantius of Albi (d. 647) introduces the *Regula Benedicti* as the 'regula sancti Benedicti abbatis Romensis': that is, of Rome.[58] The late-eighth- or

[56] 'De quo genere tegumenti nihil beatus Benedictus in suae textu regule locutus est … Ergo … unicuique monachorum, quid ex his potius eligere uelit, proprio arbitrio dereliquid'; *Theodemari epistula*, c. 5, pp. 168–9.

[57] M. Dell'Omo, 'Montecassino altomedievale: i secoli VIII e IX. Genesi di un simbolo, storia di una realtà', in G. Spinelli (ed.), *Il monachesimo italiano dall'età longobarda all'età ottoniana (secc. VIII–X) (Atti del VII Convegno di studi storici sull'Italia benedettina, Nonantola [Modena], 10–13 settembre 2003)*, Italia Benedettina 27 (Cesena, 2006), 165–92, pp. 165–6. Dell'Omo refers specifically to Falco, 'Lineamenti', and F. Prinz, 'Montecassino ed Europa monastica', in O. Pecere (ed.), *Il monaco, il libro, la biblioteca. Atti del Convegno, Cassino-Montecassino, 5–8 settembre 2000* (Cassino, 2003), 5–32.

[58] An edition of the letter is found in L. Traube, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti* (Munich, 1898), pp. 92–3. On the term 'Romensis' as pertaining to Rome, see pp. 129–30. Albrecht Diem raises questions about the genuineness of the letter, signalling that the 'fully developed concept of textual observance' to a monastic Rule evident in the letter is otherwise only witnessed in the period of the Carolingian reforms; see Diem, 'Inventing the Holy Rule', p. 67.

early-ninth-century manuscript Vatican City, Pal. lat. 574 similarly introduces the *Rule* as a Roman product.[59]

It would seem that the strong connection between Monte Cassino and Benedict's *Rule* was non-existent before the monastery's re-foundation by Petronax, and perhaps this association only materialised when Pope Zachary decided to return Benedict's autograph of the *Rule* to Monte Cassino.[60] This act further evinces that the re-foundation of and the support for the monastery were initially a papal affair. After Pope Gregory II sent Petronax to the hill overlooking Cassino, it was Zachary who provided new impetus with his donations. He also persuaded Carloman to leave his foundation of Monte Soratte and enter Monte Cassino instead.[61] Erik Goosmann recently suggested that Zachary's move may have been an attempt intended to capitalise on Carloman's high profile, increase the prestige of the abbey and redirect the intensive traffic of Carloman's compatriots to Monte Cassino.[62] Finally, Zachary also managed to persuade King Ratchis to retire to Monte Cassino.[63]

The monastery's newly gained authority on all matters concerning the correct Benedictine way of regular life is evident in the late 780s when, possibly during his sojourn here, Charlemagne asked for a copy of the *Rule* as it existed in Benedict's own hand at Monte Cassino. Theodemar's accompanying letter should be viewed within the efforts of Monte Cassino to buttress its position of authority on matters of Benedictine monastic discipline. The impressive arrival at the Carolingian court of a no doubt beautiful copy of the *Rule of Benedict*, transcribed from the exemplar written by the saint himself in archaic sixth-century Latin, accompanied by measures and scales and a users' manual from the abbot of the monastery with an impeccable Benedictine tradition, constituted the powerful closing act of Monte Cassino's push to be the *Rule*'s champion and dominant interpreter.

Outcome

The ambitions of Monte Cassino were cut short when, in the early 790s, Benevento drifted away from Carolingian authority and back to autonomy,

[59] Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 574. On the manuscript, see H. Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta. Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrschererlasse*, *MGH Hilfsmittel* 15, pp. 771–3.

[60] Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* VI.40; see Meyvaert, 'Problems'.

[61] *AMP*, *s.a.* 747, p. 38.

[62] E. Goosmann, 'Memorable crises: Carolingian historiography and the making of Pippin's reign, 750–900' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 2013), pp. 143–4.

[63] *Chronica* I, c. 8.

and in 791 Grimoald rejected the outward symbols of homage and submission. The election of Gisulf as abbot of Monte Cassino effectively severed the ties between the abbey and the Carolingians, severely frustrating a position of authority for Monte Cassino in monastic matters north of the Alps. For Charlemagne, utilising the spiritual stature of Benedict's own foundation in promotion of the *Regula Benedicti* was no longer a viable strategy after 796.

The interpretative agency was to be handed to other parties. Albrecht Diem demonstrates in his contribution to this volume how the acts of the Council of Aachen of 802 describe extensive discussions among monks and abbots gathered to read and interpret the *Regula Benedicti*.[64] At the same time, there are virtually no references to Monte Cassino, or even Benedict, in relation to the *Regula Benedicti*, except for, of course, Monte Cassino's own Paul the Deacon.[65] Neither the acts of Carolingian councils nor the capitularies make any explicit connections among the *Rule*, Benedict and Monte Cassino. Ardo's life of Benedict of Aniane is 'remarkably obscure' about the origins of the *Rule*, with Monte Cassino playing only a marginal role.[66]

It is not impossible that this necessary shift away from Monte Cassino accounts for some delay in the promotion and acceptance of the *Regula Benedicti* as the dominant monastic Rule in the West. It took over twenty years after the arrival of the Monte Cassino copy of the *Rule* before serious headway was made at the Aachen councils of 816 and 817 under Charlemagne's heir. The *Rule*'s promotion only gathered momentum when Benedict of Aniane could self-assuredly claim the position of its main sponsor. This change is illustrated most clearly by the Reichenau monks Grimalt and Tatto, who now travelled not to Monte Cassino but to Benedict of Aniane's monastery on the Inde to learn about Benedictine customs and traditions. It is highly doubtful that the difference in Gallic and Italian clothing would have received much attention there.

[64] *Concilium Aquisgranense* (*a.* 802), ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 229–30, p. 230.

[65] Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* I.28; IV.17; VI.40.

[66] Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, cc. 2 and 38; see Diem, 'Inventing the Holy Rule', pp. 76–7.

16

A mirror of princes who opted out: Regino of Prüm and royal monastic conversion

Erik Goosmann and Rob Meens

Introduction

In 908, the year in which the Carolingian Prince Louis (the Child) turned fifteen, Regino, abbot of St Martin of Trier, completed a momentous historical treatise.[1] Considered to have been the last major Carolingian historical work, it chronicles the 'rise and fall of the Carolingians', for which reason Regino has recently been dubbed 'the Edward Gibbon of Carolingian historical writing'.[2] Rosamond McKitterick has called attention to Regino's focus on Christian history and 'the close interweaving of secular and ecclesiastical matters' in his work.[3] The close connection between secular rule and the development of the Christian Church permeates the whole *Chronicle*, which consists of two books. Book I, recounting events from the Incarnation of Christ to the reign of Charles Martel (d. 741), relates the history of kings and emperors alongside

[1] Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, ed. F. Kurze, *MGH SRG* 50, 1–153; trans. S. MacLean, *History and Politics in Late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe. The Chronicle of Regino of Prüm and Adalbert of Magdeburg* (Manchester/New York 2009). On the significance of 908, the year in which Louis turned fifteen, see MacLean, *History and Politics*, p. 18.

[2] S. Airlie, '"Sad stories of the death of kings": narrative patterns and structures of authority in Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle*', in E. Tyler and R. Balzaretti (eds), *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West* (Turnhout, 2006), 105–31, p. 126. See also R. Meens, 'The rise and fall of the Carolingians. Regino of Prüm and his conception of the Carolingian empire', in L. Jégou, S. Joye, T. Lienhard and J. Schneider (eds), *Faire lien. Aristocratie, réseaux et échanges compétitifs. Mélanges en l'honneur de Régine Le Jan* (Paris, 2015), 315–23.

[3] R. McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages, The Conway Lectures in Medieval Studies, 2004* (Notre Dame, 2006), p. 31.

that of the Christian martyrs, popes and ecclesiastical authorities. A clear emphasis on Rome and the papacy is underlined by the end of Book I, where Regino included a list of popes from the earliest time up to Pope Zachary, who held the papal see at the time that Charles Martel was succeeded by his sons, Carloman (d. 754) and Pippin the Short (d. 768).[4] The second book then focuses on the history of the Carolingian dynasty, as its title, *Liber de gestis regum Francorum*, suggests. It begins with the death of Charles Martel and the succession of his sons, of whom Pippin would become the first king of the Carolingian dynasty with the firm support of the pope and of the papal legate Boniface, bishop of Mainz – or at least that is how Regino presents it.[5] The narrative of Book II continues up to 906. From its beginning, therefore, Regino's *Chronicle* closely associated this dynasty with the papacy. In doing so Regino faithfully followed the interpretation of events as recorded in the *Annales regni Francorum* (*ARF*), of which he copied one of the main versions in which this text is transmitted, the so-called B-recension, for the part of his second book covering the years 741 to 813.[6]

Given that Regino provided an overall truthful copy of the *ARF* (741–813), minor stylistic changes excepted, it is all the more remarkable that he added a lengthy interpolation to the entry for the year 746.[7] Following the *ARF*'s account of Carloman's journey to Rome, his foundation of the monastery of St Sylvester on Mount Soratte and finally his journey to the monastery of Monte Cassino where he was made into a monk, Regino added a long digression about Carloman's life as a monk. It related how Carloman, when he still resided at Monte Soratte, was venerated and lavishly praised because of his royal nobility and his rejection of earthly rule and secular glory. For fear of

[4] Regino, *Chronicon*, pp. 38–9.

[5] For doubts concerning the involvement of the papacy and Boniface in the Carolingian takeover, see J. Semmler, *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751 und die fränkische Königssalbung* (Düsseldorf, 2003), pp. 40–1; R. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 133–55; J. Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World 690–900* (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 83–6.

[6] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 813, p. 73. Where Regino's text differs from the text as printed by Kurze, this is due to his use of this particular recension. For the dissemination of the *ARF* and its recensions, see McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 111–13. Regino's text was identified as containing the B-recension by Kurze in his edition of the *ARF*; see his foreword to the edition of the *ARF*, pp. ix–x.

[7] Regino, *Chronicon*, pp. 41–3; a second interpolation occurs at 754, where Regino adds a text known as the *Revelatio Stephani papae*. Regino made some adaptations to the text. The *Revelatio* is edited in *MGH SS* 15:1, 1–4 by G. Waitz. For a recent discussion of this text and the closely related *Clausula de unctione Pippini*, see A. Stoclet, 'La *Clausula de unctione Pippini regis*, vingt ans après', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 78 (2000), 719–71.

vainglory, Carloman decided to flee from his monastery. Accompanied by a single trusted friend, and having abandoned all his possessions, he arrived at the gates of the monastery of St Benedict at Monte Cassino and asked to see the abbot. When Carloman was received, he immediately prostrated himself and declared himself to be a sinner and a murderer seeking a place for penance. Whether these sins were related to specific events – for example Carloman's cruel intervention in Alemania in 742 – or not, is uncertain. The abbot, recognising that he was dealing with foreigners, asked where he came from. Carloman declared that he was a Frank and that he fled the Frankish lands as a voluntary exile for his crimes in order not to lose access to the heavenly fatherland. The abbot decided that the two Franks were to be subjected to the normal procedures for the acceptance of novices, except that they should be tried even harder because they were of a barbaric and unknown people. After a year of testing, both were accepted into the community and professed the three basic Benedictine tenets: *stabilitas*, *conversio morum* and *oboedientia* (stability, a change of disposition and obedience).

Having stressed Carloman's humility and obedience while living among the monastic community of Monte Cassino, Regino continues his anecdote by stating that Carloman at some point came to be assigned to assist the cook. He did so willingly, but from ignorance made many mistakes. When this occurred, the wine-swilling cook slapped him, saying 'Is this a way to serve your brethren?'. Carloman responded to the cook's action as a true monk should: unaffected and with a placid expression he said 'May God and Carloman forgive you.' This was the first time that he used the name Carloman, so Regino informs his audience. When such an incident happened a second time, it evolved in a similar manner. However, when the cook hit Carloman a third time, the latter's companion could no longer tolerate the insult to his former lord. He grabbed a pestle and hit the cook severely with it, saying 'May God not save you, worthless servant, nor Carloman forgive you!'. The brethren in the monastery were shocked that a stranger whom they had received out of mercy ventured to do this and they locked him up for the night. The next day, upon being interrogated about his behaviour, Carloman's companion responded that he could not tolerate that such an excellent and noble man – he knew no better in the world – be not only insulted with words but even beaten by a vile servant. Whereupon the enraged brethren enquired who that person was who was so excellent and noble that he even outshone the abbot. Carloman's companion then revealed what God no longer wanted to remain secret, Regino wrote, and declared that they were dealing with Carloman, former king of the Franks, who for the love of God had given up his claims to the kingdom and glory of the world. When the monks of Monte Cassino heard this they all trembled in fear, prostrated themselves before Carloman's feet and asked for forgiveness for all their insults because they had been unaware of his identity. Carloman reacted by prostrating himself and denying in tears that he was the Carolingian Prince

Carloman. He was no more than a sinner and a murderer. From then on, however, his identity was known, and Carloman was hence treated with all respect.

This is for several reasons a problematic and therefore intriguing tale. Regino introduces it as an exemplary story, an *exemplum memorabile*, and ends it with the words 'we could not pass this over; let us now return to the chronicle'. The story thus clearly stands out from the rest of the *Chronicle*, which is further underlined by the fact that Regino here strays from his major source for this part of his work. Furthermore, no source for this tale has been identified. Was this a familiar story at the time, as Regino seems to imply when he indicates at the beginning that this memorable story is told (*fertur*)? Carloman's abdication and monastic conversion had been highly controversial back in the 740s. While the exact circumstances in which these occurred remain vague, and their voluntary character can be questioned, the story of a pious Carolingian prince seeking spiritual redemption for the sins of governance was quickly picked up by subsequent Carolingian history-writers and developed a tradition of its own in the course of the later eighth and ninth centuries.[8] Further on in the *Chronicle*, when reaching the end of his *ARF* exemplar, Regino identifies his major source for this part as 'a small booklet composed in the language of plebeians and rustics', and explains that he added some material that he had heard from stories of elders (*ex narratione seniorum audivi*).[9] He was probably thinking of Carloman's story when writing these words and it is not unthinkable that this story circulated in the monastery of Trier or Prüm, possibly brought to Prüm by Abbot Marcward after visiting Monte Cassino in 844.[10] What is certain, however, is that Regino thought this was a moral example that was useful to include in his main narrative. Such moral tales, nevertheless, are not only exceptional in Regino's *Chronicle*, they are also rare in annalistic historiography in the Carolingian age in general.[11] The question this chapter seeks to address is why Regino included this anecdote concerning Carloman's

[8] E. Goosmann, 'Memorable crises: Carolingian historiography and the making of Pippin's reign, 750–900' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 2013), pp. 159–204; E. Goosmann, 'Politics and penance: transformations in the Carolingian perception of the conversion of Carloman', in C. Gartner, R. McKitterick and S. Meeder (eds), *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2015), 51–67.

[9] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 813, p. 73: 'Haec, quae supra expressa sunt, in quodam libello repperi plebeio et rusticano sermone composita.'

[10] As suggested by MacLean, *History and Politics*, pp. 32 and 122 n.7.

[11] Another exception that also relates to Carloman's abdication and conversion is the so-called Massay recension of the *Annales Petaviani*: *Annales Masciacenses*, ed. P. Labbé, *Nova bibliotheca manuscriptorum librorum*, Vol. II (Paris, 1657), pp. 733–6; and *Annales Masciacenses*, ed. G. Pertz, *MGH SS* 3, 169–70. For a discussion of this text see Goosmann, 'Memorable Crises', pp. 218–21.

conversion to the monastic life: how does it fit the chronicle's narrative framework and what did the author intend to achieve with it?

The author and his motives

Before we address these questions, something first needs to be said about Regino, his motives for writing the *Chronicle* and the text's success. Very little is known about Regino's background. He was probably born in Altrip, an important Prüm estate, and entered the monastery of St Maximin in Trier at an early age.[12] Prior to 865 Regino moved to nearby Prüm. In 892, after Prüm had been sacked by Vikings for the second time, Regino was elected abbot with the consent of King Arnulf (r. 887–99) after his predecessor Farabert had stepped down.[13] The history of Prüm ran parallel to that of the royal dynasty. The monastery had been founded in 721 by Bertrada, grandmother of King Pippin the Short's wife, who bore the same name. After Pippin had become king in 751, he outfitted Prüm with lands, privileges and relics, among which were the Saviour's sandals.[14] Prüm quickly developed into a pillar of spiritual authority for the Carolingian family, as well as an economic powerhouse, richly endowed with property spread across the realm.[15] As abbot of this important monastery, Regino ranked among the highest echelons of the Lotharingian elite.

However, as soon as Arnulf's reign was drawing to a close, political alliances started to shift as local factions began to exploit new opportunities and adapted to the changing political landscape. During this violent political realignment, Regino was cast from his monastery. He fled to neighbouring Trier, where he was taken in by Archbishop Radbod and given the abbacy of the (much less prestigious) monastery of St Martin.[16] A leading Lotharingian magnate no more, Regino turned his attention to writing and became a prolific author,

[12] F. Roberg, 'Neues zur Biographie des Regino von Prüm', *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 72 (2008), 224–9.

[13] M. de Jong, 'Carolingian monasticism: the power of prayer', in *NCMH*, Vol. II, 622–53, p. 652 suggests a close connection between the Viking raid and Farabert's abdication.

[14] For which see the chapter by Julia Smith in this volume.

[15] L. Kuchenbuch, *Bäuerliche Gesellschaft und Klosterherrschaft im 9. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Sozialstruktur der Familia der Abtei Prüm* (Wiesbaden, 1978); and Y. Morimoto, 'Aspects of the early medieval peasant economy as revealed in the Polyptych of Prüm', in P. Linehan and J. Nelson (eds), *The Medieval World* (London/New York, 2001), 605–20.

[16] S. MacLean, 'Insinuation, censorship and the struggle for late Carolingian Lotharingia in Regino of Prüm's chronicle', *EHR* 124 (2009), 1–28.

composing a treatise on music (*De harmonica institutione*) and a handbook for episcopal visitations (*Libri duo de synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis*) in addition to his *Chronicle*.[17]

Even though Regino finished his *Chronicle* years after his fall from power, it is nonetheless clear from his work that he still mulled over the events that had driven him from Prüm.[18] The *Chronicle* may have covered all of Frankish history, but Regino's focus was clearly on contemporary themes and events. Moreover, Regino was not a passive observer, but actively participated in the events he chronicled. On a personal level, he wrote to regain his former influence in the realm. All the treatises he wrote in Trier were dedicated to leading aristocrats in the hope that they might restore him to a position of authority.[19] The *Chronicle* had, for example, been dedicated to Bishop Adalbero of Augsburg, godfather to King Louis 'the Child' (d. 911). Sadly, Regino did not achieve his goal.

That is not to say that his *Chronicle* was not a success, judging its early dissemination. Four manuscripts date to the tenth century and as many as eleven date to the eleventh.[20] Moreover, the careful investigation of the *Chronicle*'s manuscript tradition by Wolf-Rüdiger Schleidgen has demonstrated that quite a number of early manuscripts have not survived. In sum, therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that at least twenty manuscript copies must have been produced in the tenth and eleventh centuries – a remarkable number. If we compare this number to the two major biographies of Emperor Louis the

[17] For Regino's musical treatises, see E. de Coussemaker (ed.), *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series a Gerbertina altera*, Vol. II (Paris 1864–76; repr. Hildesheim, 1963), 1–73; and M. Le Roux, 'The *De harmonica* and *Tonarius* of Regino of Prüm' (Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1965). For his handbook for episcopal visitations, see Regino of Prüm, *Reginonis libri duo de synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis*, ed. H. Wasserschleben (Leipzig, 1840); see also the recent (partial) edition and translation by W. Hartmann, *Das Sendhandbuch des Regino von Prüm*, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 42 (Darmstadt 2004).

[18] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 892, p. 139, where he erased a passage that related to the circumstances of his forced retirement from Prüm. On the context of Regino's expulsion from Prüm in 899 and its reflection in the *Chronicle*, see MacLean, 'Insinuation'.

[19] MacLean, 'Insinuation'. *De harmonica institutione* and *De synodalibus causis* were dedicated to Archbishops Radbod of Trier and Hatto of Mainz respectively. Together with Adalbero of Augsburg, these three men formed something of a regency council during the reign of Louis 'the Child'.

[20] W.-R. Schleidgen, *Die Überlieferungsgeschichte der Chronik des Regino von Prüm*, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte 31 (Trier, 1977), p. 130.

Pious, written by Thegan and the Astronomer, with respectively three and five manuscripts surviving from the tenth and eleventh centuries, we can conclude that Regino succeeded in reaching a respectable audience.[21] In some of these manuscripts, Regino's work is combined with other Frankish historiographical works as, for example, in Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 1286/43, written in 1084 in Prüm. In this manuscript Regino's work is accompanied by the (other) parts of the *Annales regni Francorum*, the *Vita Karoli* of Einhard and the *Gesta Hludowici imperatoris* of Thegan.[22] The combination of Regino and Thegan is also found in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 408, written in the eleventh century in northern Italy or possibly St Blasien.[23] The inclusion of Regino's *Chronicle* in these kinds of historiographical compendia combining his work with other historiographical works indicates that, in some circles at least, it quickly became an authoritative book of history.[24]

Royal converts

Regino's personal situation might also account for his rather gloomy portrayal of contemporary affairs in the Carolingian realm. Lotharingia, the kingdom in which he was born and raised, had succumbed to political feuding, pagan armies overran the once-unconquerable empire, the Carolingian dynastic hegemony had ended, and the dynasty itself stood on the brink of extinction. Obviously, God looked on his Chosen People with displeasure, repaying their sins – particularly those of the Frankish leadership – with plague, disaster and war. Part of the reason why early medieval historiography focuses so strongly on the deeds of its kings is that their conduct could either ensure divine favour or incur divine wrath, and as such kings bore a huge responsibility towards their people. It was essential, therefore, that kings adhere to the divine laws and, if they broke these laws, compensate for their sins by submitting to

[21] For the numbers of manuscripts of the works of Thegan and the Astronomer, we relied on E. Tremp (ed.), *Gesta Hludowici imperatoris*, *MGH SRG* 64, pp. 31–40 and 123–33.

[22] For a recent description of the manuscript, see Thegan, *Gesta*, pp. 32–3; see also Schleidgen, *Überlieferungsgeschichte*, pp. 30–4.

[23] Thegan, *Gesta*, pp. 31–2; and Schleidgen, *Überlieferungsgeschichte*, pp. 68–71.

[24] For the value of historical compendia, see McKitterick, *History and Memory*; H. Reimitz, 'Der Weg zum Königtum in historiographischen Kompendien der Karolingerzeit', in M. Becher and J. Jarnut (eds), *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751. Vorgeschichte, Legitimationsstrategien und Erinnerung* (Münster, 2004), 277–320; H. Reimitz, 'The art of truth. Historiography and identity in the Frankish world', in R. Corradini, R. Meens, C. Pössel and P. Shaw (eds), *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, FGM 12 (Vienna, 2006), 87–103.

penance. The most rigorous form of penance was to lay down secular power and convert to the monastic life.[25]

Prüm happened to have had a remarkable history of acting as a place of custody for powerful magnates who either willingly or unwillingly submitted to a life of spiritual contemplation. Charlemagne's eldest son, Pippin the Hunchback, was imprisoned in Prüm after his rebellion against his father in the year 792.[26] Emperor Lothar I also ended his days in the monastery of Prüm, shortly after having laid down government in the year 855, as Regino recorded in his *Chronicle*.[27] The last offspring of the Carolingian family to enter Prüm's community was Hugh, Lothar's grandson, born from the union between Lothar II and Waldrada, and whom Regino had personally given the tonsure when he was abbot of Prüm. Nor is Regino's interest limited only to Prüm's royal alumni. Attention is given too to a contemporary of Hugh, who also (and perhaps not coincidentally) bore the name Carloman, a son of Charles the Bald. His father had destined him for an ecclesiastical career and Carloman had thus received the clerical tonsure at an early age. He was even ordained a deacon, but he returned to the world and revolted against his father.[28] As a punishment Charles had him blinded and confined to Corbie. However, in the 870s he managed to escape to his uncle, Louis the German, who out of pity, according to Regino, gave him the monastery of Echternach, located not far from Prüm, to sustain him.[29]

A second, equally remarkable example comes from further afield and appears to instruct that in dire times kings who had retired to a monastery could return to the world. At a time when matters in his own realm looked particularly grim, Regino drew his audience's attention to the Bulgar Khan

[25] M. de Jong, 'Monastic prisoners or opting out? Political coercion and honour in the Frankish Kingdoms', in M. de Jong, C. van Rhijn and F. Theuws (eds), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden/Boston, MA/Cologne, 2001), 291–328; and, in general, M. de Jong, *The Penitential State. Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge, 2009).

[26] Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, c. 20, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH SRG* 25, p. 25. A further example is that of Notker the Stammerer; see C. Hammer, '"Pipinus rex"; Pippin's Plot of 792 and Bavaria', *Traditio* 63 (2008), 235–76; and C. Hammer, *From Ducatus to Regnum. Ruling Bavaria under the Merovingians and Early Carolingians* (Turnhout, 2007).

[27] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 855, p. 77. See B. Isphording, 'Kaiser Lothar und Prüm', in R. Nolden (ed.), *Lothar I. Kaiser und Mönch in Prüm: Zum 1150. Jahr seines Todes* (Prüm, 2005), 73–87; and G. Hagedorn, 'Der Klostereintritt Kaiser Lothar I., sein Tod und sein Grab in Prüm', in Nolden, *Lothar I.*, 189–221.

[28] For a detailed account of his revolt, see J. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (Harlow, 1992), pp. 226–31.

[29] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 870, p. 102.

Boris, the first Bulgarian leader to accept Christianity. For Regino, Boris – or Michael, as he was baptised – was a model king, who wore royal attire during the day, while at night he wore sackcloth and lay prostrate on the church floor praying. At some point he even gave up his earthly rule and entered a monastery. The formulation that Regino chooses here mirrors his aforementioned entry on Carloman's conversion to the monastic life. Boris left his eldest son to rule, but after a certain time the son relapsed into paganism. When the retired king got wind of this, he put down his monastic habit, put on his military belt and his regal clothing, and, with the help of his followers, chased his son and defeated him. As a punishment he blinded his son and imprisoned him. After setting things right in this way, the king lay down his sword belt and once more entered the monastery where he spent the rest of his days leading a holy monastic life (*in sancta conversatione*).[30]

While the outcome of the royal conversions as described in the *Chronicle* were the same, the circumstances under which they occurred differ substantially. Lothar I and Boris are clearly presented as willing converts – kings who 'opted out'. Others, however, had little chance to 'opt': they had committed sin, often by rebelling against the established authorities, for which they were punished (often by being blinded) and made to atone in a monastery. Within this wide range of converts, Regino obviously made Carloman into a model royal convert, by carefully maintaining the self-imposed penitential character of his conversion. The anti-model, as it were, was Hugh, whose fate directly ties in with the events that, according to Regino, brought about the Carolingian decline, and who ended up in Prüm where Regino himself tonsured him.

The sins of Lothar

In the year 888 Emperor Charles the Fat died heirless, which, according to Regino, was the definitive end to the Carolingian hegemony.[31] As Regino saw it, the Frankish Kingdoms now came to be ruled by local strongmen, all equal to the task and none superior to the other. The absence of a single ruling dynasty elevated in status over the other great men of the realm had brought about political instability and a perpetual struggle for political dominance.[32] Yet the first signs of decline occurred long before 888.[33] As early as 841, when the sons of Louis the Pious fought each other at the battle of Fontenoy, Regino

[30] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 868, pp. 95–6. Compare F. Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500–1250* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 177; and J. Shepard, 'Slavs and Bulgars', in *NCMH*, Vol. II, 228–48, p. 246.

[31] Airlie, 'Sad Stories'.

[32] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 888, p. 129.

[33] See Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 880, pp. 116–17.

declared that 'the power of the Franks was so diminished, and their famous *virtus* so weakened, that thereafter they were incapable of expanding the kingdom, but also of defending its frontiers'.[34] However, Regino had no qualms about Emperor Lothar I, who was one of Prüm's most prolific sponsors and, as noted above, a respected royal alumnus.[35] Regino felt no such respect for the emperor's like-named son, who succeeded his father in the territory that subsequently came to be called Lotharingia (though Regino does his best to deny it). In fact, Regino held Lothar II personally responsible for the downfall of the kingdom and, ultimately, the dynasty.[36] When speaking about Lothar II, Regino cannot be bothered with subtle juxtaposition or surreptitious insinuation to express his opinions covertly, but instead openly declares that Lothar II's reign was condemned the moment he succeeded his father and married Theutberga: 'the greatest ruin resulted from this union, not only for him, but also for his whole kingdom'.[37]

Lothar's marriage to Theutberga was one of political convenience: it provided him with the political muscle necessary to kick-start his reign.[38] However, as early as 857 (Regino dates the event to 864) Lothar began to look for ways to divorce his wife, because he was diabolically in love with

[34] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 841, p. 75. The way Regino presents these events the fault lay not with Lothar I, but with his brothers, Louis the German and Charles the Bald. Cf. Regino, *Chronicle*, *s.a.* 880, where he glances back on the history of the Carolingians and concludes that the reign of Charlemagne was the high point of the dynasty's success. Again, Regino is quiet about the reign of Louis the Pious.

[35] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 855, p. 77. Lothar's patronage of the monastery is evident from his extant charters: *Die Urkunden Lothars I. 822–855*, ed. T. Schieffer, *MGH DD LoI/LoII*, 1–365, nos 56–7, 68, 85, 99, 114, 130–2, 137, 139. Lothar was also fondly remembered, alongside Pippin the Short, in Prüm's cartulary, which contains a Carolingian section dating back to the late ninth century: R. Nolden (ed.), *Das 'Goldene Buch' von Prüm (Liber aureus Prumiensis). Faksimile, Übersetzung der Urkunden, Einband* (Prüm, 1997). Moreover, Regino conveniently kept Lothar's name out of the crises of the 830s and early 840s. For example, Regino (*s.a.* 838) notes that Louis was deprived of his imperial dignity, but omits Lothar's leading role in this matter. Instead, Regino blames the 'various fornications of [Louis's] wife Judith'. However, Lothar is not favourably presented in Regino's account of the year 854, which states that Lothar opposed his father by preventing his brother Pippin from entering the clergy.

[36] Regino's resentment towards Lothar II went as far as to claim that Lotharingia did not derive its name from him, but from his father, Lothar I, however unlikely. Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 842 and 855, pp. 75 and 77.

[37] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 856, p. 77.

[38] The marriage and divorce are amply discussed by K. Heidecker, *The Divorce of Lothar II. Christian Marriage and Political Power in the Carolingian World* (Ithaca, NY, 2010).

his concubine Waldrada, as Regino formulated it.[39] Enlisting the aid of his leading bishops, Gunther of Cologne and Theutgaud of Trier, Lothar accused Theutberga of various depravities, for which she was condemned and their marriage annulled.[40] And even though canon law forbade divorcees entering into new unions, Lothar, on account of his youthful virility, had his leading prelates invoke the papal dictum *melius est nubere, quam uri* and subsequently Waldrada was presented to the assembled Lotharingian elite and hailed as the new queen.[41]

When word of this reached Rome, Pope Nicholas (858–67), highly suspicious of these proceedings, sent envoys to Lothar's kingdom to look into the matter.[42] Based on their findings and other reports, the pope concluded that the entire procedure had been unlawful in the eyes of the Church.[43] Gunter and Theutgaud were summoned to Rome and stripped of their ecclesiastical offices.[44] The pope then dispatched Bishop Arsenius as his legate to Francia, who, by threatening any and all with anathema, forced Lothar to reunite with Theutberga while excommunicating Waldrada.[45] However, as soon as Arsenius had returned to Rome, Lothar renewed his efforts to repudiate his wife, who, fearing for her life, fled to the court of Charles the Bald. She begged Nicholas to approve their divorce and promised that she would take up the veil. However, Nicholas would not allow this unless Lothar also consented to the monastic life.[46] Lothar, having no such intentions, instead continued to appeal for a marital annulment and papal consent to unite with Waldrada. Nicholas replied with a letter of admonition, berating the king that '[Lothar's] position is so exalted that by [his] adulterous example [he] might have cast so many thousands of men into the chaos of perdition.'[47] Again, Nicholas emphasised that 'even after Theutberga is dead, there are no laws or rules according to which you will ever be able or permitted to take Waldrada as your wife.'[48]

[39] Dating according to *AB*, *s.a.* 857, p. 47; cf. Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 864, p. 80.

[40] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 864, pp. 81–2. See also the prophetic anecdotes concerning these bishops in *AB*, *s.a.* 857, pp. 47–8.

[41] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 864, p. 82.

[42] For Nicholas's interference in this case, see the chapter by Tom Noble in this volume.

[43] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 865, p. 82. Regino follows closely the narrative of the *Life of Nicholas*, cc. 44–50, trans. R. Davis, *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis). The Ancient Biographies of Ten Popes from AD 817–891*, Translated Texts for Historians 20 (Liverpool, 1995), pp. 225–31.

[44] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 865, p. 83.

[45] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 866, p. 84.

[46] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 866, pp. 86–7.

[47] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 866, p. 88, trans. MacLean, *History and Politics*, p. 149.

[48] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 866, p. 89, trans. MacLean, *History and Politics*, p. 149.

Nicholas's position was therefore pretty straightforward: Lothar could only divorce Theutberga if he consented to enter the religious life.[49]

News of Nicholas's death must have come as a relief for Lothar, who optimistically travelled to Rome the following year, expecting to meet a more lenient papal successor.[50] But Lothar was in for a disappointment: Pope Hadrian II greeted the king by expressing his hope that '[Lothar] had been observing the admonitions of the pious father Lord Nicholas with every vigilance'.[51] Lothar lied that he had. Hadrian, who suspected the lie but did not dare to confront the king with it directly, instead invited Lothar to join him in the sacrament of the Eucharist, warning him only to accept:

> if you know yourself to be free of the crime of adultery that was prohibited and forbidden to you by Lord Nicholas, and you are resolved in your mind that for the rest of your life you will never engage in wicked sexual relations with your repudiated concubine Waldrada … If, however, your conscience accuses you and proclaims that you are cut with a deadly wound, or if you are minded to return to the pigsty of adultery, then do not dare accept it, lest the thing which divine providence has prepared for the salvation of the faithful brings you to judgment and damnation.[52]

Lothar and his men nonetheless accepted the sacrament. On their way back to Lotharingia, the king and his entourage perished from a pestilence near the city of Piacenza. Divine retribution had come swiftly.

Regino's coverage of these events is exceptionally elaborate, suggesting that he perceived the divorce case of Lothar II as a turning point in the dynasty's history.[53] While Regino may not personally have been involved with these proceedings – his account has many chronological inconsistencies – he did have access to a dossier of papal correspondence and synodal acts, which probably circulated in Francia.[54] Lothar's efforts to replace his queen had spiralled out of control as the papacy took an active stance in the matter, and rapidly evolved into a scandal of international proportions – no doubt to the contentment of Lothar's rivals and Theutberga's affronted relatives.

Regino only became involved in the aftermath of the conflict, long after Lothar had perished at Piacenza. Following his demise, Lotharingia had been carved up by its neighbours at the Treaty of Meersen (870), leaving Hugh,

[49] MacLean, *History and Politics*, p. 150 n. 117.

[50] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 868, pp. 94–5.

[51] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 869, p. 96; trans. MacLean, *History and Politics*, p. 158.

[52] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 869, p. 97, trans. MacLean, *History and Poltics*, 159.

[53] As argued in Meens, 'The rise and fall'.

[54] Probably the dossier assembled by Adventius of Metz. See N. Staubach, *Das Herrscherbild Karls des Kahlen* (Münster, 1981), pp. 153–214; for Regino's use of it, see pp. 161–6.

Lothar's sole male descendant by Waldrada, empty-handed. With his parents' union condemned as an adulterous affair, Hugh's relatives were quick to dismiss his claims. However, Hugh did have a regional following, not least because the incessant squabbling over Lotharingia by distant Carolingian rulers made him a natural focal point for regional opposition. At various points, therefore, Hugh surfaced in the Carolingian annals and chronicles as an active player in Lotharingian politics, whose status continuously shifted from asset to obstacle and back in relation to the political aspirations of his dominant Carolingian relatives. In a particularly daring plot, Hugh teamed up with Godfrid, a leader of the Viking Great Army which occupied upper Lotharingia at the time, in the attempt to seize his paternal birth right by force.[55] However, once Emperor Charles the Fat got wind of it, he responded by having Godfrid assassinated, and Hugh arrested, blinded and confined to a monastery.[56] Hugh's blinding occurred in 885, after which he was initially moved to St Gallen. According to Regino, Hugh was later brought to Prüm during the reign of King Zwentibold (895–900), where he was given the monastic tonsure by Regino personally. Hugh died a few years later and was buried at Prüm.[57] We may surely infer that Regino's personal experience with Hugh heightened his sensitivity to the topic of the proper conduct of royal inhabitants of monastic communities.

Biblical parallels

In this conflict between King Lothar II and Pope Nicholas, Regino's allegiance was unequivocally to the latter.[58] Lothar's adultery is described as a 'pestilential sickness' and 'a deadly infection' to both king and kingdom. Adultery aside,

[55] According to the *AF*, *s.a.* 883, p. 100, Hugh made a pact with Godfrid that he sealed by marrying off his sister, Gisela, to him. Regino, on the other hand (*Chronicon*, *s.a.* 882, pp. 119–20), states that the marriage was conducted on the initiative of Charles the Fat, in the hope of binding Godfrid to him as a vassal. Regino states that Hugh offered Godfrid half the kingdom if he supported his rebellion.

[56] Godfrid's plot is discussed by S. Coupland, 'From poachers to gamekeepers: Scandinavian warlords and Carolingian kings', *EME* 7 (1998), 85–114, pp. 108–12. For the punishment of blinding, see G. Bührer-Thierry, '"Just anger" or "vengeful anger"? The punishment of blinding in the early medieval West', in B. Rosenwein (ed.), *Anger's Past. The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 1998), 75–91; J. Nelson (trans.), *The annals of St-Bertin* (Manchester, 1991), p. 181 n. 5.

[57] *AF*, *s.a.* 885, p. 103; Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 885, p. 124; S. MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (New York, 2003), pp. 149–51.

[58] MacLean, *History and Politics*, p. 24.

Regino considered Lothar's crimes all the more damnable because he refused to accept 'the remedy of an apostolic antidote'.[59] It ended up costing Lothar his life and salvation, but, as Nicholas had warned in his letter, it also had repercussions for the kingdom as a whole. In the *Chronicle*, Pope Nicholas's death is followed by a eulogy, in which Nicholas is presented as an equal to Pope Gregory the Great, who had wielded an almost imperial authority over 'kings and tyrants'. Regino concluded by stating that Nicholas 'might deservedly be thought of as another Elias resurrected and awakened for our times by God, if not in body then in spirit and virtue'.[60]

Regino's identification of Pope Nicholas as an Elias, or Elijah, reborn, however brief, is highly significant because it instantly opens a window onto Regino's perception of these events – or at least reveals how Regino wished his readership, whom he expected to be well-versed in Scripture, to have perceived them. In identifying Nicholas as the prophet Elijah, Regino invites his readers to recall this biblical prophet and those closely connected with his memory: the (bad) Israelite King Ahab and his (even worse) wife, Jezebel, as recorded in the Books of Kings.[61] In his doing so, this biblical story becomes a parallel and overlapping history, with some very convenient, and rather obvious, similarities between the narratives' characters and morals. This implied intertextuality was another rhetorical trick in the chronicler's toolbox, in addition to juxtaposition and insinuation, allowing the author to relate strong sentiments in masked terms.[62]

According to the Old Testament, it was during the reign of King Ahab that the Israelites had turned away from God's commandments. On account of this, God had commanded the prophet Elijah to go to Ahab and relay to him a rather sinister prophecy. King Ahab was not fond of Elijah, who prophesied the doom that awaited Ahab and his kingdom. Thus, when Elijah came before the king, who enquired 'Art thou he that troublest Israel?', Elijah replied 'I have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy father's house, who have forsaken the commandments of the Lord, and have followed Baalim.'[63] Still, or so the Old Testament relates, Ahab was not entirely to blame because 'his wife Jezabel set him on'.[64] Thus Elijah spoke his terrible prophecy and cursed Ahab: 'Behold

[59] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 866, p. 89, trans. MacLean, *History and Politics*, p. 151.

[60] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 868, p. 94, trans. MacLean, *History and Politics*, p. 156.

[61] As noted by MacLean, *History and Politics*, p. 156 n. 147. The prophet Elias/Elijah is discussed in 1 and 2 Kings, and referred to in the New Testament as a forerunner to Christ. In 1 Kings 17.1, Elijah conveys God's message to King Achab/Ahab of his kingdom's impending doom. In 1 Kings 21.17–24 and 22.38 Elijah warns Ahab and Jezabel/Jezebel that they will die violent deaths.

[62] See also MacLean, 'Insinuation'.

[63] 1 Kings 18.17–18, Douay-Reims version.

[64] 1 Kings 21.25.

I will bring evil upon thee, and I will cut down thy posterity.'[65] For Regino the following passage would have been particularly illuminating:

> And when Achab had heard these words, he rent his garments, and put haircloth upon his flesh, and fasted and slept in sackcloth, and walked with his head cast down. And the word of the Lord came to Elias the Thesbite, saying: Hast thou not seen Achab humbled before me? therefore, because he hath humbled himself for my sake, I will not bring the evil in his days, but in his son's days will I bring the evil upon his house.[66]

Regardless, Ahab and Jezebel both died gruesome deaths, as Elijah had earlier foreseen. Ahab was then succeeded by his son, Ochozias/Ahaziah, who is described as a king who 'did evil in the sight of the Lord, and walked in the way of his father and his mother … who made Israel to sin. He served also Baal, and worshipped him, and provoked the Lord the God of Israel, according to all that his father had done.'[67] A comparison between the story of Ahab and that of Lothar reveals some very striking similarities, although some inconsistencies remain: to Regino's frustration, Lothar, unlike Ahab, had never 'bowed his head to God' and repented his sins. However, this biblical tale helps to understand the role in the *Chronicle* of Hugh, of whom, apart from his final act of rebellion and its aftermath, we hear relatively little. In Regino's mind, Hugh played the part of Ahaziah. In his entry for 883, Regino noted the evil and destruction caused by Hugh and his accomplices, whom Regino described as 'devotees of discord and quarrelling' and men 'who hated peace and justice'. Regino further remarked that Hugh and his men were about as wicked as the pagan Vikings, except that the latter also murdered and burnt.[68] Regino concluded that:

> almighty God was enraged at the kingdom of Lothar and began to act against and to utterly destroy the strength of that same kingdom by increasing disasters of such a kind that the prophecy of the most holy Pope Nicholas, and also the curse which he had pronounced over this kingdom, was fulfilled.[69]

Thus far, however, historians have struggled to identify the alleged prophecy and curse of Pope Nicholas that Regino mentioned in his account. Neither Nicholas's correspondence nor his papal biography explicitly refers to such a curse. MacLean's suggestion that Nicholas's letter to the Frankish prelates, written in 866, might be interpreted as such might come closest, but ultimately fails to convince.[70] Perhaps, then, Regino is not only talking about Nicholas

[65] 1 Kings 21.21.
[66] 1 Kings 21.27–9.
[67] 1 Kings 22.52–4.
[68] Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 883, pp. 120–1.
[69] Regino, *Chronicon*, p. 121, trans. MacLean, *History and Politics*, 189.
[70] MacLean, *History and Politics*, p. 43. Regino, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 866, letter no. 42, pp. 88–9, trans. MacLean, *History and Politics*, pp. 147–8. Perhaps letter no. 48,

here, but at the same time about his biblical equivalent, Elijah. After all, this biblical prophet cursed Ahab's lineage and foretold its end, though on account of Ahab's repentance God postponed it by one generation. This would match neatly with Regino's observation of events in his own time: Lothar may have been the root of all evil, but it was during the lifetime of his son, Hugh, that Lothar's line, his kingdom, and the Carolingian political hegemony ended.

Conclusion

As we hope to have made clear in this chapter, the theme of royal monastic conversion was of major significance to Regino. This is not only demonstrated by the interpolation concerning Carloman's conversion in Monte Cassino in the *Chronicle*, but also by the examples discussed above concerned with kings and princes ending up in monasteries for one reason (or crime) or another. Regino's interest in this phenomenon may in part derive from his first-hand experience in dealing with Hugh, a member of the royal family who was relegated to a life in a monastery. Moreover, the monastic community of Prüm had a long tradition of accepting members of the royal family into their ranks – from a retiring, aged emperor to young, ambitious princes who entered the monastery for rebelling against their fathers and uncles. Many stories about these illustrious members of the community must have circulated in Prüm and perhaps some elements of Carloman's conversion story have their origin in such tales. The Carloman entry therefore not only seems to represent a Benedictine model for royal behaviour, with its stress on humility, penance and obedience, but also seems to reveal something of the problems that the reception of an illustrious member of the royal family could entail. Royal figures were probably accompanied by others, their secular status could interfere with the hierarchy within the monastery and they continued to entertain relations with the outside world. Carloman's behaviour in Monte Cassino was exemplary, but this probably was not the case with other high-status exiles, such as, for example, Hugh. Perhaps Regino intended this *exemplum* as a form of education for high-status political refugees in a monastery.

In addition to this practical application for Carlomans's *exemplum memorabile*, Regino had a more general point to make about proper royal conduct and royal responsibility. In general, historians in the early medieval period were meant to educate rulers, to interpret events and thereby to demonstrate how God worked in history.[71] The ninth century saw a massive growth in the

inserted also by Regino into his chronicle in the entry for 866, pp. 86–7, would make for a likelier candidate.

[71] K.-F. Werner, 'Gott, Herrscher, und Historiograph. Der Geschichtsschreiber als Interpret des Wirken Gottes in der Welt und Ratgeber der Könige (4. bis 12. Jahrhundert)', in E.-D. Hehl, H. Siebert and F. Staab (eds), *Deus qui mutat*

production of historical writing.[72] Regino's chronicle seems to fit Carolingian historiography in the sense that it was court-oriented, if we define 'the court' somewhat loosely as 'a network of elite men and women – lay magnates and their households, bishops and their clerics, abbots and abbesses and their communities – who owed their wealth and privilege to the ruler'.[73] It is clear that Regino himself belonged, or perhaps used to belong, to such an elite. Writing history was a means to frame particular events, and thus writers of history took part in 'political' debates among the courtly elite. Their works could legitimise certain actions and delegitimise others, and they were clearly aiming at the political centre. Thus Regino's descriptions of the exemplary behaviour of a member of the Carolingian family after entering the monastic life, or the opposite – the anti-models of Carloman, the son of Charles the Bald, or of Hugh, with whom Regino had personal experience – should not only be seen as a form of instruction for Louis the Child, but should also be regarded as a critique of the rebellious sons Carloman and Hugh and their entourage, matters that were possibly still disputed by the time Regino was writing. Such moral tales were certainly also directed at other young and ambitious Carolingian, or non-Carolingian, princes attempting to realise their political ambitions. Regino's descriptions were a mirror for kingship and aristocratic behaviour, in which respect for the Church, particularly with regard to the bishops of Rome, but also for the monastic communities that were involved in court culture and politics, were of central importance.

We should also keep in mind that Regino was convinced that the Carolingian world was going through a serious crisis. Violence, political instability, famine and pagan invasions: they were all signs that the Franks and particularly their kings had incurred God's displeasure. The cause for this was royal sin; its solution – or medicine – was royal penance. In this respect, Regino probably envisaged Lothar II as the anti-model to Carloman. After all, this – in Regino's view – wretched king was warned about the consequences of his sinful deeds and, having been called to atone for his adultery by entering the monastery, refused to heed this papal advice and instead persisted in his crimes. So Elijah returned in the guise of a pope to utter his prophecies of doom, upon which the curtain fell for this Carolingian Ahab and his kingdom.

More than a practical instruction on conversion, Regino's lengthy moral anecdote about Carloman's conversion at the monastery of Monte Cassino was

tempora: Menschen und Institutionen im Wandel des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Alfons Beckers (Sigmaringen, 1987), 1–31.

[72] R. McKitterick and M. Innes, 'The writing of history', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture. Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1994), 193–220; and McKitterick, *History and Memory*. See also the contribution of Dorine van Espelo in this volume.

[73] De Jong, *Penitential State*, p. 61.

meant to inspire kings and instruct them in the virtue of humility and the responsibility they bore towards their people. Regino included this and other stories about rulers entering a monastery as part of a debate on the nature and function of kingship and of 'Carolingianness'. A good Carolingian king must not only be a firm ruler with military leadership, but should also entertain good relations with, and show proper reverence for, the Church. The different vignettes that Regino introduces in his *Chronicle* concerning members of royal families such a Lothar I, Hugh of Lotharingia or Khan Boris of the Bulgars, and their relation with the monastic communities in which they resided, demonstrate the importance of this theme in Regino's work and in his conception of kingship. Regino must have aimed at a wide court circle as the audience for his chronicle in order to contribute to a debate on kingship, and the ample early diffusion of his work as established by its manuscript transmission reveals that he was successful in this respect. Regino's views on kingship, of which his anecdote about Carloman in Monte Cassino was exemplary, influenced later kings, their advisers and members of the aristocracy, but precisely to what extent must remain open until further research is able to trace in greater detail Regino's audience in later ages.

Part IV

Powerful bishops

17

Merovingian gospel readings in Northumbria: the legacy of Wilfrid?

David Ganz

Charlemagne's kingdom, it has recently been maintained, was 'defined by prayer', but we know very little about the chants, the prayers or the readings that made up the Mass before the age of Charlemagne.[1] The very core of early medieval religious experience can only be studied in a few instances, and it is far from clear what may be built on them. In the case of Anglo-Saxon England we have fragments of three sacramentaries that provide information on Anglo-Saxon prayer.[2] Our chief evidence comes from some thirty Anglo-Saxon gospel books, which sometimes reveal which gospel passages were chosen to be read on particular days. Among these, six manuscripts have marginal notes indicating such uses: the Lindisfarne Gospels; London, BL, Royal I B vii; Durham, Cathedral Library, A II 16 and A II 17; and two sixth-century Italian gospel books.[3] From these six manuscripts scholars have tried to reconstruct the liturgical system of gospel lections in use in Anglo-Saxon England before 800.[4] This chapter is a discussion of one of these witnesses.

Durham Cathedral Library, A II 16

The remarkable gospel book Durham Cathedral Library, A II 16 has received much less attention than the New Testament fragment Durham, A II 10 and the

[1] Quotation from M. de Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', in J. Story, *Charlemagne. Empire and Society* (Manchester/New York, 2005), 103–35, p. 125.

[2] See the following three manuscripts: London, BL, Ms. Add. 37518, fols. 116–17, ed. L. Mohlberg, *Liber sacramentorum Romanae ecclesiae (Vat Reg. 316)* (Rome, 1960), pp. 266–7; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, lat. fol. 87, ed. K. Gamber, *Das Bonifatius-Sakramentar und weitere frühe Liturgiebücher aus Regensburg* (Regensburg, 1975); Paris, BnF, lat. 9488, ed. H. Bannister, 'Liturgical fragments', *Journal of Theological Studies* 9 (1908), 402–6.

[3] Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. p. th. f. 68, which came to Anglo-Saxon England before it was taken to Würzburg; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct D 2 14.

[4] U. Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion und die Perikopenordnungen im angelsächischen England* (Munich, 1997).

Durham Gospels, A II 17.[5] The manuscript presents a number of challenges to most accounts of insular gospel books: it is the work of several scribes writing very different scripts, and its date remains problematic. Richard Gameson has recently described it as 'intriguing and enigmatic'.[6] It contains a set of contemporary lection marks in the Gospel of Matthew. These lections were published by the executors of C. H. Turner as an appendix to his edition of a gospel book in St Gallen, but neither he nor they offered any a commentary, though Ursula Lenker discussed them in her study of gospel readings in Anglo-Saxon England.[7] Unlike all other lections from seventh- and eighth-century Northumbria, they contain several Gallican readings. Since the Northumbrian prelate most closely associated with Merovingian Gaul is Wilfrid, the question arises: could this book reflect his own books?

The manuscript is the work of four scribes writing several very different scripts, and now comprises 134 folia measuring 350 × 250 mm, with the text copied in two columns of thirty lines save for scribe 3 on fols 24–33, who prefers between twenty-seven and twenty-eight lines. It is one of the larger insular gospel books.[8] Unfortunately the openings to the Gospels of Matthew, Luke and John are now lost, so we lack a clear sense of the decoration of the book and of the prefatory materials to those gospels.[9]

[5] For Durham, Cathedral Library, A II 16, see *CLA*, Vol. II, no. 148a, b and c; R. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 18–20 and Plates 5–7. P. McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books from AD 400 to AD 800* (Paris/Brussels, 1961), pp. 27–9, nos 10–12. Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2981 (18) is a fragment cut from fol. 11. Durham Cathedral Library, Mss. A II 10 and A II 17 were illustrated by C. Nordenfalk, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting. Book Illumination in the British Isles 600–800* (New York, 1976); and by G. Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells. The Insular Gospel-Books 650–800* (London, 1987). A II 17 was reproduced in full facsimile: C. Verey, T. Brown and E. Coatsworth (eds), *The Durham Gospels*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 20 (Copenhagen, 1980).

[6] R. Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures of Durham Cathedral* (London, 2010), p. 38.

[7] C. Turner, *The Oldest Manuscript of the Vulgate Gospels. Deciphered and Edited with an Introduction and Appendix* (Oxford, 1931); see the appendix: 'Liturgical notes in Durham A II 16 and A II 17', p. 217. Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion.* The manuscript is Lenker's Me 31; see pp. 102–6, and 396–7. She noted that the readings for the temporale were chiefly concerned with times of penance.

[8] The Stockholm Codex Aureus measures 394 × 318 mm; Paris, BnF, lat. 281 + 298 350 × 265 mm; Durham, A II 17 344 × 265 mm; and the Lindisfarne Gospels 340 × 245 mm. All other Anglo-Saxon gospel books are smaller.

[9] C. Turner, 'Iter Dunelmense: Durham Bible MSS with the text of a leaf lately in the possession of Canon Greenwell of Durham, now in the British Museum', *Journal of Theological Studies* 10 (1909), 529–34, p. 531 suggested that the exemplar was mutilated, since he could detect no loss between the end of Mark on fol. 60v and Luke 1.57 on fol. 61r.

The first scribe writing an uncial script that E. A. Lowe considered 'late, somewhat artificial and not very expert' copied fols 1–23, 34–51 and the misplaced fol. 102.[10] It encompasses Matthew 2.13–22.15, the first part of Mark to the end and Luke 1.57–16.15. A second uncial scribe writing a very similar script copied fols 52–86: the second part of the Gospel of Mark and the first part of Luke. David Wright described their script as 'curiously awkward and elaborate uncial script, with triangular serifs forced upon the tail of G and the upper bowl of the B'.[11] The fork of *Y* is particularly deep, starting just below the line of writing; *S* looks awkward because of the length of the horizontal strokes; and there are large triangular serifs on the horizontal strokes of *F* and *L*. *G* and *Q* end in triangular serifs below the letter. The uncial quires are signed with roman numerals in the centre of the upper margin of the first page. C. H. Turner noted that the text of the fifth quire, fols 34–43, was rewritten, and detected part of Mark 5 as the lower text on fol. 37v, 'which in the rewritten form of the sheet now appears on fol. 41v'.[12]

The last portion of the Gospel of Matthew (23.3–28.14; fols 24–33) and fols 87–96 (Luke 16.15 to the end) are copied in insular half uncial, and the scribe of this portion also wrote the marginal Eusebian numbers in the uncial part, and the rubrics. For Turner the difference in script was the result of the nationality of the scribes: 'I have no doubt that an Irish-writing scribe was put on to assist the Italian-writing scribe in the work of copying, or possibly to complete work which the Italian scribe had, for whatever reason, to leave unfinished.'[13] This scribe wrote with considerable skill and fluency. The Gospel of John, now comprising 1.27–15.16 and 16.33–21.8, is copied by a fourth scribe in a superb insular half uncial. The final letters of certain sections are extended to the right.

Decoration and script

The text of Mark begins on fol. 37r with a large decorated initial *I* topped by a human face with elaborate interlace above it.[14] It runs the full length of the column of text, and is one of the most substantial initials in any early Anglo-Saxon gospel book. It ends at the base in an animal head with open jaws.[15] The stem of the letter is divided into five panels of interlace. The whole initial is the earliest instance of motifs that are combined in the same way in

[10] *CLA*, Vol. II, no. 148a, b and c.
[11] D. Wright, 'Some notes on English uncial', *Traditio* 17 (1961), 441–56, p. 448.
[12] Turner, 'Iter Dunelmense', p. 531. Verey's thesis makes no mention of the palimpsest.
[13] Turner, 'Iter Dunelmense', p. 532.
[14] For a colour plate, see Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, p. 38.
[15] Similar animal heads, decorated in two colours, are found in the Lindisfarne Gospels.

Franco-Saxon illuminated manuscripts. The preface to Mark's Gospel on fol. 34r begins with a large initial *M*, and the chapter list to Mark on fol. 34v begins with a large *A* whose head stroke is a crested animal head. The body of the letter is decorated with red dots.[16] Sentence capitals in Matthew and Mark are surrounded with red dots. In the Gospel of John the corresponding letters are filled with a yellow wash and outlined with red dots. The closest stylistic parallel is the Durham manuscript of Cassiodorus on the Psalms: Durham Cathedral Library, B II 30.

The date of the manuscript is uncertain: Lowe believed that the Gospel of John was copied in the late eighth century, but dated the rest of the book no more precisely than 'eighth century'. He was followed by Patrick McGurk. Alexander suggested '(?) first half of the eighth century'.[17] Gameson prefers a date in the second half of the eighth century.[18] David Dumville has written of the uncial section that 'if it belongs to the period before Monkwearmouth-Jarrow abandoned its heavy commitment to romanising book-production it could have been created in a Mediterranean-influenced but less exclusivist scriptorium'.[19] His alternative is that it is a later book from Wearmouth-Jarrow. The most careful analysis remains that by David Wright, who suggested that it is 'probably to be dated to the middle of the eighth century on the basis of its decoration'.[20] It was at Durham in the twelfth century, and the script and the parchment suggest that it is a Northumbrian book.

The choice of uncial has been seen as a deliberate imitation of Roman models, such as the sixth century fragment of Macchabees, now Durham, B IV 6, fol. 169a, which was the source for the Codex Amiatinus, or the Burchard Gospels in Würzburg, which have Northumbrian supply leaves.[21] English Uncial was particularly concerned with calligraphy, showing an extreme care to deploy serifs at the end of the upper curves of *C*, *E*, *G*, *S* and *X*, with the horizontal strokes of *F*, *L* and *T*, and the lower stroke of *Z*

[16] There is a colour plate of the initial in Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, p. 40; and a black-and-white plate of the whole page in E. Lowe, *English Uncial* (Oxford, 1960), Plate 17.

[17] For Lowe and McGurk see n. 5 above; J. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts. 6th to the 9th Century* (London, 1978), pp. 45–6.

[18] Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, pp. 34–8.

[19] D. Dumville, *A Palaeographer's Review. The Insular System of Scripts in the Early Middle Ages* (Osaka, 1999), p. 56 n. 78. Elsewhere he characterised the book as 'a highly complex codex in three scripts' (p. 44 n. 17).

[20] D. Wright, 'Some notes on English uncial', p. 448.

[21] Würzburg, M. p. th. f. 68; *CLA*, Vol. IX, no. 1423a and b; McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books*, pp. 75–6.

drawing on sixth-century models.[22] But uncial was not the only script used in Northumbria. The uncial of Wearmouth-Jarrow was isolated in a very different scribal landscape; indeed, uncial was more widely used south of the Humber. Bischoff regarded English uncial as more than a series of attempts at imitation: it was a continuous engagement.[23]

But uncial was also used at Lyon and at Luxeuil. It was used for copies of Gregory of Tours, including the calligraphic uncial of a manuscript that belonged to Beauvais.[24] The lack of surviving gospel books from Merovingian Francia may have distorted our picture: but there are a number of uncial gospel books produced in Francia, such as Paris, BnF, lat. 256 (Saint-Denis); the damaged Old Latin fragment in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 502; and perhaps the text of Mark, Luke and John in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 7223.[25] It is very hard to imagine that Merovingian gospel books were copied in any other script. The remarkable feature of Durham, A II 16 is that the script in which the Synoptic Gospels were written changes dramatically, and that the Gospel of John is copied in another script, and taken from a different textual family. There are some other gospel books with very different scripts in the same volume: the gospel book now divided between Corpus Christi College, Cambridge and the British Library; the Barberini Gospels; and the Trier Gospels.[26]

The decoration of Durham, A II 16 includes panels of strand interlace in the panels in the letter *I* at the start of Mark's Gospel on fol. 37r, the two-colour animal-head terminal at the base of that initial, the large *A* decorated with red dots on the strokes of the letter interlace terminals at the base of the letter, an animal head with an interlace tongue at the end of the headstroke on fol. 34v and the enlarged *M* with interlace. The book was certainly at Durham by the twelfth century, when documents were entered into it: on fol. 101v a forged bull of Pope Gregory VII addressed to the bishop of Durham; on fol. 60v a charter of Robert, bishop of St Andrews, granting freedom to the church at

[22] The finest account is B. Bischoff, 'Anzeige von E. A. Lowe, *English Uncial*', in B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftenkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. II (Stuttgart, 1967), 328–39.

[23] Bischoff, 'Anzeige', pp. 336–7.

[24] Paris, BnF, lat. 17654.

[25] *CLA*, Vol. X, no. 1481; Vol. I, no. 54.

[26] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 197b, and London, BL, Cotton Otho C V (*CLA*, Vol. II, no. 125). Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 570 (*CLA*, Vol. I, no. 63): the manuscript is the work of four scribes. Trier, Domschatz 61 (formerly Dombibl. 134) (*CLA*, Vol. IX, no. 1364): this manuscript is the subject of a monograph by N. Netzer, *Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century. The Trier Gospels and the Making of a Scriptorium at Echternach* (Cambridge, 1994).

Coldingham, dated 1127; and an account of the visit of Archbishop Thomas of York to Durham.

Text

Durham, A II 16 contains four distinct recensions of the gospel text. Matthew is close to the version in the Echternach Gospels. Mark uses an Italian text that Verey considered closest to Durham, A II 17 and the Cambridge-London Gospels. The text of the Gospel of John is close to that in the Codex Amiatinus.[27] The capitula to Mark are the C series of capitula described by Verey as Italo-Northumbrian.[28]

The manuscript has a number of marginal liturgical notes of considerable interest in the Gospel of Matthew, indicating parts to be read at Mass.[29] They include readings for the archangel Michael; the apostle Andrew; the passion of John the Baptist (with the same reading as is used by Bede for his homily: a Gallican and Neapolitan choice according to Willis); a martyr (*de martyris*); and particular ceremonies, namely 'in ordinatione aepiscopi' beside Matthew 20.1 and 24.44.[30] The manuscript is listed by Vogel among his 'lectionaries of Merovingian Gaul'.[31] The notes read as in Table 17.1.

Comments

Verey commented on the script of these notes: 'The hand of the lection notes was probably the same as that which added the Ammonian section numbers; it has many points in common with the Majuscule of the text – the ligatures mi, ti, ci, en si and na are identical in both, and both use cursive e with reversed lower bow in ligatures.'[32]

Lenker suggested that the scribe of the liturgical notes may have recognised that they did not correspond to standard Northumbrian readings and decided to

[27] C. Verey, 'A collation of the Gospel texts contained in Durham Cathedral mss. A.II.10, A.II.16 and A.II.17, and some provisional conclusions therefrom regarding the type of Vulgate text employed in Northumbria in the 8th century, together with a full description of each ms.' (M.A. thesis, Durham University, 1969), esp. pp. 409–588. This thesis is now available online at http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/5577/.

[28] Verey, 'A collation', p. 90.

[29] Turner, *The Oldest Manuscript*, appendix, p. 217. The volume was published by A. Souter after Turner's death.

[30] G. Willis, *Further Essays in Early Roman Liturgy* (London, 1968), pp. 214–16.

[31] C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy. An Introduction to the Sources* (Washington, 1986), p. 326.

[32] Verey, 'A collation', p. 412.

Table 17.1 Notes in Durham, Cathedral Library, A II I6

Folio	Gospel ref. text	Also in
2r	Matt. 4 I in capite xl	Bobbio Wb Burchard fol. 24v Rome
2r	Matt. 4.12 de cotidiano	III Rogations Luxeuil
2v	Matt. 4.18 in nt sci andreae	Royal 1 B VII Burchard Nat Apost Bobbio Auct D 2 14, Roman capitulare Evangeliorum no. 232
3r	Matt. 5.17 de cotidiana	Quadragesima in Weiss 76; Cotidiana in I B VII Burchard fol. 26 v
102v[a]	Matt. 8.28 de passione	
9r	Matt. 10.16 de scorum	in sanctorum Trier de plures martyres Paris, BnF lat. 256 Burchard fol. 33r Auct D 2 14 in scorum
12v	Matt. 13.24 in xl	Dominicales legenda Bobbio FR in Auct D 2 14. This lection is also indicated on fol. 43v of Paris, BnF lat. 17226, a Merovingian uncial gospel book.
13r	Matt. 13.36 in nat michaeli archangelis	
13v	Matt. 14.1 passio sci iohan babt	Lux Bobbio Trier I B VII Burchard
15r	Matt. 15.1 in feria in ieiunio septimi mensis	Ember Days fol. 15v Matt. 15.21 in xii lectio in xl
16r	Matt. 15.32 in sab in xii lec mensis septi	Letaniis in Bobbio Trier[b]
17r	Matt. 17.1 in xl	Roman reading for first Sunday in Lent; also Dominicalis in Paris, BnF. lat. 256; reading for Rogations in Bobbio.
20v	Matt. 20.1 in ordinatione aepiscopi	
26v	Matt. 24.44 in ordina episco [Roman reading for the ordination of a priest]	
26v	Matt. 25.1 de martyris	[Burchard fol. 56r, Auct D II 14]
28r	Matt. 26.1 de cena dn	cf. Luxeuil in cena Dni ad matutinos Trier

[a] This leaf is misbound.

[b] The standard Roman reading was Matt. 17.1–9.

For comparative material I have used the tables given by Salmon and Lenker and the editions of Gallican marginal pericopes; G. Morin, 'La liturgie de Naples au temps de St Grégoire d'après deux évangéliaires du septième siècle', *Revue Bénédictine* 8 (1891), 481–93, 529–37. Würzburg: G. Morin, 'Liturgie et basiliques de Rome au milieu du VIIe siècle d'après les listes d'Évangiles de Würzburg', *Revue Bénédictine* 28 (1911), 328–30. Sélestat: G. Morin, 'Un lectionnaire mérovingien avec fragments du texte occidental des Actes', *Revue Bénédictine* 25 (1908), 161–6. Paris, BnF, lat. 256: G. Morin 'Le lectionnaire de l'église

Table 17.1 (*cont.*)

de Paris au VIIe siècle', *Revue Bénédictine* 10 (1893), 438–41. Trier: D. de Bruyne, 'Les notes liturgiques du ms 134 de la cathédrale de Trèves', *Revue Bénédictine* 33 (1921), 46–52. Burchard: G. Morin, 'Les notes liturgiques de l'Évangéliaire de Burchard', *Revue Bénédictine* 10 (1893), 113–26. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weiss 76 is a sixth-century uncial lectionary published by A. Dold, *Das älteste Liturgiebuch der lateinischen Kirche. Ein altgallikanisches Lektionar des 5.–6. Jahrh. aus den Wolfenbütteler Palimpsest-Codex Weissenburgensis 76* (Beuron, 1936). Bobbio: E. Lowe, *The Bobbio Missal. A Gallican Mass-Book (MS Paris Lat. 13246); Text Notes and Studies*, Henry Bradshaw Society Publications 58 and 61 (London, 1920).

abandon copying them.[33] What seems not to have been noticed is that the words **in illo tempore** were copied by the text hand as a part of the gospel text on fol. 100v at Luke 24.36 *in illo tempore essent discipuli*. This corresponds to the reading for Easter Tuesday in Burchard and in *ebdomada pascha*.[34] The incipit **in illo tempore** is standard for the start of a lection, and was presumably copied from the exemplar of the volume. In addition to these notes, on fol. 61r, by the text of Luke 1.60, is a marginal note that seems to read *prore*. The manuscript also contains a number of marginal crosses. One of these corresponds to the Gallican Easter reading in Mark 16 and is found on fol. 59v, with another at Luke 22.1 on fol. 95r (the reading for the Wednesday of Easter week in Burchard and the Würzburg *Comes*). There is a cross on fol. 99v beside Luke 23.54–5 and a cross in the margin of fol. 133v for the account of the Resurrection in John.

Further evidence of liturgical reading is attested by the use of the Passion letters **l** and **c** in Luke 22 on fol. 95v and before John 18 on fol. 130r. These are some of the earliest extant Passion letters, which were intended to assist in reading the text aloud.[35] Accents have been inserted over vowels in the Passion passages in Matthew 26 on fols 28v–31r; in Luke 4 on fols 65ff.; and in the account of the Passion in Luke 22, fol. 95r–v.[36] While it is extremely difficult to date such accents, it is not impossible that they were added in the eighth or ninth century.

[33] Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion*, p. 397 n. 32. However, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct D 2 14 also has liturgical notes only in the Gospel of Matthew.

[34] This was recorded by Verey, 'A collation' in his collation on p. 590 without comment.

[35] These letters are placed over passages in the Passion narrative in the gospels to indicate how the text was to be read aloud, distinguishing between direct speech and the narrative in which that was set: M. Huglo, *Les livres de chant liturgiques* (Turnhout, 1988), pp. 18–20. Unfortunately Huglo does not identify the manuscripts that he discusses, but he regarded the use of *c* and *l* as Italo-Northumbrian: *c* and *t* is the more common practice.

[36] Luke 4 on fols. 65ff. is a Rogation reading in the Würzburg Gospels; Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. p. th. q. lat. 1.

The earliest evidence for a systematic series of readings is given by Gennadius in his account of Musaeus, a priest of Marseille who died in 458/59.[37] Musaeus had compiled scriptural readings for all of the feasts of the year. Later Gallican lections are found in the palimpsest lectionary in Wolfenbüttel, in the Luxeuil lectionary and the Bobbio Missal, as well as in marginal notes in gospel books.[38] The earliest evidence for knowledge of the Roman system of lections is found in Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. p. th. f. 62, a manuscript copied in insular minuscule, most probably in Anglo-Saxon England.[39] It contains sixteen leaves, starting with a two-column numbered list of 213 feasts beginning *In natale Domini ad sanctam mariam*, followed on fol. 2v with a list of Epistle readings headed *Incipiunt capitula lectionum de circulo anni* written in long lines, and then followed, in the middle of fol. 10v, by *Incipiunt Kap sancti Evangeli lec* starting with the reading *In natale domini ad sanctam Maria maiorem.* Our knowledge of the lections read in the Anglo-Saxon Church before the adoption of the Roman lectionary in the tenth century depends on the marginal notes in surviving gospel books from Anglo-Saxon England, the lists of lections copied into two of these books and the lections that serve as the basis for Bede's homiliary.[40] Lenker suggested that the choice of gospel readings in early Anglo-Saxon England was relatively free in the early period, with several readings being designated only as appropriate for Lent or Advent, rather than for specific days.[41] The earliest surviving Mass lectionary from Anglo-Saxon

[37] Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*, c. LXXX, ed. E. Richardson, Texte und Untersuchungen 14 (Leipzig, 1896), p. 88.

[38] For an excellent recent account of the Merovingian lections see P. Carmassi, 'Das Lektionar Cod. Guelf. 76 Weiss: Beispiele liturgischer Verwendung der Heiligen Schrift im frühmittelalterlichen Gallien', in P. Carmassi (ed.), *Präsenz und Verwendung der Heiligen Schrift im christlichen Frühmittelalter* (Memmingen, 2008), 251–90. Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 1063 was a New Testament manuscript copied at Corbie in the second half of the seventh century, which has Gallican lection notes and lection marks that have not been published. I am preparing an edition.

[39] There is a complete facsimile: H. Thurn (ed.), *Comes Romanus Wirziburgensis. Facsimileausgabe des Codex M. p. th. f. 62 der Universitäts-Bibliothek Würzburg* (Graz, 1968); and a critical edition by T. Klauser (ed.), *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum. Texte und Untersuchungen zu seiner ältesten Geschichte* (Münster, 1935), pp. 13–46.

[40] Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion*, esp. pp. 60–133 and 175–80. The clearest account of liturgy in early Anglo-Saxon England is C. Cubitt, 'The liturgical provisions of the Council of Clofesho (747)', in C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils: c. 650–c. 850* (Leicester, 1995), 125–52. Cf. C. Cubitt, 'Unity and diversity in the early Anglo-Saxon liturgy', in R. Swanson (ed.), *Unity and Diversity in the Church* (Oxford, 1996), 45–57.

[41] Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion*, p. 178.

England is the eighth-century leaf now bound at the end of the Durham Collectar.[42] The Lindisfarne Gospels and the Northumbrian Gospel Book (now BL, Royal I B VII) contain at the start of each gospel a list of feasts for which a reading from that gospel was required – lists that correspond to entries in the Burchard Gospels – and notes in the chapter lists at the start of the gospels in Lindisfarne and Royal I B VII.[43] The Codex Amiatinus contains two notes that correspond to the *legenda pro defunctis* in the Lindisfarne Gospels. The Codex Amiatinus also includes two lections not otherwise attested: Luke 22.24 *quae lectio potest quolibet tempore dicere*, and John 6.63 *legenda circa pascha*. This system of Neapolitan lections may also have been in use at Wearmouth-Jarrow. Lenker writes of the relative freedom in the choice of pericopes and the use of very general terms to designate feasts: 'de quadragesima', 'cotidiana'.[44] It has been suggested that the Burchard Gospels were brought to Würzburg from Southumbria, and that this may therefore reflect the presence of a gospel book with Neapolitan pericope lists at Canterbury, brought there by Abbot Hadrian in the second half of the seventh century.[45]

The earliest evidence for knowledge of the Roman system of lections in Anglo-Saxon England is the list in Würzburg, M. p. th. f. 62, though Bede says that Wearmouth learnt 'the canonical methods of singing and ordering the service following the rite of the Holy and Apostolic Church of Rome' from John the archcantor, sent by Pope Agatho in 679–80.[46] So it seems improbable

[42] Durham, Cathedral Library, A IV 19, fol. 89 is reproduced and discussed in T. Brown (ed.), *The Durham Ritual. A Southern English Collectar of the Tenth Century with Northumbrian Additions; Durham Cathedral Library A IV 19*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 16 (Copenhagen, 1969). The texts are the lessons for Pentecost: Sirach 24.11–16, Acts 2.2, and John 14.23–7 and 30–1.

[43] Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion*, pp. 138–40; T. Brown, 'The Latin text', in *Evangeliorum quattuor codex Lindisfarnensis* (Olten, 1960), 34–46. The lists do not reveal the readings, and so could never have been used; G. Morin, 'Les notes liturgiques'. The notes are written at the top of the page above the gospel text.

[44] Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion*, pp. 144–5.

[45] M. Lapidge, in B. Bischoff and M. Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 159; Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion*, p. 145.

[46] For Bede and Wearmouth, see Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* IV, c. 18, ed. B. Colgrave and R. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969), p. 388; Bede, *Homelia in Natale S. Benedicti*, ed. C. Grocock and I. Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* (Oxford, 2013), 1–20, pp. 12–13; and Bede, *Historia abbatum*, c. 6, ed. Grocock and Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, 78–121, pp. 34–5: 'Ordinem cantandi psallendi atque in ecclesia ministrandi iuxta morem Romanae institutionis'.

that Durham, A II 16 has links with Wearmouth-Jarrow or with Lindisfarne, where Neapolitan lections were copied.

Our evidence for Gallican lections is derived chiefly from the Lectionary of Luxeuil and the Bobbio Missal, but there are also liturgical marginalia in a gospel book from Saint-Denis, Paris, BnF, lat. 256; and in a gospel book in Trier, Domschatz 61 (formerly Trier, Dombibl. 134). The reference to Rogations found in Durham, A II 16, which are not found in Roman or Neapolitan lectionaries, points to a clear Gallican rite. The reading for the ordination of a bishop in the Durham book does not have a parallel. Readings from John 10.1–16 and Matthew 18.18–22 for the *natale episcoporum* are found in Luxeuil, and in the sixth-century Gallican lectionary now Wolfenbüttel, Weiss 76. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct D 2 14 designates Matthew 10, Naples and Burchard Luke 12.42, as the ordination readings.

The two readings for the ordination of a bishop imply that the gospel book was to be used for episcopal ordinations, and thus it would fit Hexham, York, Whithorn after *c.* 731 or Lindisfarne.[47] I would suggest that the Neapolitan readings in the Lindisfarne Gospels exclude Lindisfarne.[48] The reading for the feast of the archangel Michael (Matt. 13.36) is unique: the standard reading is Matthew 18.1–10, found in Auct D 2 14, though Lindisfarne and Royal 1 B VI have a lection *In Sancti Angeli* at John 5.1. The *Life of Wilfrid* includes an account of his vision of St Michael while he lay ill at Meaux, attesting to the importance of the cult in Anglo-Saxon England.[49] The Durham reading for Andrew (Matt. 4.18) is also found in the Würzburg *Comes* and in Auct D 2 14. Burchard and Naples designate John 6.1. The references to the *XII lectio* probably refer to the readings for the Mass on Ember Days.[50] Dom. Salmon considered these lections 'des documents romains avec seulement des traces d'usages gallicans en voie de disparaître'.[51] So they reveal the interaction between the

[47] Bede records that Pecthelm was the first bishop of Whithorn: *Historia ecclesiastica* V, c. 23, p. 558.

[48] Jesse Billett has alerted me to the possibility that they may be readings for the annual episcopal ordination feasts for Gregory and Martin.

[49] Eddius Stephanus [Stephen of Ripon], *Vita Wilfridi* c. 56, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, *MGH SRM* 6, 163–263, p. 251. Wilfrid also felt a special veneration for St Andrew; see Stephanus, *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 67, p. 262.

[50] For church dedications to Michael and Andrew in early Anglo-Saxon England see W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), Appendix 5, 'The patron saints of English churches in the seventh and eighth centuries', pp. 259–65.

[51] P. Salmon, *Le lectionnaire de Luxeuil (Paris ms. lat. 9427). Édition et étude comparative Collectanea Biblica Latina VII* (Rome, 1944), p. lxxxvii. Salmon's remains the best

Roman system – which we can find in the Würzburg *Comes* manuscript and in the Burchard Gospels, where Roman stational churches are named – and Gallican lections, as attested in Merovingian manuscripts.

After the Council of Clofesho in 747 the Anglo-Saxon Church south of the Humber was supposed to follow Roman custom, Canon 13 reading '[t]hat in one and the same manner the holy feasts of the Lord's dispensation in the flesh should be celebrated properly in all matters relating to them, that is, in the office of baptism, in the celebration of masses, in the manner of the chant, according to the written exemplar which we have from the Roman Church'.[52]

Wilfrid is praised for his Roman observance, but we should not forget he had spent three years in Gaul with Archbishop Aunemundus of Lyon (named Dalfinus in the *Vita Wilfridi*) in 653 and was ordained in Gaul by Archbishop Agilbert of Lyon in 663–64.[53] In 678, he undertook missionary activity in Frisia, and on his way to Rome was received by Dagobert II, who according to his biographer offered him the see of Strasbourg.[54] Ian Wood has suggested that Wilfrid was influenced by Colombanian monasticism, and that this may explain the parallels between Luxeuil lections and those noted in this gospel book.[55] His consecration of the altar at Ripon seems to have followed Gallican practice.[56]

account of the Gallican system of lections. M. Smith, *La liturgie oubliée. La prière eucharistique en Gaule antique et dans l'Occident non romain* (Paris, 2003), pp. 155–66.

[52] Clofesho Canon 13, ed. A. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. III (Oxford, 1871), 3628–85, p. 367: 'Ut uno eodemque modo Dominicae dispensationis in carne sacrosanctae festivitates, in omnibus ad eas rite competentibus rebus, id est, in Baptismi officio, in Missarum celebratione, in cantilenae modo celebrantur juxta exemplar videlicet quod scriptum de Romana habemus Ecclesia.' Note Canon 7 (p. 364) on reading: 'Ut episcopi, et abbates atque abbatissae omni nisu studeant et diligenti cura provideant, ut per familias suas lectionis studium indesinenter in plurimorum pectoribus versatur.'

[53] Stephanus, *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 6, p. 199: 'Et per tres annos simul cum eo mansit et a doctoribus valde eruditis multa didicit.' For a discussion of the names Aunemundus and Dalfinus, see P. Fouracre and R. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France. History and Hagiography, 640–720* (Manchester, 1996), pp. 169–76.

[54] For Wilfrid's life see A. Thacker, 'Wilfrid,' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

[55] I. Wood, 'Ripon, Francia and the Franks Casket in the Early Middle Ages', *Northern History* 26 (1990), 1–19, p. 11.

[56] H. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Pennsylvania, 1991), pp. 180–1.

Subsequent links between Northumbria and Francia are harder to document. The Merovingian King Chilperic II who died in 721 is commemorated as Helpric in the Northumbrian *Liber vitae* on fol. 15v, showing a link between Francia and the community in Northumbria for whom the *Liber vitae* was made, perhaps Lindisfarne.[57]

Relations between Francia and Durham continued afterwards, if we may believe Symeon of Durham, who records that Pippin III sent many and varied royal gifts to King Eadbehrt, who ruled Northumbria from 737 to 758.[58] In 758 Eadberht retired to a monastery in York. The *Continuatio Bedae* records the death of Charles Martel, described as *rex Francorum* in 741, and the succession of his sons, showing knowledge of Frankish affairs in Northumbria.[59] The papal mission to England in 786 may perhaps offer a terminal date for the entry of non-Roman lections into Durham, A II 16.

Durham, A II 16 is a substantial part of a large and impressive gospel book. The lection notes in the Gospel of Matthew suggest that it was used in an episcopal church, and the presence of lections that do not appear in the Roman lectionary but are found in Gallican lectionaries suggests that it preserves traces of contacts between Merovingian Gaul and Northumbria. Of those few Northumbrian bishops about whom we know anything more than a name, Wilfrid is the one most likely to have brought Merovingian lections home. But it is as important to acknowledge how very little we do know, and how ready we must be not to set aside evidence that does not easily fit into our inadequate attempts to reconstruct events. The difficulties that Durham, A II 16 presents because of its incomplete state, its diversity of scripts and its unique system of lections remind us quite how much we have lost, and quite how difficult trying to create any satisfactory account of much early medieval history is always going to be. As such, an account of an unresolved problem and a new edition of a text few scholars of early Anglo-Saxon England have thought worthy of any notice may be an appropriate tribute to a scholar who has transformed our understanding of much of that history, without yielding to the desire for simplification and omission all too often imposed on such understanding.

[57] J. Story, *Carolingian Connections. Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia c. 750–870* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 46 and Figure 4.1. Chilperic is also mentioned in Bede, *Vita Ceolfridi*, c. 32, ed. C. Plummer, *Baedae opera historica* (Oxford, 1896), 388–404, as having welcomed Ceolfrid to Neustria.

[58] Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunelmensis ecclesiae*, ed. and trans. D. Rollason, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 2000), pp. 80–3.

[59] C. Plummer (ed.), *Venerabilis Bedae opera historica* (Oxford, 1896), p. 362.

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18

Bishops in the mirror: from self-representation to episcopal model. The case of the eloquent bishops Ambrose of Milan and Gregory the Great

Giorgia Vocino

Around the year 877, the priest Andrew of Bergamo was busy abbreviating and updating his version of Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*. When dealing with the rebellion of the three elder sons of Emperor Louis the Pious (814–40) in 833, Andrew recalled how Lothar I tried to make excuses for himself by shifting the blame onto Angilbert II (824–59), the Frankish archbishop of Milan. Brought into the presence of the king, the prelate only slightly bowed his head and greeted him, but refused to prostrate himself out of reverence for the honour of his church. Lothar could not help but comment 'You behave yourself as if you were saint Ambrose.' This resulted in Angilbert's caustic reply, 'I am not Saint Ambrose, but neither are you the Lord God.'[1] A wry retort, but certainly one befitting a haughty Milanese archbishop. Asked to win back Louis the Pious's favour, Angilbert travelled to Francia where the emperor honourably received him and asked his advice on the right behaviour to be displayed against his enemies. Resorting to the Bible, Angilbert reminded him that one shall love one's enemies and do good to them (Luke 6.27), or put in jeopardy the salvation of one's soul. Imprisoned by an angered Louis the Pious, the Milanese archbishop was later brought in front of some learned men (*sapientes*) whom he skilfully convinced of the righteousness of his words. The emperor had no choice but to accept the verdict and perform an act of humility: he put his hand on the ground, asked forgiveness and pardoned his son.[2]

[1] Andrew of Bergamo, *Historia*, ed. L. Berto, *Testi storici e poetici dell'Italia carolingia* (Padua, 2002), 21–65, p. 43: 'Tunc imperator dixit "Sic contines te, quasi sanctus Ambrosius sis." Archiepiscopus respondit: "Nec ego sanctus Ambrosius, nec tu dominus Deus."'

[2] Andrew of Bergamo, *Historia*, p. 43: 'manum in terra ponens, veniam petivit et gratiam filii sui reddidit'.

Around the same years a new life of Ambrose was written at the request of a Milanese archbishop, whose name we do not know.[3] The promotion of the memory of the prestigious holy bishop was indeed a key point in the political programme of the Carolingian metropolitan bishops of Milan. Andrew of Bergamo only had to evoke the name: through Lothar's words, Ambrose was brought forward as the authoritative frame of reference for Angilbert II's haughty conduct in front of the Frankish emperors.

In the dedicatory poem introducing the *Vita Gregorii I papae* (*BHL* 3941–2), written between 873 and 875 by the Roman deacon John Hymmonides, the author directly addresses the person who commissioned the writing, Pope John VIII (872–82), with the following words:

> Receive, venerable shepherd, these Romulean triumphs, receive the deeds of your Saint Gregory. He who excelled in acts, words and blessed writings as the splendour of the golden-haired sun shines throughout the world. His model and honour shall be a mirror for you, his life a path through the world if you want to reach eternal priesthood. For he who does not follow the footprints of such a bishop shall not be bishop before God, but rather a beast in hell.[4]

The life of Gregory the Great was thus presented by John Hymmonides as a *speculum*, a mirror, providing his papal commissioner with a model and a path of a worthy bishop (*praesul*) – who, in this case, happened to be the head of a universal Church – whom he should follow in order to be acknowledged by God as a fitting holder of the episcopal office, and thus to be able to reach salvation.

As Andrew of Bergamo's record and John's poem clearly show, St Ambrose (d. 397) and Gregory the Great (d. 604) constituted a model of reference for their Carolingian successors in Milan and Rome. To a certain extent, the two Church fathers had much in common: they were both exegetes, hagiographers, preachers and epistolographers, and more importantly they both set the rules for the duties and the morality of ecclesiastical office-holders.[5] From this point of view, it is no wonder that their lives, their deeds and their writings became models for later bishops. A less predictable point of convergence concerns the Carolingian revival and promotion of their cults and memory in the cities where they held their office, which culminated in both cases with the writing of two new Lives.

[3] I shall come back to this text, the *De vita et meritis sancti Ambrosii* (*BHL*, 377d), and the context of its composition in the last section of this chapter.

[4] John Hymmonides, *Vita Gregorii*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 75 (Paris, 1862), cols 59–242, at 59–60: 'Suscipe Romuleos, Pastor venerande, triumphos, / Gregorii sancti suscipe gesta tui. / Qui notuit factis, verbis, scriptisque beatis, / ut jubar auricomi solis in orbe cluit. / Forma, decus, speculum tibi sit, via, vita per aevum / si cupis aeternum ferre sacerdotium. / Nam qui non huius sequitur vestigia praesul / ante Deum praesul non erit, imo pecus.'

[5] Ambrose wrote the *De Officiis*, Gregory the *Liber regulae pastoralis*.

Ambrose's and Gregory's episcopal identity and memory underwent a dynamic, diachronic, multi-layered process of re-shaping and re-fashioning. One prominent feature emerges through this process: the pivotal connection between speech and power that lay at the very foundation of the two churchmen's undertakings. Both bishops deployed their eloquence to establish and maintain a fruitful dialogue with the most influential personalities in their world, above all the emperors with their courts, and the intellectual and ecclesiastical elites.[6] Centuries after their deaths, during the reign of Louis II (844–75), the *regnum italicum* was again the place of residence of the emperor and his court, turning a peripheral kingdom into a centre of gravity within the Carolingian empire.[7] As Italian episcopal leaders found themselves to the fore of the political scene, their skills as eloquent speakers – able to counsel the emperor appropriately, as well as to participate in and moderate the dialogue among the most powerful agents of their time (Frankish rulers, the pope, foreign prominent churchmen) – became even more essential. The writing of the Carolingian Lives of Ambrose and Gregory the Great, building on a long tradition focusing on the learnedness of their speech and their special connection to emperors, should be understood and assessed against the peculiar political background of the *regnum italicum* under Louis II's rule.

This chapter analyses three different stages of representation: the first part is dedicated to self-portrayal, the second deals with contemporary testimonies of Ambrose's and Gregory's episcopate, and the last focuses on the Carolingian re-shaping of their memory as examples of life and morality to be presented to bishops.

Doctor and pastor

If the filter of the sources does not allow us to look directly at the 'man behind the office', they nonetheless provide us with precious insights into the 'man in the office'. In the very first lines of the *De officiis*, Ambrose made a straightforward statement about what he believed to be his most significant responsibility as the bishop of Milan:

> I shall not appear presumptuous, I trust, if I adopt the approach of a teacher when addressing my own sons … No longer is it possible for us to escape our

[6] On episcopal mastery of speech in the late antique world, see C. Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity. The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (Berkeley, 2005), pp. 260–73.

[7] F. Bougard, 'La cour et le gouvernement de Louis II (840–875)', in R. Le Jan (ed.), *La royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne (du début du IXe aux environs de 920)* (Lille, 1998), 249–67.

> obligation to teach: reluctant as we are, it has been laid upon us as part of the responsibilities which priesthood has brought us, for 'God gave some to be apostles, some to be prophets, others evangelists, and yet others pastors and teachers' … My wish is only to attain to the attention and diligence towards the divine Scriptures which the apostle ranked last of all among the duties of the saints … I was snatched into the priesthood from a life spent at tribunals and amidst the paraphernalia of administrative office, and I began to teach you things I had not learnt myself. The result was that I started to teach before I had started to learn. With me, then, it is a matter of learning and teaching all at the same time, since no opportunity was given me to learn in advance.[8]

To Ambrose, a bishop was first and foremost a teacher in charge of the instruction of both the clergy and the flock under his care. Ambrose did not describe himself as an apostle, nor as a prophet, an evangelist or even a shepherd. He dismissed all these figures as too lofty for himself, and made a claim about the duty of teaching instead. His *officium docendi* was grounded in the holy Scriptures, which Ambrose perceived as an entirely new domain of learning. Born in a prominent senatorial family, the Milanese bishop had received a sophisticated education in the liberal arts, had carried out his profession as an advocate in the *prefectura pretorii* of Sirmium and had subsequently been appointed as governor of an Italian province.[9] He had also been close to the Neoplatonists, whose philosophy had proved a valid hermeneutic tool for him to unravel the complexity of the Scripture.[10] In Ambrose's view, however, all these different areas of expertise were inadequate: his new career

[8] Ambrose, *De officiis I*; trans. I. Davidson (Oxford, 2002), p. 119. The original Latin reads: 'Non adrogans videri arbitror, si inter filios suscipiam adfectum docendi … Cum iam effugere non possimus officium docendi, quod nobis refugientibus imposuit sacerdotii necessitudo: Dedit enim deus quosdam quidem apostolos, quosdam autem prophetas, alios vero evangelistas, alios autem pastores et doctores … Tantummodo intentionem et diligentiam circa Scripturas divinas opto adsequi quam ultimam posuit apostolus inter officia sanctorum … Ego enim, raptus de tribunalibus atque administrationis infulis ad sacerdotium, docere vos coepi quod ipse non didici. Itaque factum est ut prius docere inciperem quam discere. Discendum igitur mihi simul et docendum est quoniam non vacavit ante discere.' Ambrose, *De officiis*, ed. M. Testard, *CCSL* 15 (Turnhout, 2001), p. 1.

[9] On Ambrose's life see N. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan: Church and Court in a Christian Capital* (Los Angeles, 1994). His education and civic career are also mentioned in his earliest hagiography; see Paulinus of Milan, *Vita Ambrosii*, cc. 3–5, ed. A. Bastiaensen, *Vita di Cipriano, Vita di Ambrogio, Vita di Agostino* (Milan, 1975), pp. 56–60.

[10] P. Courcelle, *Recherches sur saint Ambroise. 'Vies' anciennes, culture, iconographie* (Paris, 1973), pp. 9–24.

as a bishop started, by his own admission, with a new process of learning and teaching.[11]

Ambrose's own monumental literary output proves his commitment to the *officium docendi*. Wielding his authority over the city where the imperial court resided at the time, the reach of his teaching was wide: he was interrogated on scriptural, doctrinal and moral matters by fellow bishops, clerics, catechumens, friends and public high officials. He also lived in close proximity to emperors and, as a consequence, his duties as teacher and adviser naturally gained political relevance, as many of his letters and sermons show. The memory shaped around Ambrose and his episcopate largely depended on his attitude towards rulers, which the Milanese bishop himself considered to be highly representative of the duties corresponding to the head of a church. The tenth book of his epistolary (*ein politisches Buch*, according to the description by its editor, Michaela Zelzer) and the funerary orations Ambrose wrote and pronounced for Valentinian II (d. 392) and Theodosius I (d. 395) deeply shaped the late antique and medieval understandings of the fields of action pertaining, on the one hand, to the men in charge of the *ecclesia* and, on the other, to those taking care of the *res publica*.[12] Faith and religion are the prerogatives of the Church and its leaders, the bishops; the *palatium* and the *ecclesia* were thus defined by Ambrose as two separate places where qualitatively distinct actions took place.[13] Ambrose claimed for the *ecclesia* a complete independence from

[11] On the close association between learning (*discere*) and teaching (*docere*) as part of the duties of the clergy see N. Adkin, 'Jerome, Ambrose and Gregory Nazianzen', *Vichiana* 4 (1993), 294–300. See the letter addressed to the newly elected Bishop Constantius in which Ambrose instructed him on the duties of his office, summarised in the imperatives *admone, edoce, hortare*: Ambrose, *Epistula 36*, ed. O. Faller and M. Zelzer, *CSEL* 82, 4 vols (Vienna, 1968–96), Vol. II, pp. 3–20.

[12] M. Zelzer, 'Zu Aufbau und Absicht des zehnten Briefbuches des Ambrosius', in *Latinität und alte Kirche. Festschrift für R. Hanslik* (Vienna, 1977), 351–62; M. Zelzer, 'Linien der Traditions- und Editionsgeschichte der ambrosianischen Briefe am Beispiel des zehnten Briefbuches und der *Epistulae extra collectionem*', *Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* 117 (1980), 208–30; M. Zelzer, 'Zur Komposition der Briefsammlung des hl. Ambrosius', *Studia patristica* 18:4 (1990), 212–17. On the relation between Ambrose and Theodosius see McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, pp. 291–360.

[13] Ambrose only unwillingly discussed religious affairs in the emperor's *concistorium*, as he openly stated in his letters; see *Epp.* 75 and 75a, ed. O. Faller and M. Zelzer, *Epistula*, Vol. III, pp. 74–81, 82–107. In Carolingian times, these separate spaces would be brought together in the notion of the *sacrum palatium*, where the ruler, surrounded by his bishops, could discuss religious matters; see M. de Jong, '*Sacrum palatium et ecclesia*: l'autorité religieuse royale sous les Carolingiens (790–840)', *Annales: histoire, sciences sociales* 58:6 (2003), 1243–69.

public authority, but the same cannot be said for the ruler: the emperor was within, not above the Church, as the Milanese bishop stated with humility, but also with steadfastness.[14] As a member of the Church, the emperor himself was placed under the moral and spiritual responsibility of the bishop: making sure that the head of the *res publica* took no wrong decisions was part of the wide range of episcopal duties, though undoubtedly one of the thorniest. Ambrose gave a powerful demonstration of that when he imposed a public penance on Theodosius for the massacre of innocents in Thessalonica in 390, an act that did not directly entail ecclesiastical or doctrinal matters, but affected the salvation of the emperor's soul.[15]

Ambrose was later to be remembered as an eminent *defensor ecclesiae*, a saint, a *confessor* and a father of the Church. These different representations relied heavily on the charismatic and authoritative image Ambrose channelled through his writings. Yet, it was only as a teacher, a *doctor*, that the Milanese bishop wished to present himself. In his view, the *officium docendi* defined him as a bishop and it was under this big umbrella that exegetical analysis, doctrinal teaching, moral guidance, correction and admonition were brought together.

Two centuries later, in Rome, a member of another prestigious senatorial family was raised to the episcopal see. Like Ambrose, Gregory the Great had received a traditional education in the liberal arts and had first taken up a public career, which had led him to the office of *praefectus urbis*.[16] He had then embraced an ascetic life, but Pope Pelagius II (579–90) chose him to hold again a public office, this time to serve in the Church as a deacon and papal ambassador (*apocrisarius*) in Constantinople. When in 590 Pelagius fell victim to the plague, Gregory was elected to the episcopal seat and, like Ambrose, initially

[14] Ambrose, *Ep.* 75a, p. 106: 'imperator enim intra ecclesiam non supra ecclesiam est. … Haec ut humiliter dicimus ita constanter exponimus.'

[15] See Ambrose, *Ep.* 11 *extra collectionem*, ed. O. Faller and M. Zelzer, *Epistulae*, Vol. III, pp. 212–18. Theodosius's penance was soon perceived as one of Ambrose's major achievements. Mentioned in Ambrose's earliest hagiography, this episode is given much more emphasis in the Church history written by Theodoret of Cyr and translated into Latin in the so-called *Historia tripartita*; see Cassiodorus-Epiphanius, *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita* IX:30, ed. W. Jacob and R. Hanslik, *CSEL* 71 (Vienna, 1952). Cf. Paulinus of Milan, *Vita Ambrosii*, c. 24, p. 84. After the shocking act of public humiliation performed by Louis the Pious in 822, the memory of Theodosius's penance was repeatedly brought forward as an authoritative example precisely via Theodoret's account; see P. Tomea, 'Ambrogio e i suoi fratelli. Note di agiografia milanese altomedievale', *Filologia mediolatina* 5 (1998), 149–232, pp. 182–3.

[16] For a detailed presentation of Gregory's life and works see S. Boesch Gajano, *Gregorio Magno. Alle origini del Medioevo* (Roma, 2004).

tried to shirk this responsibility.[17] The tension between Gregory's active political and ecclesiastical engagement and his longing for a contemplative monastic life is well known, but when it comes to specific episcopal duties, Gregory was quite straightforward: a bishop is first of all a shepherd called to plead for God's mercy on behalf of his people.[18] In the synodal letter announcing his ascension to the Roman seat, he described how a bishop (*rector*) should be:

> I consider indeed that one must be vigilant and take all care that a bishop is pure in thought, outstanding in action, discreet in silence, useful with his speech, very close to individuals with compassion, more uplifted in contemplation than all others, allied with those doing good through humility, but upright with the zeal of justice against the vices of wrong-doers.[19]

Declaring his personal understanding of the episcopal office, Gregory particularly insisted on the need for correspondence between action and speech: the words spoken by a bishop should be mirrored in his behaviour and deeds. Preaching is thus presented as a key episcopal feature: the skills in speaking are quintessential in order to give voice to an otherwise dumb herald (*praeco mutus*).[20] A similar understanding of his personal mission as bishop of Rome can be found in his *Liber regulae pastoralis*, written at the beginning

[17] Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, *MGH SRM* 1:1, pp. 477–81. The newly elected pope indeed expressed his reluctance to accept the episcopal office; see for instance Gregory the Great, *Registrum* I:3 (September 590) and I:4 (October 590), ed. P. Ewald and L. Hartmann, *MGH Epp*. 1 and 2. This late antique common topos of humility was already present in the third-century Life of Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage martyred in 258; see Pontius the Deacon, *Vita Cypriani* V, ed. A. Bastiaensen, *Vita di Cipriano, Vita di Ambrogio, Vita di Agostino* (Milan, 1975), 1–49, pp. 14–16.

[18] Gregory the Great, *Registrum* I:24: 'nam quid antistes ad Dominum nisi pro delictis populi intercessor eligitur?'.

[19] Gregory the Great, *Registrum*, I:24; trans. J. Martyn, 3 vols (Toronto, 2004), Vol. I, p. 135. The original Latin reads: 'Perpendo quippe, quod omni cura vigilandum est, ut rector cogitatione sit mundus, operatione praecipuus, discretus in silentio, utilis in verbo, singulis compassione proximus, prae cunctis contemplatione suspensus, bene agentibus per humilitatem socius, contra delinquentium vitia per zelum iustitiae erectus.' On the juxtaposition between silence and speech in early Christian times, see I. van Renswoude, 'Licence to speak: the rhetoric of free speech in late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages' (Ph.D. dissertation, Utrecht University, 2011), pp. 87–136.

[20] Gregory the Great, *Registrum* I:24: 'Praeconis quippe officium suscipit, quisquis ad sacerdotium accedit, ut ante adventum iudicis, qui terribiliter sequitur, ipse scilicet clamando gradiatur. Sacerdos ergo si praedicationis est nescius, quam clamoris vocem daturus est praeco mutus?'. Trans. Martyn, Vol. I, p. 139.

of his pontificate. It has long been argued that this spiritual and moral treatise was conceived as a textbook that bishops were supposed to receive on the day of their consecration, but recent research has shown that this text was also intended as an elaborate rhetorical justification for his own election, which in turn suggests that the audience Gregory had in mind was most likely larger than a merely episcopal milieu.[21]

In the first book of the *Regula pastoralis* Gregory underlined, as Ambrose had done before him, that bishops are first and foremost bound to the duty of teaching and learning.[22] The following three books focus on the contemplative qualities of the ideal bishop, on the skills required to adjust his message to different audiences and, finally, on the personal aspiration to perfection. Although he never explicitly states it, the portrait Gregory drew in the *Regula pastoralis* narrowed down the window for episcopal recruitment to a specific social group, that of the intellectual elites of his time, in whom could be found both the necessary competences and the cultural requirements for the office.[23] In the cultural equipment of Gregory's ideal bishop, the art of speech played an important role, especially as a hermeneutic tool for the comprehension and the communication of the divine truth harboured in the holy Scriptures.[24] Yet, despite its usefulness, the art of speech was dismissed by Gregory on several occasions as vanity and pointless artificiality.[25]

While the rhetorical training was not a highly sensitive point in Ambrose, two centuries later the *ars loquendi* needed to be kept 'in check' and Gregory took particular pride in not using it in his exegetical works.[26] Ambrose's more

[21] For a new assessment of the *Regula pastoralis* and further bibliographical references see G. Demacopoulos, 'Gregory's model of spiritual direction in the *Liber regulae pastoralis*', in B. Neil and M. Dal Santo (eds), *A Companion to Gregory the Great* (Leiden, 2013), 204–24.

[22] Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis I:1:* 'nulla ars doceri praesumitur, nisi intenta prius meditatione discatur'; ed. and trans. B. Judic, F. Rommel and C. Morel, 2 vols, SC 381–2 (Paris, 1992), Vol. I, p. 128.

[23] It is no surprise that Gregory himself sent the *Regula* to Leander of Seville, one of the most prominent intellectuals of his time; see Gregory the Great, *Registrum* V:53, 53a.

[24] The homilies on Ezekiel show to what extent Gregory relied on his mastery of speech; see V. Recchia, 'I moduli espressivi dell'esperienza contemplativa nelle Omelie su Ezechiele di Gregorio Magno: schemi tropi ritmi', *Vetera Christianorum* 29 (1992), 75–112.

[25] Gregory even rebuked Bishop Desiderius of Vienne (596–611) for teaching grammar – a despicable thing for a bishop, who would thus be praising Jupiter and God at the same time. See Gregory the Great, *Registrum* XI:34.

[26] See the letter-preface to the *Moralia in Job* in Gregory the Great, *Registrum* V:53a: 'ipsam loquendi artem, quam magisteria disciplinae exterioris insinuant,

classicising and Stoic-influenced episcopal ideals contrast with the spiritual and ascetic traits highlighted by Gregory the Great. Nevertheless, the doctor and the shepherd shared a pivotal feature: they both heavily relied on their mastery of speech. Although neither of them openly boasted about it, in both cases the communicational requirements of the ecclesiastical office were stressed: a correct understanding and explanation of the holy Scriptures could not be wholly divorced from the art of speech.

Doctores secundum saeculum

By means of their office, bishops occupied a key position in a complex and often large social network. Moreover, their duties put them continuously on public display and their image was consequently reshaped through the perceptions of those who had known them and, more importantly, those who had entrusted their memory to writing. Three authoritative witnesses provide us with insight into Ambrose's episcopate: Augustine of Hippo (d. 430), St Jerome (d. 420) and the Milanese deacon Paulinus (d. after 422).

Augustine met Ambrose in Milan, and thanks to his teaching he took his first steps away from Manichaeism. In his *Confessions*, the bishop of Hippo remembered his earliest impressions about the Milanese bishop:

> I responded at first with an affection based not on his preaching of the truth, … but on his kindness to me as a person. I brought a technical interest to his discourses with the congregation, not for the motive I should have had, but to see if he lived up to his reputation [*fama*]. Was he more or less eloquent than report had registered? Weighing carefully his style, I treated the content with a lofty disregard and approved his easy fluency.[27]

In the next book of the *Confessions*, Augustine concludes: 'as for Ambrose, I thought him a prosperous man, as the world judges, respected by the successful'.[28]

servare despexi. Nam sicut huius quoque epistulae tenor enuntiat, non metacismi collisionem fugio, non barbarismi confusionem devito, situs modosque etiam et praepositionum casus servare contemno, quia indignum vehementer existimo, ut verba caelestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati.'

[27] Augustine of Hippo, *Confessiones* V:13, ed. J. O'Donnell, 3 vols (Oxford, 1992); trans. G. Wills, *Saint Augustine. Confessions* (New York, 2008). The Latin reads: 'et eum amare coepi primo quidem non tamquam doctorem veri … sed tamquam hominem benignum in me. Et studiose audiebam disputantem in populo, non intentione, qua debui, sed quasi explorans eius facundiam, utrum conveniret famae suae an maior minor ve proflueret, quam praedicabatur, et verbis eius suspendebar intentus, rerum autem incuriosus et contemptor astabam et delectabar suavitate sermonis.'

[28] Augustine, *Confessiones* VI:3: 'Ipsum que Ambrosium felicem quendam hominem secundum saeculum opinabar, quem sic tantae potestates honorarent.'

In the eyes of his contemporaries, Ambrose stood out on account of his remarkable rhetorical skills (*facundia*), a talent that he had brought from the tribunal of law into the Church. His excellence in speech earned him a reputation among his contemporaries, and once filled with Christian doctrine granted him eternal *fama* as 'doctor of the truth' (*doctor veri*), as Augustine put it.[29]

Ambrose's eloquence was also acknowledged by another eminent witness of his time, St Jerome, who was nonetheless less enthusiastic about the originality of the Milanese bishop's writings and the appropriateness of his sudden switch from a secular to an ecclesiastical career.[30] In a letter to his friend Oceanus, Jerome condemned the election to the episcopal seat of someone who was still a catechumen, which may very well be an allusion to Ambrose.[31] Yet, despite his doubts, Jerome decided to include the Milanese bishop, who was still living at the time, in his *De viris illustribus*, confirming that Ambrose was indeed, *secundum saeculum*, one of the most renowned men of his time.[32]

Paulinus, deacon and former secretary of the Milanese doctor, had an entirely distinct attitude in remembering Ambrose: in a *vita* he composed to honour his memory, he deliberately turned him into one of the pillars of the Latin Church. Paulinus was not only giving testimony, but also shaping the memory of a holy bishop.[33] Yet, even as a saint, Ambrose's key quality was his

[29] Augustine was well aware of the dangers of an excessive use of rhetoric, which he denounced in several of his writings; see M. Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History* (Manchester/New York, 2011), pp. 371–88.

[30] In a letter to Eustochius written in 381 Jerome praised Ambrose's *eloquium* as expressed in his treatises on virginity; see Jerome of Stridon, *Ep.* 22, ed. J. Labourt, *Epistolae*, 8 vols (Paris, 1949–63), Vol. I, p. 133. He later showed a much more negative appreciation of Ambrose's exegesis; see Jerome of Stridon, *Praefatio in librum Didymi de spiritu sancto*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 23 (Paris, 1883), cols 107–10 at 108.

[31] Jerome of Stridon, *Ep.* 69, ed. J. Labourt, Vol. III, p. 207: 'heri catechumenus, hodie pontifex; heri in amphitheatro, hodie in ecclesia; vespere in circo, mane in altari; dudum fautor histrionum, nunc virginum consecrator'. On this letter see N. Adkin, '*Heri catechumenus, hodie pontifex* (Jerome, Epist. 69.9.4)', *Acta classica* 36 (1993), 113–17. For further bibliography on Jerome's criticism see the recent article by D. Hunter, 'The raven replies: Ambrose's letter to the Church at Vercelli (Ep. ex. coll. 14) and the criticisms of Jerome', in A. Cain and J. Lössl (eds), *Jerome of Stridon. His Life, Writings and Legacy* (Farnham, 2009), 175–90.

[32] Jerome of Stridon, *De viris illustribus* CXXIV, ed. A. Ceresa-Castaldo (Florence, 1988), p. 224.

[33] On the circumstances that led to the writing of the *Vita Ambrosii* see E. Zocca, 'La *Vita Ambrosii* alla luce dei rapporti fra Paolino, Agostino e Ambrogio', in L. F. Pizzolato and M. Rizzi (eds), *Nec timeo mori. Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi ambrosiani nel XVI centenario della morte di sant'Ambrogio* (Milan, 1998), 803–26.

eloquence. The first miracle in the *Vita Ambrosii* touches upon his divinely granted sweetness of speech: a swarm of bees was seen going in and out of baby Ambrose's mouth while he was sleeping in his cradle. Echoing Proverbs 16.24 ('well-ordered words are as a honeycomb'), Paulinus made of the examination of the bees (*examen apum*) the act through which God bestowed upon the infant the capacity to speak of the divine.[34] Borrowing a common topos used in pagan literature to celebrate gifted orators, the skill that earned Ambrose his worldly *fama* was turned into a divine gift.[35] A potentially controversial attribute was thus secured from any possible criticism, which in turn suggests that Jerome's reservations about Ambrose were not an isolated case.[36] Eloquence can be used to deceive and dissimulate the truth: a common critique of skilled orators in the late antique world in which the Church was asserting its power.[37] Paulinus painstakingly re-shaped the memory of the eloquent doctor Ambrose and drew instead the portrait of a wonder worker, an ascetic and a saint who could be joined to the ranks of the apostles and

[34] Paulinus of Milan, *Vita Ambrosii*, c. 3, pp. 56–8: 'qui infans in area praetorii in cuna positus, cum dormiret aperto ore, subito examen apum adveniens faciem eius atque ora complevit, ita ut ingrediendi in os egrediendique frequentarent vices … Operabatur enim iam tunc Dominus in servuli sui infantia, ut inpleretur quod scriptum est: "Favi mellis sermones boni". Illud enim examen apum scriptorum ipsius nobis generabat favos, qui caelestia dona adnuntiarent et mentes hominum de terrenis ad caelum erigerent.'

[35] For an overview of the occurrence of infants fed with bees in Greek and Roman literature see I. Opelt, 'Das Bienenwunder in der Ambrosiusbiographie des Paulinus von Mailand', *Vigiliae Christianae* 22 (1968), 38–44.

[36] Paulinus refers to two specific occasions on which Ambrose had been criticised, both of which culminated in the death of the saint's detractors (Paulinus of Milan, *Vita Ambrosii*, cc. 53–4, pp. 120–2).

[37] The same tension can be found in the writings of another late antique Italian bishop: Ennodius of Pavia (d. 521), a professional rhetorician who also renounced his lay status to enter the clergy. The ambiguous status of eloquence in Christian milieux is made explicit in the speech Ennodius pronounced on the thirtieth anniversary of Epiphanius, bishop of Pavia (467–98); see S. Rota, 'Teoria e prassi poetica di Ennodio alla luce di carm. I, 9: modelli classici e cristiani', *Rivista di filologia e istruzione classica* 136 (2008), 198–227. Cf. also F. Bordone, 'Ennodio e la conversione dell'eloquenza. L'*Hymnus sancti Cypriani (Carm.* 1.12H = 343V)', *Athanaeum* 101:2 (2013), 621–67. After all, the art of speech also went hand in hand with heresy, as Augustine's hagiographer explicitly stated in the case of the Pelagians; see Possidius, *Vita Augustini* XVIII:1, ed. A. Bastiaensen, *Vita di Cipriano, Vita di Ambrogio, Vita di Agostino* (Milan, 1975), 127–241, p. 174: 'Adversus Pelagianistas quoque, novos nostrorum temporum haereticos et disputatores callidos, arte magis subtili et noxia scribentes et, ubicumque poterant, publice et per domos loquentes.'

biblical prophets.[38] The accent is repeatedly put on the divine inspiration of his sermons: an angel is seen speaking into the saint's ear, suggesting again that *facundia* in itself could represent a weak point. Rhetorical skills made Ambrose famous in his lifetime, but could not grant him eternal *fama* as a holy *confessor*. In the aftermath of his death, his secretary Paulinus took it upon himself to turn Ambrose into a vessel of the divine word, in everything akin to biblical figures.

Unfortunately, little information on Pope Gregory's *fama* in Rome can be grasped from contemporary Roman evidence: neither his epitaph nor his short biography in the *Liber pontificalis* provides us with much information.[39] A contemporary testimony is nonetheless provided by Gregory of Tours (d. 594), who left us with an interesting account of his namesake's reputation at the time of his election to the papal see. After praising him for his ascetic qualities, the bishop of Tours described Pope Gregory as the most skilled master of the arts of the *trivium* (grammar, dialectic and rhetoric) in Rome – a feature befitting his social identity, that of a member of the senatorial elites.[40] As it had been the case for Ambrose, his learned speech made him 'famous' in the eyes of his contemporaries.

Only a few years after Gregory's death in 604, Isidore of Seville (d. 636) inserted a short notice on the Roman pope into his *De viris illustribus*. He openly referred to him as the most learned doctor in the entire history of the Church: he was 'so endowed with the light of wisdom through the grace of the Holy Spirit, that there is no doctor equal to him, not only in present times, but even in the past'.[41] Isidore insisted on Gregory's learnedness and particularly praised his eloquence in the *Moralia in Job* – the same text for which the Roman bishop claimed not to have used any 'ornament of words'– confirming to what extent his *fama* relied on his remarkable mastery of speech.[42] Although

[38] Ambrose is compared to Elisha and in particular to Elijah, neither afraid to stand up against rulers; see Paulinus of Milan, *Vita Ambrosii*, 28:2 (pp. 88–90) and 47:3 (p. 114). The same biblical transfiguration into Elijah can be found in Rufinus of Aquileia's *Church History*, a text predating the *Vita Ambrosii*; see Rufinus of Aquileia, *Historia ecclesiastica* XI, c. 15, ed. T. Mommsen, *Eusebius Werke*, Vol. IX, 2/2 (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 1020–1.

[39] See *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae. Nova series*, Vol. II, ed. A. Silvagni (Rome, 1935), no. 4156; *LP*, p. 312.

[40] Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, p. 477: 'litteris grammaticis dialecticisque ac rhetoricis ita est institutus, ut nulli in Urbe ipsa putaretur esse secundus'.

[41] Isidore of Seville, *De viris illustribus* XXVII, ed. C. Codoñer Merino (Salamanca, 1964), p. 148: 'tantoque per gratiam Spiritus sancti scientiae lumine praeditus, ut non modo illi praesentium temporum quisquam doctorum, sed nec in praeteritis quidem par fuerit unquam'.

[42] Isidore, *De viris illustribus* XXVII, p. 148: 'idem etiam … librum beati Iob mystico ac morali sensu disseruit, totamque eius prophetiae historiam in triginta quinque

Gregory tried to downplay his rhetorical skills, both Gregory of Tours, who died while the Roman pope was in the fifth year of his pontificate, and Isidore, who wrote some years after his death, agreed on the very same point: the pope who wanted to be remembered as a *pastor* was actually first celebrated as an eloquent doctor, while no immediate attempt – neither in Rome nor elsewhere – was made to turn him into a saint.

Both the late-fourth-century Milanese bishop who lived in a Roman empire that was still perceived as a solid structure, and the pope who witnessed the challenging years of transition from ancient to medieval Rome, were acclaimed by their contemporaries for their shared mastery and learnedness of speech. The ascension to the episcopal *cathedra* meant that in order to be authoritative, bishops needed more than eloquence. An uncontested bishop needed to combine the 'art of speech' with divinely inspired content. He could thus leave a mark in the present to be further developed into everlasting memory.

Specula episcoporum

The tension between the *ars oratoria* and the *munus sacerdotii* strongly affected Ambrose's and Gregory the Great's reputations during and after their lifetimes. The re-shaping of their memory into models of sanctity to be offered to their successors is a process that shows an astonishing synchrony and a surprisingly comparable agenda. The Carolingian Lives of Ambrose and Gregory are atypical hagiographies: they are very lengthy, learned and unfitting for liturgical practice, and they both borrow consistently from other writings, among which are the writings of the two fathers, and in particular their letters.[43] Furthermore, both Lives were written on episcopal commission. What these Carolingian Lives did not share was success: John's *Vita Gregorii* survives as a complete text in 148 manuscripts, the *De vita et meritis sancti Ambrosii* only in one late-ninth-century *libellus*.[44]

voluminibus largo eloquentiae fonte explicuit. In quibus quidem … quanta clareant ornamenta verborum, nemo sapiens explicare valebit, etiam si omnes artus eius vertantur in linguam.'

[43] For a detailed presentation of the *De vita et meritis sancti Ambrosii* (*BHL* 377d) and its context of writing see G. Vocino, 'Framing Ambrose in the resources of the past. Late antique and early medieval sources for a Carolingian portrait of Ambrose', in C. Gantner, R. McKitterick and S. Meeder (eds), *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2015), 135–54; G. Vocino, 'Il culto dei santi nel regno italico in età carolingia e l'eccezione milanese: la "famiglia santa" di Ambrogio', in M. B. Weatherill, M. Beretta and M. Tessera (eds), *Ansperto da Biassono: un arcivescovo di Milano al tramonto dell'impero carolingio* (Milan, forthcoming).

[44] For an overview of the manuscripts of the *Vita Gregorii*, see L. Castaldi (ed.), *Vita Gregorii I papae. La tradizione manoscritta* (Florence, 2004). The *De vita et*

In the third quarter of the ninth century, an anonymous Milanese compiler wrote a new biography of Ambrose in which the stress is put precisely on the bishop's incisiveness in speech.[45] The hagiographer re-fashioned the image of Ambrose as an authoritative counsellor and admonisher of emperors, the only one who succeeded in correcting misbehaving rulers thanks to his *parrhesia*.[46] Ambrose's *constantia* and *zelum* are thus highlighted as his most remarkable virtues, allowing him to play a key role in the late-fourth-century Roman empire. The climax of the *De vita et meritis* coincides with the narration of Theodosius's penance, thus making the relation between the bishop and the Christian ruler the pivotal episode of Ambrose's life.[47] The many miracles recorded by Paulinus were omitted (especially those *post mortem*), while the saint was portrayed as an outstanding, charismatic and righteous bishop not afraid to face emperors in order to have them right their wrongs and to defend his church.

Carolingian Milanese archbishops bet on the revival of Ambrose's memory: after all, the Frankish takeover in 774 was an opportunity to re-establish the supremacy of Milan as the first church of the kingdom in opposition to Pavia. Ambrose provided them with a model and an example from the past that they could aspire to, heed and advertise while claiming their legitimacy by acting like Ambrose in their own world. Angilbert II particularly invested in the promotion of the memory of Ambrose through several liturgical actions, such as the elevation of his relics and their reburial in a porphyry sarcophagus placed under a golden altar decorated with episodes of his life.[48] He was the one who, according to Andrew of Bergamo, not only behaved like his illustrious predecessor in front of Lothar I, but also

meritis is transmitted in a manuscript now at St Gallen (Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 569, pp. 3–97).

[45] See Vocino, *Framing Ambrose*.

[46] Interestingly Ambrose is again explicitly labelled a *doctor*, not a *sanctus* or *beatus*, in the *incipit* of the text; see *De vita et meritis*, ed. P. Courcelle, in *Recherches*, 51–12, p. 51: 'Ad laudem et gloriam Salvatoris mundi de vita et meritis eximii doctoris atque institutoris Ecclesiae almi pontificis Ambrosii'. On the Christian appropriation of the classical tradition of the *parrhesia*, see Van Renswoude, *Licence to Speak*; A. Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse* (Berkeley, 1991).

[47] *De vita et meritis sancti Ambrosii*, ed. Courcelle, pp. 85–91. The compiler is here borrowing word for word from the *Historia tripartita* IX:30.

[48] It should be noted that the twelve scenes recounting the life of Ambrose were framed on the back of the altar facing the liturgical celebrant according to the Ambrosian rite. The iconographic programme was thus specifically conceived for the eyes of the bishop. See C. Hahn, 'Narrative on the golden altar of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan: Presentation and Reception', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999), 167–87.

admonished and forced Louis the Pious to humble himself. He was not the only Carolingian bishop of Milan insisting on the special connection with Ambrose: Tado (860–68) and Anspertus (868–81) also followed the example set by the Milanese *doctor* by playing the part of both imperial counsellors and political mediators.[49] In this context, the *De vita et meritis* was designed to provide his commissioner, the Milanese archbishop, with a script to follow and a profile to adhere to: legitimised by behaving and acting like Ambrose, his Carolingian successors could aspire to be acknowledged as the primates of the Italian kingdom.

In the same years when the *De vita et meritis* was written in Milan, in Rome the deacon John Hymmonides was working on his *Vita Gregorii*. As had been the case for the Carolingian Life of Ambrose, liturgical initiatives preceded the writing of the text. The biography dedicated to Gregory IV in the *Liber pontificalis* mentions that around the years 829–31 the pope,

> inflamed with the fire of divine love took the body of St Gregory … from the place where it had formerly been buried, and brought it not far from there to another place newly constructed within the church of St Peter, and he decorated his silver altar on all sides with silver panels, dedicated an oratory to his holy name and depicted his apse above with gilded mosaic.[50]

We know that Angilbert II went to Rome on at least two occasions: for the crowning of Louis II in 844, and in 850 for the trial of Anastasius Bibliothecarius. He may actually have seen the silver altar dedicated to Gregory the Great and then made the resolution to give an even more precious altar, a golden one, to Ambrose.[51] The chronological proximity is striking, and when dealing with Rome and Milan it should not be overlooked that their long history was characterised by a rivalry that, though distant, was never fully soothed.[52]

The 'art of speech' plays an important part also in the *Vita Gregorii*. John did not shy away from portraying Gregory as a *facundissimus rhetor*, a label

[49] Vocino, 'Il culto dei santi'.

[50] *LP*, p. 74, trans. R. Davis, *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes (Liber pontificalis). The Ancient Biographies of Ten Popes from AD 817–891, Translated Texts for Historians 20* (Liverpool, 1995), p. 51.

[51] Parallels have already been drawn with papal iconographic and architectural programmes; see M. Ferrari, 'Le iscrizioni', in C. Capponi (ed.), *L'altare d'oro di Sant'Ambrogio* (Milan, 1996), 145–55.

[52] On several occasions the Roman pontiffs found themselves at odds with the Milanese bishops, not least in the late ninth century when Pope John VIII excommunicated Anspertus of Milan (868–81), who had different views on the right candidate for the imperial crown after the death of Louis II of Italy in 875. See F. Bougard, 'Ansperto e il papato: una relazione difficile', in Weatherill, Beretta and Tessera, *Ansperto da Biassono*.

the Roman pope would have found unfitting, to say the least.[53] An explicit emphasis is also put on Gregory's concern for keeping a high standard for the teaching of the liberal arts and the promotion of *Latinitas* as reflected both in speech and attire.[54] The drawing of an image of Gregory the Great as a patron of the arts is particularly telling if we make the connection with the person who commissioned this Life, Pope John VIII, who patronised the intellectual endeavours of both John Hymmonides and Anastasius Bibliothecarius.[55]

But the Life of Gregory was aimed at shaping the portrait of a particular bishop, a Roman pope.[56] To that end, Gregory is at the same time depicted as a monastic moraliser, a reformer of the papal court, the head of the city of Rome, an apostle sending off missions to convert new peoples, a *defensor* of the faith bringing heretics into the fold of orthodoxy and a shepherd watching over his dioceses and parishes. All these duties correspond to the portrait of a bishop with a universal mission placed in a strong eschatological frame.[57]

The collection of Gregory's letters (the *Registrum*), extensively used in the *Vita*, also provided evidence about the pope's close relationship with the emperors, their family and the court.[58] In the third and fourth book of his *Vita*, John illustrated Gregory's behaviour towards Christian rulers: he presented the opposition to Emperor Maurice (582–602) with a significantly harsh judgement on the emperor, referred to as an *avarissimus simulque rapacissimus princeps, cupidissimus ac tenacissimus*, whom Gregory *viriliter contradicit*.[59]

[53] John Hymmonides, *Vita Gregorii*, col. 81: 'nequaquam destitit facundissimus rhetor populo praedicare'.

[54] John Hymmonides, *Vita Gregorii*, col. 92: 'Tunc rerum sapientia Romae sibi templum visibiliter quodammodo fabricabat, et septemplicibus artibus, veluti columnis nobilissimorum totidem lapidum, apostolicae sedis atrium fulciebat … Quiritum more, seu trabeata Latinitas suum Latium in ipso Latiali palatio singulariter obtinebat. Refloruerant ibi diversarum artium studia, et qui, vel sanctimonia, vel prudentia forte carebat, suo ipsius iudicio subsistendi coram pontifice fiduciam non habebat.'

[55] On Pope John VIII see D. Arnold, *Johannes VIII. Päpstliche Herrschaft in den karolingischen Teilreichen am Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main, 2003); as well as A. Sennis, 'Giovanni VIII', in *Enciclopedia dei papi* (Rome, 2000), 28–34.

[56] On the political and cultural agenda behind the compilation of John Hymmonides's *Vita Gregorii* see C. Leonardi, 'Pienezza ecclesiale e santità nella "Vita Gregorii" di Giovanni Diacono', *Renovatio* 12 (1977), 51–66; G. Arnaldi, 'Giovanni Immonide e la cultura a Roma al tempo di Giovanni VIII', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo e Archivio Muratoriano* 68 (1956), 33–89.

[57] John Hymmonides, *Vita Gregorii*, col. 153: 'omnes omnino salvare certabat'.

[58] On the relation with the eastern empire see M. Dal Santo, 'Gregory the Great, the empire and the emperor', in Neil and Dal Santo, *A Companion to Gregory*, 57–81.

[59] John Hymmonides, *Vita Gregorii*, cols 160, 180–1 and 183. Cf. Gregory the Great, *Registrum* III:65, V:36. The compromised diplomatic relation with the eastern

The rhetoric of free speech here provides the frame for the understanding of Gregory's letter to Maurice (*Registrum* V:36): the pope repeatedly admonished the emperor with *libertas vocis* and *constantia*, especially rebuking him for neglecting the defence of Italy.[60] Feeling threatened by Gregory's reminder of God's final judgement, the emperor repented and saved his soul from eternal damnation, but could not be spared from death at the hands of Phocas. Borrowing from his *Registrum*, John went on showing how Gregory complied with his episcopal duties towards the new emperor and Empress Leontia by instructing them on the right exercise of Christian rulership.[61]

The *Vita Gregorii* thus shaped a prestigious model encompassing the wide range of duties belonging to the bishop of Rome, a work that could fittingly be offered as a *speculum*, a textbook against which present-day popes could measure their actions. After all, John's choice to structure his Life in four books, following the example of the *Regula pastoralis*, could also hint at the moral and didactic function of this writing, especially conceived for a pope who could now look at himself through Gregory's mirror.[62]

The *Vita Gregorii* is indeed an extraordinary text, and has rightly been acknowledged as such, but it should not be considered unique in the Carolingian panorama.[63] The strategies employed by its author are comparable and in many points similar to those behind the writing of the *De vita et meritis sancti Ambrosii*, not least for the stress put on Ambrose's and Gregory's *constantia*. Both hagio-historiographical texts were conceived not as liturgical

empire certainly influenced John's reading of Gregory's letters to Emperors Maurice and Phocas. For the historical context of those years and further bibliography see K. Herbers, 'Rom und Byzanz im Konflikt: die Jahre 869/870 in der Perspektive der Hadriansvita des *Liber pontificalis*', in W. Hartmann and K. Herbers (eds), *Die Faszination der Papstgeschichte. Neue Zugänge zum frühen und hohen Mittelalter* (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna, 2008), 55–70.

60 On the Latin vocabulary of free speech see again Van Renswoude, 'Licence to speak', pp. 40–3.

61 John Hymmonides, *Vita Gregorii*, cols 185–7.

62 John Hymmonides, *Vita Gregorii*, col. 61: 'secundum distributionem ejusdem doctoris, qua librum Regulae pastoralis quadripartita ratione distinxerat, ego quoque illum, qualiter ad culmen regiminis venerit, in primo huius operis libro perhibui; et ad hoc rite perveniens, qualiter vixerit, in secundo disserui; et bene vivens, qualiter docuerit, in tertio designavi; et recte docens, infirmitatem suam quotidie quanta consideratione cognoverit, in quarto conclusi'.

63 Paschasius Radbertus's *Epitaphium Arsenii* and Hincmar of Reims's *Vita Remigii* are equally atypical hagiographies concerned much more with the present political situation than the mere promotion of a cult. See M. de Jong, *An Epitaph for an Era. Paschasius Radbertus and His Lament for Wala* (Cambridge, forthcoming); M.-C. Isaïa, *Remi de Reims. Mémoire d'un saint, histoire d'une Église (V^e–XI^e s.)* (Paris, 2010).

pieces, but as portraits, *specula*, of authoritative bishops suited as models and sources of inspiration for present-day ambitious churchmen.

Conclusions

Bishops were expected to live up to high standards. Since the earliest Christian centuries this had triggered the need for the definition of models that the holders of the episcopal office could take as both worthy and powerful examples.[64] Ambrose's and Gregory the Great's self-representations, the testimonies of their contemporaries and their Carolingian biographies show that one particular feature stood out as a required and appropriate episcopal skill: the mastery of speech. Despite the labels Ambrose and Gregory the Great used to describe themselves as holders of the episcopal office, their *fama* relied first and foremost on their skills as eloquent speakers. And when an episcopal model needed to be shaped for present-day ambitious bishops eager to establish their authority in the Carolingian public arena, the *ars loquendi* was again brought to the fore as an essential skill, a resource to be used to fulfil their manifold episcopal duties.[65] This feature is particularly prominent in early medieval representations of Italian bishops. Paulinus of Aquileia (787–802), a former *magister artis grammaticae*, was praised by Alcuin himself for his *lingua eloquentiae*, and Atto of Vercelli (924–61) entrusted to an artfully and rhetorically constructed text his message for the reform of tenth-century Italian society.[66] The mastery

[64] Rapp, *Holy Bishops*; on late antique episcopal Lives see E. Elm, *Die Macht der Weisheit. Das Bild des Bischofs in der Vita Augustini des Possidius und anderen spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Bischofsviten* (Leiden, 2003). More particularly on late antique Italy, see R. Lizzi, *Vescovi e strutture ecclesiastiche nella città tardoantica (l'Italia Annonaria nel IV–V secolo d.C.)* (Como, 1989).

[65] The importance of the 'the art of speech' in Carolingian times has recently been given new attention, especially in the context of the relation between churchmen and rulers; see M. de Jong, 'Becoming Jeremiah: Paschasius Radbertus on Wala, himself and others', in R. Corradini, M. Gillis, R. McKitterick and I. van Renswoude (eds), *Ego Trouble. Authors and Their Identities in the Early Middle Ages* (Vienna, 2010), 185–96; in the same volume see also M. Garrison, 'An aspect of Alcuin: "Tuus Albinus" – peevish egōtist? or parrhesiast?', 137–52. J. Nelson, 'The *libera vox* of Theodulf of Orléans', in C. Chandler and S. A. Stofferahn (eds), *Discovery and Distinction in the Early Middle Ages. Studies in Honor of John J. Contreni* (Kalamazoo, 2013), 288–306. On Agobard of Lyon and Hincmar of Reims, both Carolingian outspoken bishops acting like Ambrose, see Van Renswoude, 'Licence to speak', pp. 172–3, 280–1, 295–336.

[66] Cf. Alcuin, *Ep.* 86, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 4, 1–481, p. 130; G. Vignodelli, *Il filo a piombo. Il Perpendiculum di Attone di Vercelli e la storia politica del regno Italico* (Spoleto, 2011).

of speech was indeed a crucial requirement in the understanding of the word of God, in preaching, in counselling and admonishing, as well as in defending the prerogatives of the Church. Furthermore, keeping a correct and balanced relation between the *ecclesia* and the *res publica* also rested on the bishop's ability to speak appropriately and effectively to rulers: in that respect, Ambrose and Gregory the Great were undoubtedly paramount models. The production of two new ninth-century biographies, dedicated to these exemplary bishops at the demand of their zealous successors, challenges our definition of these texts as 'hagiographies'. Rather, their moral and didactic nature situates them in a grey area at the fringes of the genre known as 'mirrors for princes', for which the Carolingian period was undeniably a golden age.[67]

Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to Clemens Gantner, Rutger Kramer, David Natal Villazala, Irene van Renswoude and Graeme Ward for their helpful comments on earlier versions of this chapter.

[67] N. Staubach, *Rex Christianus. Hofkultur und Herrschaftspropaganda im Reich Karls des Kahlen* (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna, 1993).

19

Charlemagne and the bishops

Jinty Nelson

When Mayke de Jong set about the subject of 'Charlemagne's Church' in 2005, she began with a beautiful vignette of a bishop, Leidrad of Lyon.[1] He could not be called typical – there was no such thing as a typical bishop – but he was one of those on whom Charlemagne relied most in the latter years of his reign to press ahead with the Church's *emendatio*. Leidrad, appointed by the king himself in 797, drafted in to his see and province from Bavaria, promoted to archiepiscopal rank in 807, is atypically well documented; but whatever the unevenness of the evidence, there is enough to allow a consideration of Charlemagne's bishops as a group, a cadre. Steffen Patzold has written tellingly about the problems of knowing about bishops, especially because of the distorting effects of genre, and of authorial agendas.[2] At least, thank goodness, the patchiness of the evidence is compensated for by its variety, from the normative to the anecdotal. It is sometimes possible to glimpse through a glass darkly Charlemagne's own knowledge of bishops, his interest in and dealings with some of them, his heavy reliance on a few. This chapter is, inevitably, a tissue of glimpses, confined to a single reign. Yet a forty-five-year reign, characterised by an explosion of writtenness, shows changes: fits and starts, ad hoc decisions, temporary fixes, but also some trends that can be previewed before Charlemagne and reviewed with hindsight after him.[3]

[1] M. de Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', in J. Story (ed.), *Charlemagne. Empire and Society* (Manchester/New York, 2005), 103–35; see also M. de Jong, '*Sacrum palatium et ecclesia*: l'autorité religieuse royale sous les Carolingiens (790–840)', *Annales: histoire, sciences sociales* 58:6 (2003), 1243–69; and M. de Jong, '*Ecclesia* and the early medieval polity', in S. Airlie, W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (eds), *Staat im frühen Mittelalter*, FGM 11 (Vienna, 2006), 113–32.

[2] S. Patzold, *Episcopus. Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankenreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts, Mittelalter-Forschungen 25* (Ostfildern, 2008).

[3] On pre-Carolingian changes, see Ian Wood's chapter in the present volume; and on changes through from Charlemagne's reign to Louis's, see M. Gravel, *Distances, rencontres, communications. Réaliser l'empire sous Charlemagne et Louis le Pieux, Haut Moyen Âge 15* (Turnhout, 2012).

The aims of this chapter, therefore, are, firstly, to decide how far episcopal action is better viewed in terms of individuals, rather than regional groupings, or collectively realm-wide, and secondly, to ask whether the character and tempo of bishops' activities changed in the course of the reign, with longer-run effects apparent after 814 as well. Étienne Delaruelle (1904–71), writing just after the Second World War, in a chastened yet newly optimistic Europe, saw Charlemagne's reign as a period of preparation, and the generation after 814 as witnessing 'l'entrée en scène de l'épiscopat … organisé en corps constitué'.[4] Some twenty years after Delaruelle's judgement, a rather naive young lecturer offered a synoptic view of early medieval episcopal assemblies from Spain to France, Germany and England: 'repeated meetings over time, collective action, and the articulation of common concerns fostered a conscious solidarity on the part of the bishops and a sense of responsibility for the leadership of their whole society'.[5] It is time for a *retractatio*, combining Augustine's sense of a review or revision with something of the modern sense of a retraction. In this chapter I shall argue that bishops as an *ordo* in a huge realm had not yet reached a critical mass of collective self-consciousness. Like Charlemagne himself, the historian tunes in to a series of different voices, or adjusts visually to the different poses, on the rare occasions that bishops assembled on the banks of the Loire or the Rhine, the Saône or the Danube.[6] Bishops in local *civitates* and local landscapes, on the receiving end of the responses of lay folk and those of lesser clerical rank, adopted a version of Pope Gregory's *condescensio*, which he explained in theological context as a 'going-down to be with'.[7] This or that local encounter or exchange connected the bishop with another royal agent or with Charlemagne himself. Only seldom is collective episcopal

[4] E. Delaruelle, 'En relisant le *De institutione regia* de Jonas d'Orléans: l'entrée en scène de l'épiscopat carolingien', in C.-E. Perrin and R. H. Bautier (eds), *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), 185–92.

[5] J. Nelson, 'National synods, kingship as office, and royal anointing: an early medieval syndrome', *Studies in Church History* 7 (1971), 41–59 (a paper read at the Ecclesiastical History Society's summer meeting in 1970), reprinted in J. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), 239–57, p. 255.

[6] See the letters sent by representatives of different ecclesiastical provinces to Charlemagne in advance of the Council of Frankfurt in 794, the decrees of the Council on the Danube of 796, and above all the decrees sent to Charlemagne from the (more or less) synchronised provincial assemblies of 813, which worked to agendas sent by Charlemagne; A. Werminghoff (ed.), *Concilium Francofurtense* (*a.* 794), *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 110–71; *Conventus episcoporum ad ripas Danubii* (*a.* 796), *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 172–6; and *Concilia Arelatense, Remense, Moguntinese, Cabillonense, Turonense*, pp. 245–306.

[7] J. Nelson, 'Organic intellectuals in the Dark Ages?', *History Workshop Journal* 66 (2008), 1–17, pp. 6–7.

self-consciousness visible in the reign of Charlemagne, for the very good reason that contexts for any such manifestations were few and far between. Though I have not attempted in this chapter to cover Charlemagne's relations with successive popes (there is now a large, and distinct, historiography), these too could be seen as bi-lateral, linking two points and two emblematic personae.

Statistics are a good place to start – but it takes a historian of Rudolf Schieffer's calibre to extract those from evidential bits and pieces.[8] He has estimated the number of bishops in post at any one time during the reign of Charlemagne, and assessed the rate of attrition among the ranks: hence, the number of likely vacancies per annum. There were 150 sees in Italy, 14 east of the Rhine, 125 in Gaul west of the Rhine; across Charlemagne's reign, and allowing an average period of episcopal office of ten years, that would make for about 1,000 episcopal appointments at the rate of two or three per month.[9] The implications of these findings are important. There must have been many bishops whom Charlemagne never met personally, and many episcopal elections in which he took little or no interest. The evidence from the two great sub-kingdoms, Italy and Aquitaine, suggests that neither sub-king made episcopal appointments. Brigitte Kasten inferred that that power resided 'at the highest level', with Charlemagne.[10] Schieffer asked pragmatically whether Charlemagne's sons, or Charlemagne himself, showed any *consistent* interest in episcopal appointments, whether at sub-kingdom level or empire-wide. In Charlemagne's reign after 774, it seemed likely that local influence predominated in very many episcopal elections. Schieffer concluded that, though the amount of information was 'astonishingly small', it was nevertheless evident that some sees 'loomed larger than others in the field of vision of Charlemagne and his entourage' and that these sees tended to be concentrated in the 'heartland between the Rhine and the Loire and the Rhone'.[11] There, in Charlemagne's reign, it was harder to discern a hereditary, often nephew-to-uncle, element in episcopal succession that persisted elsewhere, then and long after. In the Italian see of Bergamo, two brothers shared the office of bishop of Lucca between 780 and 797; in Verona, Bishop Egino consecrated his own successor in 802. They did things differently there. But there were times when Charlemagne had a strong interest in a particular see outside the heartlands: see below for Lyon, Salzburg, Chur, Paderborn.

[8] R. Schieffer, 'Karl der Große und die Einsetzung der Bischöfe im Frankenreich', *DA* 63 (2007), 451–67.

[9] Schieffer, 'Karl', p. 464 with n. 54.

[10] B. Kasten, *Königssöhne und Königsherrschaft. Untersuchungen zur Teilhabe am Reich in der Merowinger- und Karolingerzeit* (Hanover, 1997), p. 327, and cf. pp. 318–22, 357–60.

[11] Schieffer, 'Karl', p. 462.

Within the Frankish heartlands, Charlemagne and those close to him, including his *consiliarii* and also his successive wives, took a close interest in appointments. For example, Mainz was a major see with its huge metropolitan province in Germania east of the Rhine. Here Charlemagne's fourth wife, Queen Fastrada, can be located, in the same area as Riculf, scion of an aristocratic East Frankish family; and Fastrada can plausibly be associated with the choice of Riculf (787–813) as archbishop of Mainz during Charlemagne's absence in Italy. Riculf was to preside over Fastrada's burial at Mainz in 794; and thereafter until his death in 813, he was among Charlemagne's closest advisers.[12] Liège was another important place for Charlemagne because of its geographical and strategic location in the heartlands of Carolingian family power. Charlemagne himself recalled to Bishop Ghaerbald of Liège in 807 that the people of that diocese had in 785 been 'committed to you by Almighty God and our ordinance' (*omnipotente Deo et nostra ordinatione*).[13] In the years after 794, Charlemagne was normally to be found at Aachen, which was in the diocese of Liège and only some 40 km away by road from the *civitas*. Though Ghaerbald's successor Waltcaud is mentioned for the first time in 811, attesting Charlemagne's will, it seems highly likely that he was appointed to Liège immediately after Ghaerbald's death.

The ecclesiastical attesters of Charlemagne's will in 811 offer a snapshot of bishops clustered close to regnal power. Riculf, the second archbishop to attest, was preceded only by Hildebald of Cologne (785–818), and followed by Arn of Salzburg (785–821), Wolfar of Reims, Bernoin of Besançon, Leidrad of Lyon and John of Arles. Next-named were Bishops Theodulf of Orleans, Jesse of Amiens, Heito of Basel and Waltcaud of Liège (811–31). Of these, Hildebald, Arn, Wolfar, Leidrad (799–818) and Waltcaud can very probably be regarded as Charles's personal choices. Probably Bishop Jesse of Amiens could be added to that list, for he was appointed to the see in 799, and later that year was picked for the important task of escorting Leo III back from Paderborn to Rome.[14] But a snapshot documents a moment. It seems highly

[12] F. Staab, 'Die Königin Fastrada', in R. Berndt (ed.), *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794: Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur. Akten zweier Symposien (vom 23. bis 27. Februar und vom 13. bis 15. Oktober 1994) anläßlich der 1,200-Jahrfeier der Stadt Frankfurt am Main* (Mainz, 1997), 183–217, pp. 186–7; J. Nelson, 'The siting of the council at Frankfort: some reflections on family and politics', in Berndt, *Das Frankfurter Konzil*, 149–65, pp. 158–9. Cf. *Rihcolfi archiepiscopi ad Eginonem epistola*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 249 for Riculf's role in organising penitential fasts in his province on Charles's orders in 811.

[13] Charlemagne, *Epistola ad Ghaerbaldum* (*a.* 805), ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1:124, 244–6, p. 245; see Schieffer, 'Karl', p. 454.

[14] *Vita Leonis III*, c. 20, in *LP*, Vol. II, 1–48, p. 5. See Ph. Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux (781–840)* (Sigmaringen, 1997), p. 408; A. Hack, *Codex*

likely that those eleven prelates were assembled to attest, on this occasion and no other. Mapping see-locations in the heartlands and, in the latter years of the reign, can be compared with closeness of sees to Aachen, or, again, with those sees in acquired territories in which Charlemagne manifested intense imperial interest before and after 800.

Where on that scale ought Le Mans and Tours to be placed? Both were well over 600 km from Aachen and on the very periphery of Neustria. Perhaps the fact that Charlemagne's original share of the Frankish Kingdom in 768–71 had included so much of Neustria goes some way to explaining his continued interest in episcopal appointments there. The ninth-century author of the *Actus pontificum Cenomannensium* mentions Gauzlin, a very bad bishop ('too awful for anything to be said about him') who was removed by Count Rotgar, sometime in the reign of Charlemagne.[15] Charlemagne then installed one of his own palace priests 'whom he commanded should be ordained bishop in his palace' (*praecepit in palacio suo … episcopum ordinari*). The *Actus* name the next bishop of Le Mans as Joseph and unusually give some evidence of his origin. '[H]e was sprung from the *familia* of the metropolitan church of Tours (*de familia … metropolis Turonice civitatis aecclesiae ortus*); that is, he was born a serf of the episcopal church.[16] The author takes a dim view.

At Tours in 801–02, Alcuin, leader of the community at Saint-Martin, and Bishop Theodulf of Orléans were embroiled in a furious dispute over the right to sanctuary claimed by a fugitive criminous clerk from Orléans.[17] In the letters generated by the case, Alcuin mentioned 'our bishop' but never his name, though Ernst Dümmler, the *MGH* editor, dutifully noted at each reference that his name was Joseph.[18] Charlemagne himself soon became involved. His letter to Alcuin had none of the usual opening pleasantries: 'Yesterday', it began,

Carolinus. Päpstliche Epistolographie im 8. Jahrhundert, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 2006–07), Vol. II, p. 1003.

[15] *Actus pontificum Cenomannensium in urbe degentium und Gesta Aldrici*, c. 15, ed. M. Weidemann, *Geschichte des Bistums Le Mans von der Spätantike bis zur Karolingerzeit* (Mainz, 2002), p. 92; M. Weidemann, 'Bischofsherrschaft und Königtum in Neustrien vom 7. bis zum 9. Jahrhundert am Beispiel des Bistums Le Mans', in H. Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie. Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850. Colloque historique international*, Vol. I (Sigmaringen, 1989), 161–93, pp. 173–5. The Neustrian names lend an air of authenticity to the story.

[16] *Actus*, c. 16, p. 102; and see Patzold, *Episcopus*, p. 417.

[17] Alcuin, *Epp.* 245–9, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 4, 1–481, pp. 393–401; see R. Meens, 'Sanctuary, penance, and dispute settlement under Charlemagne: the conflict between Alcuin and Theodulf of Orléans over a sinful cleric', *Speculum* 82 (2007), 277–300.

[18] Dümmler evidently accepted a forged judgement of Charlemagne (E. Mühlbacher (ed.), *Die Urkunden Pippins, Karlmanns und Karls des Grossen*, *MGH DD Kar.* 1, no. 265, p. 386) in a thirteenth-century copy of the *Actus pontificum*

'when a letter came from you to me, another letter came from Bishop Theodulf [798–820/21] complaining of the dishonour suffered by his men, and not only by them but by the bishop of Tours, and the contempt given to our imperial orders … Of the two letters, yours was the much more bitter and full of rage.' Charlemagne then accused Alcuin of having become the devil's instrument, and peremptorily summoned him to an assembly to answer Theodulf's charges.[19]

Alcuin's response was contrite (how could it have been otherwise?). Yet legible between its lines is deep unhappiness about the bishop of Tours: Alcuin had expected him to take the side of Saint-Martin's community against the men from Orléans, whereas the exact opposite happened. The *pastor*, 'elected according to the customs, devoted in preaching, and an excellent dispenser of food to the *familia Christi*', was a *pontifex*, but *corde simplex* – 'simple in heart' – quite unable to cope with the fracas that had ensued when Theodulf's 'strong men' charged into the episcopal church.[20] Alcuin's wrath was displaced on to the locals of Tours, *indocti* who had instigated the 'riot' (*tumultus*): 'the *vulgus indoctum* inclined as they always are to act improperly, without counsel … [were] running to take up their cudgels'. Calm had been restored by the prompt action of one of the military retainers (*vassi*) of Saint-Martin, and the senior members of Saint-Martin's community. The *infantes* – i.e. the child-oblates, *simplices* as they may have been – had joined in the affray: Alcuin was now sending them to Aachen to be interrogated personally by Charlemagne. He must have hoped that their testimony would expose the simple-heartedness of the bishop of Tours. The absence of any mention of an archbishop of Tours in the preface to the conciliar decrees of the Neustrian Council of Tours in 813 points to a vacancy then that had perhaps existed for years before. One way to make sense of all this might be to suggest that Joseph the low-born bishop of Le Mans had, irregularly, been given the see of Tours by Charlemagne but, irregularly, as a suffragan-bishop (*chorepiscopus*).[21] If Italy was a foreign country, so too was Neustria. Frankly, a simple heart was enough to get a bishop

Cenomannensium, which names the bishop of Le Mans as Franco and the archbishop of Tours as Joseph. See also Meens, 'Sanctuary', pp. 283, 285.

19 Charlemagne to Alcuin, *Ep.* 247, pp. 399–401. Neither of the standard English part-translations of Alcuin's correspondence includes this letter from Charlemagne. It has been underplayed in the historiography.

20 In *Ep.* 249, p. 402, lines 14–15, Alcuin wrote *pastor*; in *Ep.* 403, line 18, he wrote *pater et pontifex*; but in *Ep.* 245, p. 394, line 1, he had called him *episcopus noster*; while Charlemagne (see previous note) mentioned *episcopus huius civitatis* – without naming him. Here Charlemagne also called Theodulf *episcopus*, as did Alcuin (*Ep.* 248, p. 401). Were archiepiscopal titles withheld (but not consistently withheld) while the case was *sub iudice*?

21 The next-attested archbishop of Tours was Landramn, first mentioned as consecrator of Franco as bishop of Le Mans on 29 June 816; see Depreux, *Prosopographie*, nos 100 (p. 197) and 185 (p. 292), citing *Actus pontificum Cenomannensium*, p. 293.

sacked in the reign of Charlemagne. Compare the case of Ursus, a bishop of extreme simpleness (*nimiae simplicitatis*) who was removed from the see of Vienne and consigned to the monastery of Lérins to make way for a Bavarian called Wifer in 798, just at the time another Bavarian, Leidrad, became bishop (in 804 archbishop) of Lyon.[22] The suspicion arises that *simplicitas* might cover a multitude of traits regarded by Charlemagne as deficiencies, from incompetence to political unreliability. This was an imperial intervention far away from the heartland; yet the radar screens at Aachen had been pulsing!

Even worse in Alcuin's eyes than a simple-hearted bishop was a *vulgus indoctum … sine consilio*: 'an ignorant mob … lacking counsel'. Strong language indeed – and rather atypical of Alcuin.[23] But equally strong was the language Alcuin had earlier used, apparently in the very context of episcopal election. In *Ep.* 132, dated to 798, Alcuin answered a set of questions put to him by Charlemagne.[24] Response 9 is: *Populus iuxta sanctiones divinas ducendus est, non sequendus* ('the people according to divine laws must be led, not followed' – a quotation from Pope Celestine I (422–32) – *et ad testimonium persone magis eliguntur honeste*, 'and persons of high social standing are those whom it is best to elect when it comes to capacity for truthful evidence'; hence, by implication, high-born men make better bishops. Those who are in the habit of saying *Vox populi vox Dei* must not be listened to, for the propensity of the mob (*vulgus*) to violent disorder always comes close to madness. Alcuin sums up: 'the above [lessons] must be taught to the simple-minded [*simplices*], for ignorance of truth forces very many to go astray'.

In an incisive paper some years ago but uncited in recent discussion, Edward J. Peters set out a plausible context for the royal questions that had

[22] The evidence is late but local: Ado of Vienne, *Chronicon* (extracts), *s.a.* 798, ed. G. Pertz, *MGH SS* 2, 315–23, p. 320. See Schieffer, 'Karl', p. 460 with n. 33; and Patzold, *Episcopus*, p. 432, with n. 469, noting that Ado mentions Ursus and two other 'simple' or 'innocent' bishops of Vienne in a passage in which these adjectives do not seem to be meant positively.

[23] In *Ep.* 249, p. 403, Alcuin praised the *populus* of Tours for defending the honour of Saint-Martin.

[24] Alcuin, *Ep.* 132, pp. 198–9. On this letter, D. Bullough, *Alcuin. Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden/Boston, MA, 2004), p. 36 with n. 78, wrote: 'it has in my view nothing to do with Alcuin, although a case can be made for its connection with Fridugis, or his circle at Tours, a generation later'. The re-dating of the two manuscripts containing *Ep.* 132 to the eleventh century does not in itself impugn the attribution to Alcuin, and H. Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta. Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrschererlasse, MGH Hilfsmittel*, pp. 557–9, 805–7, seems not to have rejected that. Perhaps, in the end, if the text were to be connected with Fridugis rather than Alcuin, my argument here would not be too greatly affected.

prompted Alcuin's answers. Charlemagne wanted to appoint a bishop in a particular diocese, but the local *populus* had preferred a man of their own choice, believing – perhaps after pondering certain Old Testament texts – that their voice was the *vox Dei*.[25] That may well have been the scenario here; and a further suggestion might be that Tours was the see. But, as Peters observes, there is a much older and wider context in recurrent airings of concern over how episcopal elections ought to work. *Clerus et populus* should choose, according to venerable canons, and consensus was required. Consent and consensus were not the same thing, of course; and some people were more equal than others. Pope Celestine I himself had tried to take a balanced position: *nullus invitis detur episcopus* (no bishop ought to be given to those unwilling [to receive him]), on the one hand, and the *populus*, along with the clergy, must give *consensus et voluntas*; yet on the other hand, *tumultus populi* was to be strenuously avoided. *Populus* could mean the local elite, or it could mean a wider, more volatile constituency. The Old Testament gave some support to both interpretations and to various in-between positions. The date of Alcuin's responses, remember, is 798. Charlemagne had appointed bishops from the palace before this.[26] An increasingly imperial vision involved more interventionism, tempered (and this was Charlemagne's way) by taking into account the view from the *civitas*.

The converse of episcopal succession is non-succession, or the deliberate prolongation of a vacancy. Rosamond McKitterick recently inferred a pre-history of episcopal vacancies from the little rash of episcopal first appearances in 768/69: the simultaneous royal successions of Charlemagne and Carloman and a papal invitation to bishops to attend a synod at Rome drew attention to the existence of gaps, and prompted royal action to fill them.[27] But this was a special moment when the young kings vied to prove their moral credentials and the papacy had just survived a peculiarly toxic bout of rivalries of its own. In 779, there were still too many episcopal vacancies: these were to be filled 'without delay'.[28] Charlemagne nevertheless showed no consistent concern over vacancies. He left major sees vacant: Reims most notoriously, with a nine-year vacancy after the death of Tilpin, *c.* 794; at Metz the gap that

[25] E. Peters, 'Vox populi, vox Dei', in E. King and S. Ridyard (eds), *Law in Medieval Life and Thought*, Sewanee Medieval Studies 5 (Sewanee, TN, 1990), 91–120, pp. 93–103. For laymen apparently au fait with Bible reading in the mid-ninth century, see R. Stone, 'The invention of a theology of abduction: Hincmar of Rheims on "Raptus"', *JEH* 60 (2009), 433–48.

[26] Schieffer, 'Karl', pp. 459, 461. An analogy between canonical consent in king-makings and that in bishop-makings is discussed by Peters, 'Vox populi'.

[27] R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne. The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 302.

[28] *Capitulare Haristallense*, c. 2, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 47–52, p. 47.

began in 791 was still there in 814 (and extended until 823).[29] In Schieffer's view, such vacancies resulted not (as they often did in later centuries) from the king's wish to exploit Church revenues but from a determination to maintain a control of sees that ensured their protection.[30] Alcuin, in light of Northumbrian experience, and from the diocesan viewpoint, warned the newly consecrated archbishop of York against acquiring property for the see in order to bequeath it to his own kin: 'Let not the number of your kinsfolk make you[?] greedy!'.[31] The Neustrian evidence suggests, again from the diocesan viewpoint, that vacancies in regions far from the heartlands may have been bemoaned because of the risks of Church property being 'privatised' during them. In other words Charlemagne kept sees vacant in order to keep them in public – that is, royal – hands. But it would be naive to credit this or any ruler with purely altruistic public-spiritedness. Charlemagne had wide discretion when it came to the acquiring (through rightful confiscation, for instance) and deployment (through re-granting confiscated lands as benefices) of public resources. A vacancy was, by another name, a windfall. In general terms, locality no doubt mattered as much as timing. For most sees, though, whether in or far from the heartlands, and for most of the time, there is, as Schieffer rightly said, a total absence of evidence.

Numbers can be looked at in quite another way when it comes to considering the occasions on which bishops met: occasions that if sufficiently numerous could foster something of an *esprit de corps* even if not quite a *corps constitué*. The *Monumenta*'s seductively majestic ranks of capitulary texts have led a series of historians to present Charlemagne's reign as punctuated by a series of stately episcopal occasions. That punctuation is in need not so much of puncturing as of re-appraisal in context. The stately occasions, hugely important as they could be, were actually few and far between, at any rate before the last years of Charlemagne's reign. After Charlemagne's and his brother's accessions in September/October 768, there seems to be no recorded realm-wide

[29] H. Mordek, 'Ein exemplarischer Rechtsstreit: Hinkmar von Reims und das Landgut Neuilly-Saint-Front', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Kan. Abt. 83 (1997), 86–112, p. 102, reprinted in H. Mordek, *Studien zur fränkischen Herrschergesetzgebung. Aufsätze über Kapitularien und Kapitulariensammlungen ausgewählt zum 60. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt am Main/Vienna, 2000), 279–306, p. 296.

[30] Schieffer, 'Karl', p. 463.

[31] Alcuin, *Ep.* 114, p. 168, to Archbishop Eanbald of York in 796; cf. *Ep.* 209, p. 348, to Calvinus about Eanbald: 'Ammone illum diligentius, ne sit saeculi amator, ne adulatoribus consentiens, ne propter propinquorum turbam suum cupiditatibus terrarum vel divitiarum involvat animum … Melior est Christus propinquus et amicus quam totius saeculi numerosa propinquitas vel amicitia.' See S. Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006), p. 297.

assembly including bishops until Herstal in March 779, a Lenten assembly occasioned by what the late Hubert Mordek termed a *Krisenzeit*: the first serious military and political setbacks of the reign and the first major famine.[32] In presentational terms, Charlemagne maintained here his father's practice of *sinodalia concilia*, where bishops, abbots and counts, assembled into one thing, *congregati in unum*, together with the king himself, agreed this decree *pro causis oportunis* – for the needs of the time. Directed specifically at bishops were orders issued 'with the consent of bishops' in a 'second special capitulary': each bishop was to organise, first, prayers 'for the king, the army of the Franks and the present tribulation' (abbots and abbesses, priests, monks, and canons were to be involved in these), and, second (here only bishops, abbots and abbesses were involved), charitable relief at diocesan level – and for this purpose bishops were graded into those who could afford one pound of silver, middling bishops who were to give half a pound, and lesser bishops from whom five solidi were demanded.[33] There were parallel measures for counts. All were to be 'completed' by St John's Day, 24 June. If properly carried out (and there is an 'if'), the bishop's labours would have seen his local profile enhanced even as his work-load increased. The premise of the system was a working diocese.

Before returning to the series of great Church assemblies later in the reign, I want to make another point about evidence for episcopal duties before 779. No year in Charlemagne's reign was trouble-free. The first real *Krisenzeit*, though, was not 779, but 773–4, following Charlemagne's takeover of his brother's kingdom and occasioned by the survival of his nephews in Italy under the protection of the Lombard king. It was one thing to mop up Aquitanian resistance in summer 769, or make a risky but potentially very profitable attack on the Saxons' great shrine in early summer 772: quite another thing to launch a campaign across the Alps to Lombardy in late summer 773. The tactically ambitious division of the army into two made the Lombard king and his army fall back on the capital, Pavia. A siege maintained from September 773 to June 774 presupposes large forces and tough discipline. So does the carrying-out by parts of the Frankish forces (perhaps augmented by Lombard recruits) of two special missions. The first was to Verona, probably early in 773, where the nephews were captured. The second was to Rome in late March 774. To the pope's surprise and alarm, Charlemagne approached the city 'with various bishops, abbots, *iudices*, *duces* and *grafiones* with many armies'.[34] However this is read – and remember that the siege of Pavia was ongoing in March 774 – the

[32] H. Mordek, 'Karls des Großen zweites Kapitular von Herstal und die Hungersnot der Jahre 778/779', *DA* 61 (2005), 1–52, with edition at pp. 50–2.

[33] *Capitulare episcoporum* (*a.* 780?), ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 52; ed. H. Mordek, 'Karls des Großen zweites Kapitular', p. 52.

[34] *Vita Hadriani I.*, c. 35, in *LP*, Vol. I, 486–523, p. 496: 'diversi episcopi, abates, etiam et iudices, duces nempe et grafiones cum plurimis exercitibus'.

implication is that the forces that Charlemagne took to Italy in 773 were exceptionally large, and thus, that he had summoned on a hitherto unprecedented scale contingents supplied, and in some cases led in person, by bishops as well as abbots and secular *potentes*.

Two charters lend some support to this inference. One, securely dated to 19 February 774, and datelined 'at the city of Pavia, publicly', is Charlemagne's confirmation of an exchange of properties between the bishop of Le Mans and the abbot of Saint-Calais, who were 'seizing an opportunity to exchange some properties'.[35] No doubt they were; but they were presumably doing this outside Pavia because they and their men were involved in the siege. The other charter, an original with gaps in the final section but now plausibly dated to late summer 773, is Charlemagne's grant of protection to Bishop Constantius of Chur in a region known since Roman times as Rhaetia. Chur's metropolitan was Milan, and it was located some 70 km north of the Julier and Septimer Passes which led south via Chiavenna and Lake Como to Milan and Pavia. Constantius was no ordinary bishop: he and his predecessors in the eighth century ruled a more or less independent principality – until Charlemagne set his sights on Italy. Charlemagne said that he had received through messengers a request from Constantius, and as a result had 'placed Constantius as *rector* in the province of the Rhaetians, at the request of him and his people … taking them into our *mundeburdium* [protection]'.[36] A glance at the map shows the strategic significance of what was effectively a negotiated takeover. Constantius had read the runes correctly, and foreseen the outcome of Charlemagne's decision to launch a campaign against the Lombards. The *quid pro quo* for protection was *servitium* and *fides*, both terms with military connotations. Bishop Constantius and his men may well have joined Charlemagne at Geneva where the army was divided

[35] Mühlbacher, *Die Urkunden*, D 79, pp. 113–14.

[36] Mühlbacher, *Die Urkunden*, D 78, pp. 111–12. See H. Wolfram, *Die Geburt Mitteleuropas. Geschichte Österreichs vor seiner Entstehung, 378–907* (Vienna, 1987), p. 173, with maps at pp. 467 and 472; H. Wolfram, 'Expansion und Integration: Rätien und andere Randgebiete des Karolingerreichs im Vergleich', in H. Sennhauser (ed.), *Wandel und Konstanz zwischen Bodensee und Lombardei zur Zeit Karls des Grossen. Kloster St. Johann in Müstair und Churrätien; Tagung 13.–16. Juni 2012 in Müstair*, Acta Müstair 3 (Zurich, 2013), 251–60, convincingly dating the charter to 793 – less convincingly, given the political context, suggesting at pp. 254–5 that it was handed over to Constantius and his Rhaetians at Auxerre; A. Winckler, *Die Alpen im Frühmittelalter. Die Geschichte eines Raumes in den Jahren 500 bis 800* (Vienna, 2012), pp. 59, 226–7, 354, 356; I. Heitmeier, '*Per Alpes Curiam* – der rätische Straßenraum in der frühen Karolingerzeit – Annäherung an die Gründungsumstände des Klosters Müstair', in Sennhauser, *Wandel und Konstanz*, 143–76, pp. 168–72; H. Maurer, 'Das Bistum Konstanz zur Zeit Karls des Großen', in Sennhauser, *Wandel und Konstanz*, 179–86.

between forces led by the king, taking the route via the Mont-Cenis Pass and the val de Susa towards Pavia, and forces led by Charlemagne's uncle Bernard, taking the Mons Iovis (Great St Bernard) Pass and the val d'Aosta. Either way, and wherever Bishop Constantius and his men joined the Franks, it seems highly likely that a significant Rhaetian contingent joined Charlemagne's army. Charlemagne's appreciation took the material form of support for Constantius's building of the glorious church of Saint John at Müstair.[37]

Gatherings of the host were associated with oath-takings. The key surviving text enjoins attendance by 'bishops and abbots and counts and royal vassals [and their deputies] … and all [men] over the age of twelve who are in the habit of attending assemblies and capable of fulfilling and keeping the orders of their lords; that is the men of the counties, or the men of bishops, abbots and abbesses'.[38] In apparent contradiction of ecclesiastical prohibitions on the engagement of churchmen in warfare, and despite the repeated injunction that churchmen not be implicated in secular service, Charlemagne's new rules of the game required bishops, abbots and abbesses to organise and provide for the performance of military service by their *milites*. Since military campaigns were an almost annual event throughout Charlemagne's long reign (though he did not personally lead them all), the gatherings of the host and the swearings of oaths of fidelity became increasingly important events, at which at least some bishops and abbots and their followers rubbed shoulders with counts and *vassi* and theirs. The effect was at once to enhance and to diminish the difference between bishops and lay leaders. The bishops (and abbots) who followed Charlemagne south from Pavia to Rome in March 774 looked different from secular men, and did not personally fight; but they marshalled men who did. Their almost invariably aristocratic origins put them socially on a par with lay elites: their prayers and masses, their professional function as necessary intercessors with God for the army of the Franks, highlighted the distinction between those who prayed (*oratores*) and those who fought (*bellatores*).[39] Yet Charlemagne's requiring of bishops' service for military campaigns was hard to align with the apostle Paul's clear instruction to Timothy, who was regarded as a prototype bishop: *Nemo militans Deo implicet se negotiis secularibus* ('Let

[37] See J. Nelson, 'Evidence in question: dendrochronology and medieval history', in O. Kano and Jean-Loup Lemaitre (eds), *Entre texte et histoire, Études d'histoire médiévale offertes au professeur Soichi Sato à l'occasion de son 70e anniversaire* (Paris, 2015), pp. 227–49.

[38] *Capitulare missorum* (*a.* 792 *vel* 796), cc. 2, 3, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 66–7.

[39] On social *ordines*, see E. Patlagean, 'Les armées et la cité à Rome du VIIe au IXe siècle et le monde européeen des trois fonctions sociales', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 86 (1974), 25–62; cf. M. de Jong, *The Penitential State. Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814 – 840* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 166–8; M. Innes, 'Charlemagne, Justice and Written Law', in A. Rio (ed.), *Law, Custom and Justice* (London, 2011), 155–203, p. 168.

no one doing service for God involve himself in secular affairs'; 2 Tim. 2.4). Eventually Charlemagne would ask bishops *acutissime* how their duties to God and the earthly kingdom could be reconciled.[40]

In the big book of capitularies, the next big text after Herstal is the *Admonitio generalis* of March 789. It opened in the form of a letter: 'Ego Carolus … omnibus ecclesiasticae pietatis ordinibus seu saecularis potentiae dignitatibus … Salutem!'. This was neither the product of a big assembly, though, nor of bishops. The hard winter's working through from Christmas 788 to Easter 789 at Aachen was done by a select group of *sacerdotes et consiliarii nostri*.[41] No bishops were clearly identified in this text, and *sacerdotes* here is best translated as '[some] clergy or chaplains' in the royal household. Michael Glatthaar pinpoints the Lenten season as the appropriate time for taking stock after the close-run things of 786 and 788.[42] The circumstances of the text's production were unusual: multiple copies made in a hurry, and sent out on a Monday – 'the first day of the working week'.[43] We can imagine the messengers waiting that Monday morning booted and spurred. Only two among the *consiliarii* can be identified as authors: Alcuin, with very much the major part, and Theodulf in a junior role. Bishops were not the authors. But bishops were the key persons addressed – those whom Charlemagne now spurred to action. They were largely responsible one way or another for the fact that some thirty-six manuscripts survive in whole or in part, with the ninth century strongly represented. Recent historians write of a 'basic law', diffused by Charlemagne 'programmatically', and appearing in 'teaching contexts' as much as in legal collections.[44] Charlemagne's tone, quite different from that at Herstal, was one calculated 'not to threaten but to encourage'.[45] That may be putting it a shade too mildly. An *admonitio* is a sharp reminder

[40] See below, pp. 366–7.

[41] There is more to be said about *consiliarii*; but meanwhile see P. Bernard, 'Benoît d'Aniane est-il auteur de l'avertissement "Hucusque" et du Supplément au sacramentaire "Hadrianus"?', *Studi medievali* 3:39 (1998), 1–120, pp. 55–62; F. Bougard, 'Public power and authority', in C. La Rocca (ed.), *Italy in the Early Middle Ages, 476–1000* (Cambridge, 2002), 34–58.

[42] Bishops played their parts both in the quelling of revolt east of the Rhine (786) and in staging the removal from power of Tassilo and his family in Bavaria (788): see S. Airlie, 'Narratives of triumph and rituals of submission: Charlemagne's mastering of Bavaria', *TRHS* 6:9 (1999), 93–119; J. Nelson, *Opposition to Charlemagne* (London, 2009).

[43] *Admonitio generalis*, ed. H. Mordek, K. Zechiel-Eckes and M. Glatthaar, *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen*, *MGH Fontes iuris* 16, Introduction, p. 25. For further discussion of the circumstances of the production and the distribution of the *Admonitio generalis*, see Chapter 6.

[44] *Admonitio generalis*, Introduction, pp. 86–8.

[45] *Admonitio generalis*, pp. 19–20 ('nicht drohen, sondern werben').

to bishops to be rigorous about such fundamental duties as the supervision of priests, pastoral teaching, preaching and correct liturgical performance (cc. 68, 70, 80). Theodulf's *Ad episcopos*, a long poetic critique of current episcopal failings, was arguably written at the court at just this time, 788–90: an urgent call to bishops, whether in Gothia or in Francia, in terms that sharpen those of the *Admonitio* with sardonic humour. Antitheses and oxymorons reinforce a message about the yawning gap between the tough requirements of office and feeble incumbents: dirty bishops cannot clean up, sleepy bishops give no wake-up calls, sick bishops cannot cure, drunken bishops will not preach sobriety. Unlike the happy crowd of good bishops, 'this other crowd pant with mouths agape after their own gain, not the Lord's gain … Not the job but the money, not the responsibility but the honour [*non honus sed honor*)] is what pleases that mob.'[46] This diatribe foreshadows that in Theodulf's poem *Ad iudices* of 798.[47] But, again, communication was vertical, not horizontal: the king and his advisers gave orders to bishops who in turn passed orders down to priests. Provincial synods are not recorded. *Esprit de corps* was no nearer to being created than before.

The Council of Frankfurt (794) was a response to the second major *Krisenzeit* of the reign: a rebellion that risked toppling the regime in 792, and another terrible famine. In this respect, Frankfurt mirrored Herstal. It also differed fundamentally from the small-group meeting at Aachen 789. Frankfurt looks like an episcopal assembly on a large scale. The statements sent in by the leading (arch) bishops of the various provinces express diversely provincial pride, and could in themselves suggest a large attendance.[48] There is no evidence as to how many bishops attended, however. The bishops at Frankfurt, like the *consiliarii* of 789, drew on the decrees of fourth-century councils, and also echoed the *Admonitio* at a number of points where lay religious practice had to be accommodated or confronted, and absorbed.[49] Yet there is little manuscript evidence of follow-up

[46] Theodulf of Orléans, *Ad episcopos*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Poet. lat.* 1, 452–8, lines 141–66, 175; see J. Nelson, 'The *libera vox* of Theodulf of Orléans', in C. J. Chandler and S. Stofferahn (eds), *Discovery and Distinction in the Early Middle Ages. Studies in Honor of John J. Contreni* (Kalamazoo, 2013), 288–306, p. 292.

[47] Noble, 'The *libera vox*', pp. 294–6; cf. J. Nelson, 'Munera', in J.-P. Devroey (ed.), *Les élites et la richesse au haut moyen âge* (Brussels, 2010), 383–401, pp. 394–400.

[48] H. Mayr-Harting, 'Charlemagne's religion', in P. Godman, J. Jarnut and P. Johanek (eds), *Am Vorabend der Kaiserkrönung. Das Epos 'Karolus Magnus et Leo papa' und der Papstbesuch in Paderborn 799* (Berlin, 2002), 113–24.

[49] No new saints were to be venerated (c. 42; cf. *Admonitio generalis*, c. 42); all were to offer each other the kiss of peace during Mass (c. 50; cf. *Admonitio generalis*, c. 53); the names [of the dead] were not to be read out until the oblations had been offered (c. 51; cf. *Admonitio generalis*, c. 54); no one should believe that God could be prayed to only in three languages – God is to be adored and a person is to be heard in any language, so long as they seek what is just (c. 52).

activity.[50] Fighting heresy, though, was the hallmark of a serious Christian ruler, and in this domain, bishops were key adjuncts and agents. Adoptionism and iconoclasm topped the agenda – and these were the topics to be discussed by 'the holy fathers', whereas the remaining items were for the entire assembly (*synodus*) including the laity.[51] In 797, the assembly summoned to Aachen on 28 October (the date of the battle of the Milvian Bridge when Constantine secured the victory of Christianity) bringing 'Frankish' bishops, abbots and counts, 'coming together into one thing' (*convenientes in unum*) with Saxons gathered from various Saxon regions to make mutually acceptable legal arrangements for settling cases, sounds like a special *placitum* with military overtones. Large numbers are not implied, and the remit was narrow. The holy fathers present were nevertheless key participants in the domain of war as well.

In 802, following the imperial coronation of Charlemagne, came a burst of episcopal activity. It was encapsulated in what F.-L. Ganshof called 'the programmatic capitulary' of 802, surviving in the form of a single tenth-century draft-like copy.[52] The starry tail of the programmatic comet could be seen to have consisted of variegated showers of instructions to *missi* who were 'going down to be with' the bishops in the localities. Matthew Innes has recently argued cogently for re-presenting to ourselves the messiness of the texts as an enormous boon to understanding: the singularity of the 'great' capitulary is not so much compensated for, as complemented by, the plural and very diverse testimony of its associated directive capitularies.[53] To hold these disparate connections together there must once have existed an epistolary network now represented by a single recently discovered surviving 'official' letter from an adviser at court to an ecclesiastical *missus*.[54] Now some bishops – and

[50] Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium*, no. 28, p. 1083: there are only four manuscripts, hanging from what looks a Reims thread.

[51] M. Innes, '"Immune from heresy": defining the boundaries of Carolingian Christianity', in P. Fouracre and D. Ganz (eds), *Frankland. The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages – Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson* (Manchester, 2008), 101–25; see also T. Noble, 'Kings, clergy and dogma: the settlement of doctrinal disputes in the Carolingian world', in S. Baxter, C. Karkov, J. Nelson and D. Pelteret (eds), *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald* (Farnham, 2009), 237–52, pp. 241–7.

[52] Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium*, p. 470: 'um so bedauerlicher' because of the state of the single manuscript.

[53] Innes, 'Charlemagne, Justice', pp. 184–5, and appendix, pp. 186–203. Eagerly awaited also are the findings of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* Sonderforschungsbereich project directed by Steffen Patzold *et al.*, on the new edition of the capitularies.

[54] R. Pokorny, 'Eine Brief-Instruction aus dem Hofkreis Karls des Großen an einen geistlichen *missus*', *DA* 52 (1996), 57–83.

they include such well-known figures as Riculf of Mainz and Theodulf of Orleans –themselves functioned as *missi*. Most did not: partly because *missi* were differentially resourced (as the 779 Herstal special capitulary reveals); partly because *missi* worked in pairs, ecclesiastic, and lay, and an abbot was often the ecclesiastical member of the duo (or sometimes a small team); but mostly because there were, at any given moment, far more bishops than *missi*. A bishop, like a count, on the receiving end of a visit from *missi* might find himself in a rather lonely position: did he often wish, like the count imagined by a missatical team in the Liège area in March 806, that 'they [the *missi*] would move on as soon as possible' and leave the locals to sort out affairs among themselves?[55]

This did not make assemblies redundant: on the contrary, once envisaged on the lines of the select *placita* consisting of *seniores et praecipue consiliarii* clearly (if perhaps rather artificially) differentiated from large assemblies by Adalard of Corbie in the *De ordine*, they too can be re-imagined as task-orientated committees, more diverse, and consisting of men whose lay or clerical status mattered less than their multi-tasking experience (Angilbert of Saint-Riquier and Adalard himself were notable cases in point).[56] As in 789, 794 and 802, bishops were recipients of plans rather than framers of them. A small elite of bishops closely connected with the court might share in framing or, as *missi*, in implementation as well: compare the list of bishops attesting Charlemagne's will in 811, and the bishops who served as envoys to foreign parts (Jesse, Heito or Amalar).[57] The matters dealt with in the recorded capitularies of 808–09 are overwhelmingly secular. A very few bishops remained key figures in the regime, as authoritative individuals trusted by Charlemagne, chosen for specially delicate or important tasks. Bishop Bernhard of Worms was picked, along with Abbot Adalard of Corbie, to report Frankish views on the procession of the Holy Spirit to the pope in 810, but neither the agreed protocol drafted by theological experts at Aachen late in 809, nor the Aachen assembly of 810 that drafted a consensus statement on this difficult subject is likely, I think, to have included many bishops. That view might be strengthened by the information in the *Annales regni Francorum* about other matters discussed at this assembly: 'they tossed to and fro among themselves the condition of the churches and the way of life [*conversatio*] of those who were said to "serve" in them, but they decided

[55] *Capitula a missis dominicis ad comites directa* (*a.* 801–13), c. 5, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 183–4.

[56] C. Pössel, 'Authors and recipients of Carolingian capitularies, 779–829', in R. Corradini, C. Pössel, R. Meens and P. Shaw (eds), *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages, FGM 13* (Vienna, 2006), 253–74.

[57] Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, c. 33, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH SRG* 25, p. 41.

nothing about what looked as if it might be the scale of [those matters]'.[58] The time had come to get to grips with scale.

Action was overdue. In 811, a list was made, headed: 'Capitula to be dealt with by counts, bishops and abbots'.[59] Charlemagne summoned a number of these men to be interrogated, not just in separate groups, but individually – *singulariter*. And then, in the same breathless burst, he issued a second capitulary entitled: 'Short list of the capitula in which we want to speak to our faithful bishops and abbots and to warn them about what are the needs common to all of us'. I suggested a few years ago that Charlemagne's voice could perhaps be heard in these texts. 'The central problem here', writes Patzold, 'is the boundary between the worldly and spiritual spheres'.[60] I agree it *is* a problem here – but the central problem as Charlemagne urgently raised it was about the *conversatio* of bishops, that is, their own conduct as exemplars of the Christian life and, as the episcopal consecration-rite made clear, their responsibility for the souls of those committed to them. Perhaps the tribulations postponed further assemblies for that year, and the next. But an agenda was given. A few sound-bites from each of the 811 capitularies give their varied flavours. From the first: 'This is the thing to be enquired into most piercingly, what the Apostle meant by "No one doing service for God should involve himself in secular affairs" '; then, 'We must ask ourselves, whether we are really Christians?', and 'About our bishops: they ought to give a good example to God's people not just by teaching but by living'; and, shifting to the first person singular, 'I am trusting you, and insofar as I can find things out, I will not hesitate to send messages (*mittere*) to you and to write to you.' In the second, 'Bishops must be asked whether a man can be said to have left the world if he does not stop increasing his possessions every day by … whatever tricks, such as threatening the eternal suffering of hell, and then in the name of God or a saint despoiling of his property a rich man, or a poor man (they are known to be simpler by nature and less learned and discreet)'; and 'We are amazed how it has come about that a man who professes to have renounced the world … can be willing to keep armed men and private property'; and 'However much of a good thing it is that church buildings should be beautiful, still the adornment of virtuous living is to be preferred to the adornment of a church … because constructing churches partakes in a way of the Old Law whereas the improving of conduct pertains to the New Law and Christian discipline.' What this amounts to is a

[58] *ARF*, *s.a.* 809, p. 129.

[59] *Capitula tractanda cum comitibus, episcopis et abbatibus* (*a.* 811), ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 161–2; *Capitula de causis cum episcopis et abbatibus tractandis* (*a.* 811), ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 162–3. See J. Nelson, 'The voice of Charlemagne', in R. Gameson and H. Leyser (eds), *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting* (Oxford, 2001), 76–88.

[60] Patzold, *Episcopus*, p. 75.

radical critique of bad churchmen, combined with an even more radical programme for bishops, among others, to live a Christian life. Did it all remain a dead letter?

In these rather frenetic years, which turned out to be the last years of Charlemagne's reign, bishops met together, and worked together on coordinated agendas, in 811, and then twice in 813. No more than Charlemagne were they driven by (more or less) sincerely held reform ideas alone, and no more than Charlemagne were they immune to the hard-headed drive to *Realpolitik*; but they had been brusquely shaken by that old man in a hurry to see warnings in signs, to take their *conversatio* seriously, to work hard, to offer at least a negotiated protection to the oppressed, and to make those committed to them better Christians.[61]

The participants at episcopal meetings in 811 and 813 had shared experiences of being on the receiving end of a sustained barrage of messages from Charlemagne and inspections by his agents over the years from 802 onwards. Beyond that, some, perhaps many, of them could trace a memory-line from Herstal to Frankfurt to Aachen. Was all that sufficient to generate *sustained* collective action, and a sense of themselves as a cadre in the sociologists' sense of a nucleus of trained personnel around which a larger organisation can be built and trained? There is some liturgical and art-historical evidence in favour. The earliest Frankish *ordo* for holding an episcopal council (in a text of the *Hispana Gallica*, so, pre-Pseudo-Isidore) dates to 786: nothing could convey more feelingly the sense of awareness of the Holy Spirit in the minds of those present on such an occasion; and by the 820s it was thought suitable to follow the text of the Utrecht Psalter with a copy of the Athanasian Creed, and the Creed with a picture of an episcopal council.[62]

By far the strongest evidence, though, is that of the five councils of 813: meeting separately but at more or less the same time, in May and June, using a single questionnaire sent down from the palace, and envisaging a sixth

[61] F. Felten, 'Charlemagne et *l'oppressio pauperum*: Realpolitik ou idéologie?' (forthcoming) – I am very grateful indeed to Franz Felten for letting me see this thought-provoking paper in advance of publication; and see also A. Rio, 'High and low: ties of dependence in the Frankish Kingdoms', *TRHS* 6:18 (2008), 43–68.

[62] H. Schneider (ed.), *MGH Ordines de celebrando concilio*, Vol. I: *Die Konzilsordines des Früh- und Hochmittelalters* (Hanover, 1996), *Ordo* 1, Introduction, pp. 2, 12–19, and pp. 138–41 (text), and p. 133 (on MS Paris, BnF, lat. 12444, fols16v–17v. K. Bierbrauer, 'Konzilsdarstellungen der Karolingerzeit', in R. Berndt (ed.), *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794. Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur. Akten zweier Symposien (vom 23. bis 27. Februar und vom 13. bis 15. Oktober 1994) anläßlich der 1,200-Jahrfeier der Stadt Frankfurt am Main* (Mainz, 1997), 751–65, p. 754, with illustration at p. 1095.

council (which indeed happened in September, though its decrees are lost) where they would 'all be gathered together at the sacred palace', Charlemagne's bishops did not produce uniform responses – far from it – but they did follow the same broad agenda.[63] Only the Mainz decrees give the number of bishops present: thirty (plus twenty-five abbots). This does not tally with Schieffer's number for bishops east of the Rhine: fourteen; but five Saxon bishops could be added, and perhaps they were topped up by chor-bishops. They came from the provinces of Cologne, led by Hildebald; of Mainz, led by Riculf; and of Salzburg, led by Arn (785–821). They sat in three *turmae* (squadrons): 'bishops with some notaries … abbots and experienced monks … and counts and judges debating the material in secular laws, investigating the rights of the people, carefully examining the pleas of all who came to present them and settling what was fair in every way they could'.[64] The decrees of the five councils, despite their differences, had a great deal in common: standard canon law citations apart, one striking theme is the need to take care of the poor and less powerful; but the most notable of all, and absolutely in line with the *Admonitio generalis* and the 802 capitulary, is the emphasis (more than once in tandem with the words *admonitio*, *admonere*) on bishops' preaching.[65] After that, there really was an *entrée en scène*, of Louis the Pious, and of the episcopate. But that

[63] *Concilium Turonense* (*a.* 813), c. 22, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, p. 289, in the context of debates over penitentials: 'Necessarium videbatur nobis cum omnes episcopi ad sacrum palatium congregati fuerint, ab eis doceri cuius antiquorum liber paenitentialis potissimum sit sequendus.' On the councils of 813 see also the chapter of Philippe Depreux in the present volume.

[64] *Concilium Moguntinense* (*a.* 813), preface, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 258–72, pp. 259–60: 'Convenit in nobis de nostro communi collegio clericorum seu laicorum tres facere turmas, sicut et fecimus … [E]piscopi cum quibusdam notariis … abbates ac probati monachi … [et] comites et iudices in mundanis legibus decertantes, vulgi iusticias perquirentes omniumque advenientium causas diligenter examinantes, modis quibus poterant iusticias terminantes.'

[65] In *MGH Conc.* 2:1, ed. A. Werminghoff: *Concilium Arelatense* (*a.* 813), cc. 23 (p. 253), 5 (p. 251); *Concilium Remense* (*a.* 813) (implicitly, in the context of *precaria*), cc. 36 (p. 256), 37 (p. 257); *Concilium Moguntinense* (*a.* 813), cc. 6 (p. 262), 11 (p. 263); *Concilium Cabillonense* (*a.* 813), cc. 6 (p. 275), 11 (p. 276); *Concilium Turonense* (*a.* 813), cc. 10 (p. 287), 11 (p. 288), 36 (p. 291), 44 (p. 292), 49 (p. 293); *Concilium Arelatense* (*a.* 813), c. 10 (p. 251); *Concilium Remense* (*a.* 813), cc. 10, 14, 15 (p. 255; here with an extra point about the use of the vernacular); *Concilium Moguntinense* (*a.* 813), c. 25 (p. 268; with an implied point about the vernacular); *Concilium Cabillonense* (*a.* 813), c. 2 (p. 274); *Concilium Turonense* (*a.* 813), cc. 4 (p. 287), 17 (p. 288; again, promoting use of the vernacular). It's worth adding, as a small sting in the tail, that three of the sets of conciliar decrees cited 2 Timothy 2.4: *Nemo implicat se negotiis saecularibus*: the hard one to follow.

is another story, recently being re-told by an international *turma* of fine historians, with our honorand in the vanguard.

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20

The Penance of Attigny (822) and the leadership of the bishops in amending Carolingian society

Philippe Depreux

Penance is a main topic in Louis the Pious's reign, as Mayke de Jong's book on the crisis of the late 820s and early 830s brilliantly shows.[1] The most dramatic moment is the emperor's deposition in 833, which led to vivid discussion among the political elite.[2] This was not the first time Louis publicly acknowledged his errors, since he had already done so in 822 at Attigny, one of the most important palaces, which was associated with political success in Charlemagne's time.[3] This was the place Louis chose for a drawing of the balance of the first years of his government and the reform he initiated. This exceptionally well documented political meeting, attended by papal legates, is significant for the way Louis understood his office, since he organised a collective repentance for the sins committed and for his own and the bishops' negligence.[4] 'In Attigny in 822 Louis set an example, for the bishops

[1] M. de Jong, *The Penitential State. Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge, 2009).

[2] C. Booker, *Past Convictions. The Penance of Louis the Pious and the Decline of the Carolingians* (Philadelphia, 2009). On the public penance at St Medard of Soissons see also R. Schieffer, 'Von Mailand nach Canossa: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der christlichen Herrscherbuße von Theodosius d. Gr. bis zu Heinrich IV', *DA* 28 (1972), 333–70.

[3] On Attigny see J. Barbier, 'Palais et fisc à l'époque carolingienne: Attigny', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 140 (1982), 133–62. Attigny is the place where Widukind was baptised; see E. Freise, 'Widukind in Attigny', in G. Kaldewei (ed.), *1,200 Jahre Widukinds Taufe* (Paderborn, 1985), 12–45.

[4] On that assembly see L. Halphen, *Charlemagne et l'empire carolingien* (Paris, 1968), pp. 247–50; W. Hartmann, *Die Synoden der Karolingerzeit im Frankenreich und in Italien* (Paderborn, 1989), pp. 165–7; Ph. Depreux, 'Lieux de rencontre, temps de négociation: quelques observations sur les plaids généraux sous le règne de Louis le Pieux', in R. Le Jan (ed.), *La royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne (du début*

present followed him with a confession of their negligence in life, doctrine and ministry.'[5]

This practice is in accordance with Louis's conception of power as a *ministerium* shared by all members of the body politic as described in the great capitulary, which he promulgated probably three years later in the form of a general exhortation addressed to all bishops, counts and all sorts of *fideles*, saying that he, the emperor, shared his power with all of them – the difference between his power and responsibility and theirs varying only in intensity, but being the same in their nature.[6] Apart from the Collection of Ansegis, the integral text has been preserved only in one manuscript, copied in northern Italy shortly after 855: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Blankenburg 130. The document is introduced by the following rubric: *Prelocutio domni*

du IXe siècle aux environs de 920) (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1998), 213–31, pp. 214–17; S. Patzold, *Episcopus. Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankenreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts, Mittelalter-Forschungen 25* (Ostfildern, 2008), pp. 147–8; De Jong, *Penitential State*, pp. 122–31. Many different sources mention the assembly and give complementary information about the topics dealt with there. See J. Böhmer, *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751–918*, Regesta Imperii 1, Vol. I (Innsbruck, 1908), no. 758a, pp. 301–2. On the judicial activity during that meeting, see Hincmar of Reims, *De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae*, ed. L. Böhringer, *MGH Conc.* 4, *Suppl.* 1, p. 141 (judgement about a 'femina … non ignobilis genere, nomine Northildis', and her man, Agembertus); *Praeceptum super rebus redditis*, ed. K. Zeumer, *MGH Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi*, 321–2 (on that case, see Ph. Depreux, 'Le comte Matfrid d'Orléans (av. 815–836)', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 152 (1994), 331–74, p. 353. Hincmar, *De divortio*, p. 141: 'quidam nostrum tempore sanctae memoriae domni Hludowici pii augusti in Attiniaco palatio tunc fuerunt, quando in universali synodo totius imperii etiam cum sedis Romanę legatis et in generali placito'.

[5] De Jong, *Penitential State*, p. 36.

[6] *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 303–7. On that capitulary see O. Guillot, 'L'exhortation au partage des responsabilités entre l'empereur, l'épiscopat et les autres sujets vers le milieu du règne de Louis le Pieux', in G. Makdisi, D. Sourdel and J. Sourdel-Thomine (eds), *Prédication et propagande au Moyen Âge. Islam, Byzance, Occident. Penn–Paris–Dumbarton Oaks Colloquia. III. Session des 20–25 octobre 1980* (Paris, 1983), 87–110; rev. edn in O. Guillot, *Arcana imperii (IVe–XIe siècle)* (Limoges, 2003), 409–34. O. Guillot, 'Une *ordinatio* méconnue: le Capitulaire de 823–825', in P. Godman and R. Collins (eds), *Charlemagne's Heir. New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)* (Oxford, 1990), 455–486. On the date (825) see Ph. Depreux, 'Empereur, empereur associé et pape au temps de Louis le Pieux', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 70 (1992), 893–906, p. 903 n. 80. See also De Jong, *Penitential State*, p. 156: 'As the imperial penance in Attigny shows, the burden of sin and penance had now shifted towards the ruler and those whose offices were derived from the royal *ministerium*.'

Hludouuici imperatoris ad episcopos et omnem populum.[7] Ansegis's choice for copying that text at the beginning of Book II demonstrates the importance of this capitulary, considered by this abbot of Fontenelle as the pendant to Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis.*[8] The meeting at Attigny was an important first step on the way leading to this transposition of the Pauline conception of the Church as Christ's Body to the body politic.[9]

Louis's penance took place at a crucial moment of his reign because he had to change his politics in consequence of his calling back to court some of Charlemagne's main counsellors.[10] The *capitula* dealt with in 822 at Attigny made a rupture in the way the empire was governed, since for the very first time all actors of political life discussed critically their actions and examined how they could improve their contribution to the correction of the *regnum Francorum.*[11] In 813 Charlemagne had already initiated a general examination

[7] 'Emperor Louis's introductory speech to the bishops and to all people'. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Blankenburg 130, fol. 97v. On that manuscript see H. Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta. Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrschererlasse, MGH Hilfsmittel 15*, pp. 920–43; M. Geiselhart, *Die Kapitulariengesetzgebung Lothars I. in Italien* (Frankfurt am Main, 2002), pp. 17–20; S. Gavinelli, 'Il vescovo Giuseppe di Ivrea nel circuito culturale carolingio', in P. Chiesa (ed.), *Paolino d'Aquileia e il contributo italiano all'Europa carolingia. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Cividale del Friuli-Premariacco, 10–13 ottobre 2002* (Udine, 2003), 167–96, pp. 185–6. The *Admonitio* is also partly transmitted in another manuscript of the ninth century: Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, 162 (see Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium*, pp. 746–8).

[8] *Collectio capitularium Ansegisi*, ed. G. Schmitz, *Die Kapitulariensammlung des Ansegis* (Hanover, 1996), pp. 521–41. Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis* opens Book I (pp. 441–75).

[9] On the political ideas of Carolingian times, see J. Nelson, 'Kingship and empire', in J. Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought: c. 350–c. 1450* (Cambridge, 1988), 211–51; Y. Sassier, *Royauté et idéologie au Moyen Âge. Bas-Empire, monde franc, France (IV^e–XII^e siècle)* (Paris, 2012).

[10] *ARF*, *s.a.* 821, p. 156. On their influence at the Attigny meeting, see B. Kasten, *Adalhard von Corbie. Die Biographie eines karolingischen Politikers und Klostervorstehers* (Düsseldorf, 1986), pp. 142–4; E. Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme* (Darmstadt, 1996), pp. 148–50. The most circumstantial comments on the political context of that penance of 822 are given by O. Guillot, 'Autour de la pénitence publique de Louis le Pieux (822)', in J. Hoareau-Dodinau, X. Rousseaux and P. Texier (eds), *Le pardon* (Limoges, 1999), 281–313 (rev. edn in Guillot, *Arcana imperii*, 341–70); and by De Jong, *Penitential State*, pp. 122–31.

[11] This is closely linked to the concept of Carolingian renaissance; see J. Fleckenstein, *Die Bildungsreform Karls des Großen als Verwirklichung der Norma Rectitudinis* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1963); Ph. Depreux, 'Ambitions et limites des réformes culturelles à l'époque carolingienne', *RH* 307 (2002), 721–53.

in order to improve the Christian way of life in his empire ('ad … correctionem totius christiani imperii'), but the five councils held in Arles, Chalon-sur-Saône, Mainz, Reims and Tours – a new kind of general consultation! – did not end in a collective act of contrition.[12]

The account in the *Royal Frankish Annals* is circumstantial:

> After receiving the advice of his bishops and nobles, the lord emperor was reconciled with those brothers whom he had ordered, against their will, to be tonsured. And because of this deed and others – that is, what was done against Bernard, the son of his brother Pepin, and what was done against Abbot Adalhard and his brother Wala – he made a public confession and performed penance [*publicam confessionem fecit et paenitentiam egit*]. He carried this out in the presence of all his people at the assembly which he held in August 822 at Attigny. At this gathering he took the trouble to correct with the greatest care whatever things of this sort he and his father had done [*in quo, quicquid similium rerum vel a se vel a patre suo factum invenire potuit, summa devotione emendare curavit*].[13]

The Astronomer, Louis's anonymous biographer, gives important complementary information about the emperor's and his advisers' motivation in imitating Theodosius, and about what happened at Attigny:

> He openly confessed that he himself had erred, and imitating the example of the emperor Theodosius, he accepted a penance of his own volition [*penitentiam spontaneam suscepit*][14] … He also corrected anything of the sort he could discover anywhere, whether done by himself or by his father, both by generous almsgiving and by continuous prayers of Christ's servants, and even by making amends himself [*sed et servorum Christi orationum instantia, necnon et propria satisfactione adeo divinitatem sibi placare curabat*].[15]

[12] *Concilium Remense* (*a.* 813), ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:1, 253–6, p. 254. On these assemblies see Hartmann, *Synoden der Karolingerzeit*, pp. 128–40; and the chapter of Jinty Nelson in the present volume.

[13] *ARF*, *s.a.* 822, p. 158, trans. P. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization. A Reader* (Peterborough, ON, 2004), p. 205.

[14] The Astronomer knows what happened in 833! A more critical appreciation is given by Paschasius Radbertus, *Vita Adalhardi*, c. 51, ed. G. Pertz, *MGH SS* 2, 524–32, p. 530: 'praesertim quod eius velle cunctos considerare, eiusque nolle conspicere manifestum non ambigitur'; trans. A. Cabaniss, *Charlemagne's Cousins: Contemporary Lives of Adalard and Wala* (Syracuse, 1967), 25–82. pp. 56–7: 'There is no doubt that all contemplated his willingness and perceived his unwillingness.' On this passage see De Jong, *Penitential State*, p. 127.

[15] Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, c. 35, ed. E. Tremp, *MGH SRG* 64, 279–555, p. 406; trans. T. Noble, *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. The Lives by Einhard, Notker, Ermoldus, Thegan, and the Astronomer* (University Park, 2009), 262–3.

The narrative accounts about the meeting at Attigny focus on the emperor's attitude, but he was not the only one who confessed his faults on that occasion, since the list of topics discussed by the bishops in that assembly has been preserved in the Wolfenbüttel collection of capitularies.[16] There is no doubt that this text deals with this assembly – for two reasons: one found in the text itself, and another in the capitulary of the year 825 already mentioned. The bishops write that they have been stimulated by the emperor's example in confessing their faults: it is a kind of 'answer' to the penance undertaken by Louis, who had investigated which kind of unjust things could be corrected.[17] Bishops, abbots and lay magnates usually sat in distinct assemblies at general meetings.[18] We know that they did so at Attigny.[19] It is therefore not astonishing that only one category of magnates is addressed in a document issued at Attigny. The bishops also acknowledge that they have been negligent in promoting education and they pledge themselves to establish schools, a promise alluded by Louis in his capitulary of the year 825, because some of them did not implement what they said.[20]

[16] *Capitula ab episcopis Attiniaci data*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 357–8. In contrast to Mayke de Jong's assumption, the authors of this text are the bishops, as attested by the *capitulatio* in Wolfenbüttel, Blankenburg 130 (see below: 'I De humili professione episcoporum' (p. 000)). On this text, De Jong, *Penitential State*, p. 126, writes: 'Given Adalhard's speech, the "we" who formulated these *capitula*and confessed their own sins may have included a wider group than merely bishops; lay magnates (*primores*) also had a ministry.'

[17] *Capitula ab episcopis Attiniaci data* (*a.* 822), c. 1, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.*, 357–8, p. 357: 'Dei igitur omnipotentis inspiratione vestroque piissimo studio admoniti, vestroque etiam salubemmo exemplo provocati, confitemur, nos in pluribus locis quam modo aut ratio aut possibilitas enumerare permittat tam in vita quamque doctrina et ministerio neglegentes extitisse. Quamobrem, sicut hactenus in his nos neglegentes fuisse non denegamus, ita ab hinc Deo opitulante, data nobis a vestra benignitate congruenti facultato vel libertate, diligentiorem curam in his omnibus pro captu intellegentiae nostrae nos velle adhibere profitemur.' See the narrative account on that assembly mentioned above in nn. 13 and 15.

[18] Hincmar of Reims, *De ordine palatii*, ed. T. Gross and R. Schieffer, *MGH Fontes iuris in usum scholarum* 3, 31–99, p. 94. On the political meetings under Louis the Pious, see D. Eichler, *Fränkische Reichsversammlungen unter Ludwig dem Frommen* (Hanover, 2007).

[19] Hincmar, *De divortio*, p. 141: 'Quam imperator ad synodum destinavit, ut inde episcopalis auctoritas, quid agendum esset, decerneret. Sed episcoporum generalitas ad laicorum ac coniugatorum eam remisit iudicium, ut ipsi inter illam et suum coniugem iudicarent, qui de talibus negotiis erant cogniti et legibus saeculi sufficientissime praediti.'

[20] *Capitula ab episcopis Attiniaci data*, c. 2, p. 357: 'Quia vero liquido constat, quod salus populi maxime in doctrina et praedicatione consistat et praedicatio eadem

The Wolfenbüttel manuscript is one of the most important collections of capitularies, not only because of the quantity of texts copied, but also because of the notary's attempt to organise the corpus as a law-book divided into *titula*, preceded by a detailed enumeration of the chapters (*capitula*) of the capitularies – according to Ansegis's model.[21] This manuscript is the only source for the topics (*capitula*) submitted by the bishops to the emperor in 822 at Attigny. They are copied together with other texts. Some of them, known to us only from that manuscript in its *Titulum III*, I want to investigate here, and in the corresponding sections of the capitularies of Louis the Pious. I transcribe the *capitulatio* at the top of the collection as well as the heading of the *tituli*, and I summarise the content of each chapter:

impleri ita ut oportet non potest nisi a doctis, necesse est, ut ordo talis in singulis sedibus inveniatur, per quam et praesens emendatio et futura utilitas sanctae eclesiae preparetur; qualiter autem hoc fieri debeat et possit, in sequenti capitulo demonstobitur.' C. 3, p. 357: 'Scolas autem, de quibus hactenus minus studiosi fuimus quam debueramus, omnino studiosissime emendare cupimus, qualiter omnis homo sive maioris sive minoris aetatis, qui ad hoc nutritur ut in aliquo gradu in ecclesia promoveatur, locum denomit natum et magistrum congruum habeat. Parentes tamen vel domini singulorum de victu vel substantia corporali unde subsistant providere studeant, qualiter solacium habeant, ut propter rerum inopiam doctrinae studio non recedant. Si vero necessitas fuerit propter amplitudinem parroechiae, eo quod in uno loco colligi non possunt propter administrationem quam eis procuratores eorum providere debent, fiat locis duobus aut tribus vel etiam ut necessitas et ratio dictaverit.' *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines*, c. 6, p. 304: 'Scolae sane ad filios et ministros ecclesiae instruendos vel edocendos, sicut nobis praeterito tempore ad Attiniacum promisistis et vobis iniunximus, in congruis locis, ubi necdum perfectum est, ad multorum utilitatem et profectum a vobis ordinari non neglegantur.' Ansegis put this chapter with the preceding item together in one chapter: *Die Kapitulariensammlung des Ansegis* II, c. 5, pp. 524–6 ('De admonitione domni imperatoris ad episcopos de sacerdotibus ad eorum curam pertinentibus et de scolis'). In the Wolfenbüttel manuscript, the chapter devoted to the foundation of schools is separated from the chapter dealing with the control of priests; see Wolfenbüttel, Blankenburg 130, fol. 69v: 'v De sacerdotibus episcopis subiectis qualiter uiuere debeant. vi De scolis instituendis'.

[21] Wolfenbüttel, Blankenburg 130, fols 64r–73r. Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis* opens the collection as an implicit, *Titulum I*: fols 73r–79r; the following section is explicitly called *Titulum II*. The *capitulatio* at the top of the collection is not extensive; see H. Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium*, pp. 934–5 and 937. On Ansegis's achievement see *Die Kapitulariensammlung des Ansegis*, pp. 66–8. The scribe of Wolfenbüttel, Blankenburg 130 did not use Ansegis's collection: the chapters of *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines* are separated in a different manner and their rubrics are not the same.

Titulum iii Item domni Hludouuici imperatoris[22]

I De abbatibus, comitibus ad conuentum metropolitani episcoporum [sic!] *conuenientibus*[23]	Bishops and abbots have to attend the metropolitan bishops' synod yearly. The counts or their delegates have to attend this meeting because they have to cooperate in correcting the Christian people. The emperor must know the date of the synod in advance in order to convoke the participants in his own name.[24]
II De sacro baptismate præfixis temporibus celebrando[25]	Only in case of urgency can people be baptised at another time than established by tradition. In that case it should nevertheless happen with the utmost reverence for the sacrament.
III De eucharistia corporis et sanguinis domini deuote sumenda[26]	Lay people must be instructed in the meaning of the Eucharist and are to be exhorted to communicate more often and to take care not to commit a sin on that occasion.
IIII De reuerentia sacerdotum et honore eorum[27]	Priests deserve respect. They have to stay in their parish for the administering of the sacraments.

[22] Wolfenbüttel, Blankenburg 130, fol. 69r. *Episcoporum ad Hludowicum imperatorem relatio* (*c.* 820), ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 366–8, followed by *Capitula de functionibus publicis* (*a.* 820), ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 294, which is also transmitted in Paris, BnF, lat. 2718, and Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 204. See Ph. Depreux, 'Zur Nützlichkeit bzw. Nutzlosigkeit von Kunsttiteln für Kapitularien (am Beispiel der Nummern 134–135, 143–145 und 178 aus der Boretius-Edition)', *DA* 70 (2014), 87–106, pp. 104–6.

[23] Wolfenbüttel, Blankenburg 130, fol. 69v. *Episcoporum ad Hludowicum* (*c.* 820), c. 1.

[24] Maybe this request led the emperor to order in *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines*, c. 12, p. 305 that bishops and counts must help one another: 'Episcopi vero vel comites ad invicem et cum ceteris fidelibus concorditer vivant et ad sua ministeria peragenda vicissim sibi adiutorium ferant.' This decision is summarised in Wolfenbüttel, Blankenburg 130, fol. 69v as follows: 'De adiutorio episcoporum et comitum uicissim inpendendo'.

[25] *Episcoporum ad Hludowicum* (*c.* 820), c. 2.

[26] *Episcoporum ad Hludowicum* (*c.* 820), c. 3.

[27] *Episcoporum ad Hludowicum* (*c.* 820), c. 4

v *De oppressionibus iniustis ab ecclesia remouendis*[28]	The bishops beg the emperor not to allow his agents to claim more money from the churches than established under God's inspiration.
vi *De his qui uariis criminibus sunt implicati et poeniteri contemnunt*[29]	The bishops beg the emperor to command the counts to compel criminals to do public penance.
vii *De æquitate mensurarum*[30]	Units of measure should not been altered because this practice harms the poor.
viii *De obseruatione fidelium ut maiestas regalis placitis publicis residere non spernat*[31]	The bishops beg the emperor to fulfil his duty of doing justice.
viiii *De institutione uitę canonicorum*[32]	The bishops request the emperor to allow the metropolitan bishops to complete the reform of canon communities.
x *De teloneo ubi exigi debeat et ubi non oporteat*[33]	Regulation about the collection of tolls (*telonea*). Exemption of payment for people serving the imperial court.
xi *De pontatico exigendo*[34]	People who have constructed a bridge are to be free from any toll on that bridge. Those who repaired a bridge at their own expense are not allowed to claim a higher toll than the usual one.
xii *De hominibus liberis ne cogantur ad proillos*[35] [sic!] *operari*[36]	It is prohibited to compel any freeman to work in the emperor's hunting grounds, but the freemen cannot be freed from other customary services for that reason.

[28] *Episcoporum ad Hludowicum* (*c.* 820), c. 5.
[29] *Episcoporum ad Hludowicum* (*c.* 820), c. 6.
[30] *Episcoporum ad Hludowicum* (*c.* 820), c. 7.
[31] *Episcoporum ad Hludowicum* (*c.* 820), c. 8.
[32] *Episcoporum ad Hludowicum* (*c.* 820), c. 9.
[33] *Capitula de functionibus publicis*, cc. 1–2.
[34] *Capitula de functionibus publicis*, c. 3.
[35] Read *brolios*.
[36] *Capitula de functionibus publicis*, c. 4.

XIII Kapitula legis salicę addita addita [sic!] *pro lege tenenda*[37]	The chapters promulgated as an addition to the *Lex Salica* a year ago are to be observed not as a capitulary, but as a law.

Titulum I Prælocutio domni Hludouuici imperatoris ad episcopos et omnem populum[38]

Item alia capitula eclesiastica Hludouuici imperatoris[39]

Item alia capitula domni Hludouuici imperatoris[40]

[Prologue: short address to the emperor without a specific *capitulatio*.]

I Quo ordine episcopus debeat inueniri[41]	List of criteria for electing a bishop.
II De officio et cura episcopi[42]	Description of an ideal bishop.
III De conuersatione clericorum in episcopatu disposita[43]	Good clerics must be chaste.
IIII De dispositione et officio presbyterorum[44]	The priest's way of life must be exemplary.
V De ordinatione rerum episcopii[45]	Regulation about a bishop's inheritance. Recommendation on the choice of priests in charge of a baptismal church.
VI De ordine senedochiorum seruando[46]	Instruction on the administration of hospices.
VII De ordine canonicorum[47]	Request in order to harmonise the canon's way of life according to the Aachen legislation.

[37] *Capitula de functionibus publicis*, c. 5.
[38] Wolfenbüttel, , Blankenburg 130, fol. 69v. *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines.*
[39] Wolfenbüttel, Blankenburg 130, fol. 70r. *Capitulare ecclesiasticum* (*a.* 818, 819), ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 275–80.The year 818 is attested by Paris, BnF, lat. 4626 (see Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium*, p. 479).
[40] *Episcoporum ad imperatorem de rebus ecclesiasticis relatio*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 368–9.
[41] *Episcoporum ad imperatorem*, c. 1.
[42] *Episcoporum ad imperatorem*, c. 2.
[43] *Episcoporum ad imperatorem*, c. 3.
[44] *Episcoporum ad imperatorem*, c. 4.
[45] *Episcoporum ad imperatorem*, c. 5.
[46] *Episcoporum ad imperatorem*, c. 6.
[47] *Episcoporum ad imperatorem*, c. 7.

VIII *De monasteriis regularibus*[48]	Request to submit the monasteries well and truly to the Benedictine Rule.
VIIII *De electione abbatis ex congregatione monachorum cum consensu episcopi*[49]	Request to elect abbots among the monastic community and let them be confirmed by the bishop in order to ensure the true reform of the monks' way of life.
X *Qualiter cum monachis suis abbas conuersari debeat*[50]	Instruction given to the abbot to live within his community.
XI *De correctione abbatis neglegentis*[51]	Bad abbots need to be punished by excommunication.
XII *De monasteriis feminarum in canonico uel regulari ordine constitutis*[52]	Definition of the nuns' way of life.
XIII *De institutione sanctimonialium et de scolis reformandis*[53]	In contrast to the emperor's decisions about the nuns' way of life, the bishops complain about the absence of clear instructions on how to correct the ecclesiastical life by the foundation of schools.
XIIII *De diuina clementia exhoranda pro statu regni*[54]	The bishops exhort all to pray for the stability of the realm.
XV *De regulari ordine obseruando*[55]	The bishops want to deliberate more closely with the emperor about the monastic way of life.

Item alia capitula Hludouuici imperatoris[56]

I *De humili professione episcoporum*[57]	The bishops confess (*confitemur*) negligence in their way of life, their doctrine and the implementation of their office (*ministerium*), and they assert that they are willing to be more careful in the future.

[48] *Episcoporum ad imperatorem*, c. 8.
[49] Wolfenbüttel, Blankenburg 130, fol. 70v. *Episcoporum ad imperatorem*, c. 9.
[50] *Episcoporum ad imperatorem*, c. 10.
[51] *Episcoporum ad imperatorem*, c. 11.
[52] *Episcoporum ad imperatorem*, c. 12.
[53] *Episcoporum ad imperatorem*, c. 13.
[54] *Episcoporum ad imperatorem*, c. 14.
[55] *Episcoporum ad imperatorem*, c. 15.
[56] *Capitula ab episcopis Attiniaci data.*
[57] *Capitula ab episcopis Attiniaci data*, c. 1.

II *De doctrina et predicatione eclesiastica*[58]	The bishops want to improve the quality of preaching in their dioceses in order to ensure the salvation of the people; only learned clerics are allowed to preach.
III *De scolis instituendis atque emendandis*[59]	The bishops acknowledge their negligence in matters of education and assert that they want to open schools in each diocese for the formation of clerics.
IIII *De studio episcoporum in constituendis scolastis*[60]	Possessors of churches must take care of the formation of their clerics to ensure correct preaching.
V *De potentibus qui ad predicationem uenire nolunt*[61]	(Lay) magnates (*potentes*) who do not attend the parish church to hear God's word give a bad example to the people; any private religious service should be denied them, since many of them appoint or dismiss a priest without the bishop's consent.
[The *capitulatio* doesn't mention this *capitulum*, which is copied directly after the previous one.[62]]	Rejection of simony (*heresis simoniaca*[63]) and of any kind of nomination because of familial bonds or ties of friendship.

Is there any thematic or chronological coherence among these texts? Boretius no. 178 (*Episcoporum ad Hludowicum imperatorem relatio* (*c.* 820)) and Boretius no. 143 (*Capitula de functionibus publicis*) have been copied together in one section. There are two reasons for distinguishing two different capitularies within this continuously numerated list of chapters. Firstly, there is a change of style: Boretius no. 178 is a request of the bishops ('Postulant et monent oratores vestri, ut …') addressed to the emperor.[64] Boretius no. 143,

[58] *Capitula ab episcopis Attiniaci data*, c. 2.
[59] *Capitula ab episcopis Attiniaci data*, c. 3.
[60] *Capitula ab episcopis Attiniaci data*, c. 4.
[61] *Capitula ab episcopis Attiniaci data*, c. 5.
[62] *Capitula ab episcopis Attiniaci data*, c. 6.
[63] On this expression, see J. Leclercq, 'Simoniaca heresis', *Studi Gregoriani* 1 (1947), 523–30.
[64] *Episcoporum ad Hludowicum* (*c.* 820), c. 8, p. 367. This is the denomination used by the bishops in the *relatio* of the year 829; see *Episcoporum ad Hludowicum imperatorem relatio* (August 829), c. 55, ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause, *MGH Cap.* 2, 26–50, p. 46: 'DE PERSONA REGALI. Item alia. Haec nos fideles et devotissimi famuli

c. 1, however, begins with the word *Volumus*, and other passages clearly show that the emperor is speaking.[65] In itself this is not a convincing argument, since such a change within one and the same text occurs also in the case of other capitularies.[66]

However, there is a second indication: the final chapters (cc. 10–13) are transmitted as a distinct capitulary in the personal notebook of an imperial notary and in a Tours manuscript deriving from it.[67] If I am right in thinking that some of the documents discussed here were kept by a member of the

et oratores vestri iuxta parvitatem sensus nostri, prout brevitas temporis permisit, secundum sanctam ordinationem vestram de his, quae ad nostram et sacerdotum subiectorumque nostrorum correctionem et emendationem pertinere perspeximus necnon et de his, quae populis necessario adnuntianda et admonenda previdimus, illud etiam, quod vestrae pietati deposcendum tantummodo iudicavimus, pauca de multis, quae in nostris conventibus gesta sunt, excerpentes in unam redigendo succincte et ordinatim adnotavimus.' *Episcoporum ad Hludowicum* (*c.* 820), c. 1, pp. 367–8: 'vestrae pietati innotescendum est, quod plenius vestra auctoritate ad eum conveniatur'; c. 5: 'piissima misericordia vestra id … observari ab omnibus iubeat … post sacram iussionem vestram'; c. 6: 'ut vestra celsitudo comitibus praecipiat, quatenus'; c. 7: 'in omnibus provinciis imperii vestri'; c. 9: 'pia misericordia vestra ordinavit, ut … secundum iussionem vestram'.

[65] *Capitula de functionibus publicis*, c. 1, p. 294; c. 2: 'De dispensa fidelium nostrorum'; c. 4: 'nolumus ut liber homo ad nostros brolios operari cogatur'; c. 5: 'omnes admonemus'.

[66] On this topic, see M. Glatthaar, 'Subjektiver und indirekter Stil in den Kapitularien Karls des Großen: ein Beitrag zur Frage ihrer Entstehung', *DA* 70 (2014), 1–42, esp. pp. 41–2: 'Fassen wir zusammen: Untersucht wurde innerhalb der Kapitularien Karls das Nebeneinander von subjektivem und objektivem Stil, der sich wieder in einen neutralen und indirekten teilen lässt. Schon das Versammlungskapitular von Herstal zeigt exemplarisch, dass alle drei Formen in ein und demselben Kapitular auftreten konnten. Freilich scheint ihr Wechsel nicht zufällig, sondern bewusst vorgenommen, je nach Herkunft, Funktion und Aussage der jeweiligen Passagen. Dies bestätigen auch die folgenden Versammlungskapitularien, trotz zunehmender Tendenz zum neutralen Stil, während Häufungen des subjektiven Stils in anderen Kapitularien auf eine Entstehung im engeren Rat des Herrschers deuten.'

[67] Depreux, 'Zur Nützlichkeit', pp. 96–9. On that manuscript, see Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium*, pp. 422–30; D. Ganz, 'Paris BN Latin 2718: theological texts in the chapel and the chancery of Louis the Pious', in O. Münsch (ed.), *Scientia veritatis. Festschrift für Hubert Mordek zum 65. Geburtstag* (Ostfildern, 2004), 137–52, pp. 137–42; M. Mersiowsky, 'Saint-Martin de Tours et les chancelleries carolingiennes', in Ph. Depreux and B. Judic (eds), *Alcuin, de York à Tours. Écriture, pouvoir et réseaux dans l'Europe du haut Moyen Âge* (Rennes, 2004); *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 111:3 (2004), 73–90, pp. 81–4. Sarah Patt and I are preparing a publication on this manuscript.

political elite, who attended the meeting at Attigny and later became a follower of Emperor Lothar, it means that these texts were not necessarily supposed to be promulgated and diffused on a large scale. They could have been 'working documents' used by the participants at that meeting – perhaps Agobard, Archbishop of Lyon, who attended it with great expectations, or Wala, whose brother Adalhard († 826) played a major role at Attigny: both, Agobard and Wala, accompanied Lothar when he was banished in 834. It is not unlikely that they kept these documents and brought them to Italy. Neither in Boretius no. 178 nor Boretius no. 143 is there any precise chronological information. The last chapter (Boretius no. 143, c. 5) refers to the *capitula* promulgated in the preceding year, but these last ones cannot be precisely dated.[68] Twice the bishops refer to Boretius no. 138 ('*Capitulare ecclesiasticum*, a. 818/819'), which had been promulgated 'some time ago' or 'a long time ago' (*iam dudum*) – not 'last year' (this means rather in 822 than in 820).[69]

To recapitulate: Boretius nos 178 and 143 are possibly 'working documents' issued at one and the same meeting in the earlier 820s, kept or copied together (as *Titulum III* in the Wolfenbüttel manuscript) by a participant at that assembly. Boretius no. 179 (*Episcoporum ad imperatorem de rebus ecclesiasticis relatio*) and Boretius no. 174 (*Capitula ab episcopis Attiniaci data*) have successively been copied in two different sections. The last one is undoubtedly a document produced in Attigny, as has been shown. The first is a list of topics

[68] *Capitula de functionibus publicis*, c. 5, p. 295: 'Generaliter omnes admonemus, ut capitula que praeterito anno legis Salicae per omnium consensum addenda esse censuimus iam non ulterius capitula sed tantum lex dicantur, immo pro lege teneantur.' See *Capitula legi Salicae addita* (*a.* 819), c. 12, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 292–3. In this document one can read an allusion to *Capitula legibus addenda* (*a.* 818, 819), ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 281–6: 'Et hoc iudicaverunt, ut omnis qui alteri aliquid quaerit licentiam habeat, prius sua testimonia producere contra eum; et si ille cui quaeritur dixerit, quod legibus teneat ea quae tenet, et talia sunt testimonia qui hoc veraciter adfirmare possint, iudicaverunt, ut huius rei veritas secundum capitula domni imperatoris, quae *prius* pro lege tenenda constituit, rei veritas conprobetur' (my italics). The word *prius* means that this capitulary was issued sometime after the *Capitula legibus addenda* had been promulgated in 819 – on this capitulary, see *ARF*, *s.a.* 819, p. 150: 'Conventus Aquisgrani post natalem Domini habitus, in quo multa de statu ecclesiarum et monasteriorum tractata atque ordinata sunt, legibus etiam capitula quaedam pernecessaria, quia deerant, conscripta atque addita sunt.' On *Capitula legi Salicae addita*, see H. Mordek, 'Fränkische Kapitularien und Kapitulariensammlungen', in H. Mordek, *Studien zur fränkischen Herrschergesetzgebung. Aufsätze über Kapitularien und Kapitulariensammlungen ausgewählt zum 60. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt am Main/Vienna, 2000), 1–53, pp. 21–2.

[69] *Episcoporum ad Hludowicum* (c. 820), c. 5, p. 367: 'Ut erga eclesias piissima misericordia vestra id quod iam dudum Deo inspirante statuit observari ab omnibus iubeat'. See also c. 9.

submitted to the emperor, beginning with a prologue praising his wisdom and ending with the wish to discuss more intensively with him some questions regarding the monastic way of life.[70] There are allusions to the earlier legislation on monks and canons, but without any indication of time. In order to try answering the question asked above, we now need to take into account the testimony of another important witness about what happened in 822 at Attigny.

Archbishop Agobard of Lyon attended the meeting of Attigny. He denied lay people the right to possessing any Church property, a proposal many participants ran against.[71] His description of the meeting where Louis the Pious took measures to improve the faith (*profectus doctrinę*) and to avoid more disregard on the part of the bishops and other office holders (*abolitio neglegentiarum sacerdotibus et cunctis honoratis suis*) is famous.[72] It is worth having a closer look at the topics Agobard mentions when quoting the address pronounced by Adalhard and some of the most important magnates:

> Whatever your sagacity [i.e. that of the synod participants] may discover in order to prevent oneself from committing any sin, to avoid any danger, to promote the religion, to explain the doctrine, to strengthen the faith, to seek for sanctity [*ad excolendum studium sanctitatis*], please say it with confidence and do not have any doubt about the emperor's readiness to carry it into execution for God.[73]

[70] *Episcoporum ad Hludowicum* (c. 820), p. 368: 'Incomparabilis augustae gloriae sapientia, coelesti fulta sophismate, velut debitam subiectis disciplinam regiminis praerogativa ministrans, saluberrima potius simplicitate quam syllogismorum difficultate conpraehensa capitula que secuntur insinuat.' *Episcoporum ad imperatorem*, c. 15, p. 370: 'De regulari ordine qualiter observetur, partim nos superius significasse meminimus; cetera cum vestra simul celsitudine conferentes largius statuere decertemus.'

[71] See E. Boshof, *Erzbischof Agobard von Lyon. Leben und Werk* (Cologne, 1969), pp. 84–9. On Agobard's position, see also S. Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 795–7.

[72] Agobardus Lugdunensis, *De Dispensatione ecclesiasticarum rerum*, c. 2, ed. L. van Acker, *Agobardi Lugdunensis opera omnia*, *CCCM* 52 (Turnhout, 1981), 121–42, pp. 121–2: 'In illis diebus. quando sacer et religiosus domnus noster imperator euocato conuentu in Attiniaco agebat, strenue prouidens de omnibus utilitatibus commissorum sibi populorum, peruenit ad sublimiorem inquisitionem pernecessarii consilii, cupiens scilicet inuenire: qualiter congruentissime profectum doctrinę et abolitionem neglegentiarum sacerdotibus et cunctis honoratis suis commendare potuisset; quod utique laudabiliter inspirante Dei gratia quęsiuit, ęleganter inuenit, fideliter ore suo annuntiauit. Quę cuncta nunc replicare nimis prolixum est, quia et tunc distinctis capitulis comprehensa sunt, et omnibus nota esse debent.'

[73] Agobard, *Dispensatione ecclesiasticarum rerum*, c. 3, p. 122: 'Hanc igitur rem cum miris tunc laudibus adhuc inchoatam magistri nostri efferrent, et praecipue uenerandus senex Adalardus, qui etiam dicebat, se numquam sublimius uel gloriosius

Let us compare this list with the text of Wolfenbüttel, Blankenburg 130. Many of the topics discussed in Boretius nos. 178 and 179 can be considered as a contribution to the discussion initiated by the emperor and his most illustrious advisers. Boretius no. 179, c. 13 is especially interesting, since it emphasises the link between education and the amelioration of the cleric's way of life.[74] In Boretius no. 174, cc. 2–4, the bishops emphasise exactly this element. It is also interesting to compare Boretius no. 179, c. 14 with the Astronomer's account of the meeting in Attigny: the bishops want to help the emperor by praying for the stability of the realm and the *res publica* – and so they did![75] It is therefore very tempting to think that all these texts deal with the same assembly… I cannot prove it for sure but neither can I find any argument against this assumption.

The examination of the 'working documents' produced at political meetings in the earlier 820s illuminates the early stage of the 'entrée en scène' of the bishops in political matters during the ninth century.[76] Are all those texts 'official' documents, and issued as such? The scribe of this unique manuscript presents these *capitula* as having been issued by Emperor Louis (*capitula domni*

causam profectus publici moueri et cogitari uidisse a tempore regis Pippini usque ad diem illum, tantum ne respondentium et oboedientium neglegentia humiliaretur, addidit ipse et ceteri primores, dicentes omni concilio: "Quicquid utile potuerit reperire sagacitas uestra ad cauenda peccata, ad uitanda pericula, ad erigendam religionem, ad inlustrandam doctrinam, ad corroborandam fidem, ad excolendum studium sanctitatis, confidenter edicitę, et ad explenda pariturum Deo domnum imperatorem minime dubitetis. Qui, quoniam, ut Scripturę sacrę docent, peccata contrahunt infelicitates, perturbationes, clades et sterilitates im populos, tota sollicitudine curat, ut, bona quidem statuendo, mala uero destruendo, optineat una uobiscum apud Dominum, ut, remotis aduersis casibus, regnum sibi commissum prospere, Deo fauente, ualeat gubernare."'

[74] *Episcoporum ad imperatorem*, c. 13, p. 369: 'De hac profecto institutione canonica quae sanctimonialibus congruit, auguste pridem celsitudinis instrumenta cognovimus; sed quomodo disciplinae officii ecclesiastici nimium neglecta per studium reformetur, nonnulli iam experimento probarunt, qui scolam doctoribus deputarunt; in huiusmodi certamine tardiores, tamquam delicto dispensationis postposite, nisi se correxerint, obnoxii teneantur.'

[75] *Episcoporum ad imperatorem*, c. 14, p. 370: 'Pro statu regni et reipublice, ne forte humilietur aut infirmetur, divina primum exoretur clementia; tunc demum totis viribus incumbentes, oportuna vobiscum iuxta vires libenter iuvamina decernamus.' See above, n. 15.

[76] E. Delaruelle, 'En relisant le *De institutione regia* de Jonas d'Orléans: l'entrée en scène de l'épiscopat carolingien', in C.-E- Perrin and R. H. Bautier (eds), *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), 185–92. On the role of bishops in Carolingian society, see Patzold, *Episcopus*.

Hludouuici imperatoris). As documents discussed on occasion of assemblies convened by the emperor, they surely enjoyed great authority – and Agobard's assertion about Louis's *distincta capitula* allows us to think that what we could consider a 'working document' was indeed received as the king's capitulary after he discussed it with his magnates. The manuscript transmission may be evidence for the chronological coherence of these reformatory chapters, which a member of Lothar's entourage probably brought into Italy when Emperor Louis banished his son and his followers there. The northern Italian *missus* who kept or found those documents had them copied into his personal collection, now known as Wolfenbüttel, Blankenburg 130, because they were still useful about thirty years later. Thanks to his careful attention, we are very well informed about one important aspect of the Carolingian 'Penitential State'.

21

From Justinian to Louis the Pious: inalienability of church property and the sovereignty of a ruler in the ninth century

Stefan Esders and Steffen Patzold

Mayke de Jong has vastly transformed our picture of the Carolingian period in the course of surveying the relationship between politics and religion anew. She has shown how misleading the dichotomy between 'Church' and 'State' is, which has structured numerous historical works on ninth-century Francia since at least the nineteenth century. The *ecclesia* was, in the discourse of the time, far more than just an institution *à part* that was sustained by consecrated clergy. It was the conceptual image that elites used to try to capture their society and their political order. The *ecclesia* denoted the community of Christians; its opposite was not the state—it was the condemned, the excommunicated, the heretics, the heathens, the Jews. Under these circumstances, politics was simultaneously service to God, because the actions of the ruler could *also* always be measured by his ability to generate divine grace for the Christians whom God had entrusted to him. In many individual studies but especially in her great book about 'the Penitential State', Mayke de Jong has traced the politics of the age of Louis the Pious and shown how the actions of elites in the eighth and ninth centuries can be interpreted on the basis of this fundamental idea.[1] Others have taken up this perspective;

[1] To mention only *pauca de multis*: M. de Jong, 'Power and humility in Carolingian society: the public penance of Louis the Pious', *EME* 1 (1992), 29–52; M. de Jong, 'What was public about public penance? *Paenitentia publica* and justice in the Carolingian world', in *La giustizia nell'alto medioevo (secoli IX–XI), 11–17 aprile 1996*, Vol. II, Settimane 44 (Spoleto, 1997), 863–902; M. de Jong, '*Sacrum palatium et ecclesia*: l'autorité religieuse royale sous les Carolingiens (790–840)', *Annales: histoire, sciences sociales* 58:6 (2003), 1243–69; M. de Jong, '*Ecclesia* and the early medieval polity', in S. Airlie, W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (eds), *Staat im frühen Mittelalter*, FGM 11 (Vienna, 2006), 113–32; M. de Jong, *The Penitential State. Authority and*

for some time now it has proved to be extremely fruitful for many questions about the Carolingian period.[2]

In the process, a great many of the debates at court and at the assemblies in Francia revolved around the question of how the roles and responsibilities within the *ecclesia* should be distributed. This question had already preoccupied Charlemagne – as his harsh inquiries from 810/11 document especially.[3] And still under Louis the Pious elites wrestled over ascriptions of godliness: in the course of the so-called 'Aachen Reforms' there were attempts to differentiate monks, canons and rural priests, each as their own separate type within the *ecclesia*.[4] The *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines* of 825 and the large text of the Paris synod of 829 number among these efforts as well:[5] the latter adopted the famous formulations of Pope Gelasius I in his letter to

Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840 (Cambridge, 2009); M. de Jong, 'The State of the Church: *ecclesia* and early medieval state formation', in W. Pohl and V. Wieser (eds), *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat. Europäische Perspektiven*, FGM 16 (Vienna 2009), 241–54.

[2] See for example S. Patzold, *Episcopus. Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankenreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts, Mittelalter-Forschungen 25* (Ostfildern, 2008); M. Suchan, 'Der gute Hirte: Religion, Macht und Herrschaft in der Politik der Karolinger- und Ottonenzeit', *FrST* 43 (2009), 95–112.

[3] *Capitula tractanda cum comitibus episcopis et abbatibus*, esp. c. 5, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 161–2, p. 161; *Capitula de causis cum episcopis et abbatibus tractandis* (*a.* 811), esp. cc. 5–6, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.*, 1, 162–3, p. 163; on the texts: F. Ganshof, 'Note sur les "capitula de causis cum episcopis et abbatibus tractanda" de 811', *Studia Gratiana* 13 (1967), 1–25; J. Nelson, 'The voice of Charlemagne', in R. Gameson and H. Leyser (eds), *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages. Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting* (Oxford, 2001), 76–88. On the immediate historical context see also B. Eastwood, 'The astronomy of Macrobius in Carolingian Europe: Dungal's letter of 811 to Charles the Great', *EME* 3 (1994), 117–34.

[4] J. Semmler, 'Benedictus II: una regula – una consuetudo', in W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (eds), *Benedictine Culture 750–1050* (Leuven, 1983), 1–49; D. Geuenich, 'Kritische Anmerkungen zur sogenannten "anianischen Reform"', in D. Bauer *et al.* (eds), *Mönchtum – Kirche – Herrschaft 750–1000. Festschrift für Josef Semmler* (Sigmaringen, 1998), 99–112; T. Schilp, *Norm und Wirklichkeit religiöser Frauengemeinschaften im Frühmittelalter. Die "Institutio sanctimonialium Aquisgranensis" des Jahres 816 und die Problematik der Verfassung von Frauenkommunitäten* (Göttingen, 1998).

[5] *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 303–7; on which see O. Guillot, 'L'exhortation au partage des responsabilités entre l'empereur, l'épiscopat et les autres sujets vers le milieu du règne de Louis le Pieux', in G. Makdisi, D. Sourdel and J. Sourdel-Thomine (eds), *Prédication et propagande au Moyen Âge. Islam, Byzance, Occident. Penn–Paris–Dumbarton Oaks Colloquia. III. Session des 20–25 octobre 1980* (Paris, 1983), 87–110; O. Guillot, 'Une *ordinatio* méconnue: le

the Emperor Anastasius in order to define more clearly the duties and functions of the bishops on the one hand and those of the emperor on the other.[6]

Then, however, the problem of godly coexistence between different *personae* within the *ecclesia* materialised, not least when lay persons handed over their landed property to churches.[7] In our scholarly lingo we call such land *Kirchengut*, 'church property' or *propriété ecclésiastique*. But these labels are basically misleading: they presuppose that there were properties that were transferred to 'the' Church as an institution. If one takes seriously the more recent work on the struggles over the boundaries between a spiritual and a secular sphere, on the intertwining of religion and politics, on the absence of a real separation between 'Church' and 'State', then it will no longer be possible to speak of a property of 'the' Church – at most, only of property that actual individual churches possessed. When speaking of 'church property' here, we therefore mean each of the specific properties of individual churches, not all the property of 'the' Church as a unified organisation.

The transactions in ecclesiastical land, however, formed a context in which laity and clergy – kings and bishops especially – had to work with each other.

Capitulaire de 823–825', in P. Godman and R. Collins (eds), *Charlemagne's Heir. New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)* (Oxford, 1990), 455–86; C. Margalhan-Ferrat, 'Le concept de "ministerium" entre littérature spéculaire et législation carolingienne', in A. de Benedictis (ed.), *Specula principum. Riflesso della realtà giuridica [Colloquio internazionale svoltosi a Bologna nei giorni 18–20 settembre 1997]* (Frankfurt am Main, 1999), 120–57, pp. 131–3. The attempt of É. Magnou-Nortier, 'La tentative de subversion de l'État sous Louis le Pieux et l'œuvre des falsificateurs', *Le Moyen Âge* 105 (1999), 331–65 and 615–41, pp. 619–23, to explain the central statements of the text as later falsifications is completely unsubstantiated.

[6] *Concilium Parisiense* (*a.* 829), ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc.* 2:2, 605–80; on Gelasius: *Concilium Parisiense* (*a.* 829) I, c. 3, p. 610: 'Principaliter itaque totius sanctae Dei ecclesiae corpus in duas eximias personas, in sacerdotalem videlicet et regalem, sicut a sanctis patribus traditum accepimus, divisum esse novimus. De qua re Gelasius Romane sedis venerabilis episcopus ad Anastasium imperatorem ita scribit: Duae sunt quippe, inquit, imperatrices augustae [*sic!*], quibus principaliter mundus hic regitur, auctoritas sacrata pontificum et regalis potestas, in quibus tanto gravius pondus est sacerdotum, quanto etiam pro ipsis regibus hominum in divino reddituri sunt examine rationem.' J. Fried, 'Der karolingische Herrschaftsverband im 9. Jh. zwischen "Kirche" und "Königshaus"', *HZ* 245 (1982), 1–43, p. 22 and n. 87, and W. Hartmann, *Die Synoden der Karolingerzeit im Frankenreich und in Italien* (Paderborn, 1989), p. 183, both stress that this was the first time in the Carolingian period that the writing of Gelasius was taken up again.

[7] For this and what follows see now: G. Calvet-Marcadé, 'Les clercs carolingiens et la défense des terres d'Église (France du nord, IX^{e} siècle)' (Ph.D. dissertation, Paris-Sorbonne University, 2012).

Lay persons gave property to churches, and in return they received property borrowed back from the churches while rendering the 'ninth and tenth' parts of the produce in exchange for usufruct.[8] Churches in turn had to use a portion of their property to finance military services and other undertakings for the king; and they could take an interest in exchanging some estates for others – land held by laity that was more advantageously located.[9] The king, for his part, had in the privilege of immunity (which all bishoprics had possessed since the time of Louis the Pious) an instrument on hand for marking off the land of individual churches, to set it in a special relationship with his own royal person and to protect it from lay encroachment.

In this way the interests of bishops and kings, of clerical and lay within the single *ecclesia*, interacted with particular intensity when it came to churches' land deals; it was precisely for this reason that elites' struggle – to define and delimit as clearly as possible what the godly responsibilities and roles of different groups within the *ecclesia* were – manifested itself in the way that it did. The following observations start out from this basic constellation. We would like to show how elites in the time of Louis the Pious discussed landed property belonging to churches – and how old Roman law was used in the process to secure that property's status. In this debate, so our argument goes, the recourse to sixth-century Roman law enabled certain actors to assign the ruler a distinctive position standing over the community of the *ecclesia*. Consequently we are seeing in the time of Louis the Pious an early chapter in the intellectual history of political sovereignty.

Ansegis and Roman imperial law on the inalienability of church property

The capitulary collection compiled by Ansegis of Fontenelle in 827 marks one of the most important achievements of legal policy in the Carolingian age. Though the alleged 'private' or 'official' character of Ansegis's work has long been debated, there can be no doubt that Ansegis, as an abbot and imperial *missus*, was anything but a private scholar, and that his work highlights the role of the Carolingian emperors as law-givers and Christian

[8] Still fundamental: G. Constable, '*Nona et decima*: an aspect of Carolingian economy', *Speculum* 35 (1960), 224–50.

[9] On the so-called *precaria de verbo regis* see the *Capitulare Haristallense* (*a.* 779), c. 13, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, 47–52, p. 50; on this capitulary see now C. Haack, 'Capitulare Haristallense', in *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, available at www.degruyter.com/view/db/gao (3rd edn, forthcoming). See also the *Notitia de servitio monasteriorum*, ed. P. Becker, *CCM* 1 (Siegburg, 1963), no. 22, pp. 485–99.

rulers.[10] The collection's second book, which is largely devoted to Louis the Pious's ecclesiastical legislation, contains two titles with a sequence of two peculiar texts that differ strikingly from the other material that the author had assembled from Frankish capitularies and conciliar decisions:[11]

> [II, 29] No church constituted under Roman authority or *xenodochium*, *prochotrophium*, *nosochomium*, *orphanotrophium*, *gerontochomium*, *brephotrophium* or monastery either for monks or nuns having an abbot or an abbess: none of these is allowed to alienate any immovable property [*res immobilis*] such as a house [*domus*], an arable field [*ager*], a garden [*hortus*], a rural slave [*mancipium rusticum*] or provisions of 'civil bread' [*panes civiles*], nor to pledge them to creditors under the title of a special mortgage [*specialis hypothecae titulo*]. The word alienation [*alienationis verbum*], however, includes sale [*venditio*], donation [*donatio*], exchange [*permutatio*] and permanent contract by emphyteusis [*emphiteuseos perpetuum contractum*]. But definitely all priests [*sacerdotes*] should refrain from any alienation of such kind in fear of the punishments that the constitution of Leo threatens, namely that he who has bought a thing should restore it to the venerable place to which it had belonged before, naturally with the profits and revenues that have been gained in the meantime; the economist of the church [*hyconomus ecclesiae*] [shall] present all assets [*lucrum*] that he took from a forbidden alienation of this kind, or that he caused as damage [*damnum*] to the church, so that he shall no longer be economist. And not he alone, but also his successors shall be held responsible, or in the case that the archeconomist [*archyconomus*] himself alienated something, or that he knowingly did not prevent a bishop from alienating, and even more, if he consented to it. The notary [*tabellio*], however, who wrote such forbidden documents, must be handed over to perpetual exile. The magistrate [*magistratus*], who admitted the same documents, and his staff, who performed the work so that donations and the other types of alienation would become registered in the records through those acts: not only the magistrate but also they too shall be removed from their dignity and fortunes. The same constitution remits those acts that have been performed in the past, excepting from this, however, certain types of contract, which are explained in more detail in the following chapters and by which also immovable property of the churches can become alienated.

[10] Ansegis, *Capitularium collectio*, ed. G. Schmitz, *Die Kapitulariensammlung des Ansegis* (Hanover, 1996), pp. 14–15.

[11] Ansegis, *Capitularium collectio* II, nos 29 (*De rebus ad venerabilem locum pertinentibus non alienandis*) and 30 (*De hoc, quomodo liceat ad imperatorem res sancti loci transferri*), ed. Schmitz, *Die Kapitulariensammlung des Ansegis*, pp. 549–53. On Ansegis's working methods and his use of sources see Schmitz, *Die Kapitulariensammlung*, pp. 25–34, 35–70. T. Tsuda, 'Was hat Ansegis gesammelt? Über die zeitgenössische Wahrnehmung der Kapitularien in der Karolingerzeit', *Concilium aevi medii* 16 (2013), 209–31.

> A *xenodochium* is a venerable place in which pilgrims are accommodated; a *ptochotrophium* is a venerable place in which poor and weak people are fostered; a *nosochomium* is a venerable place in which sick people are taken care of; an *orphanotrophium* is a venerable place in which boys orphaned from their parents are fostered; a *gerontochomium* is a venerable place in which people who are poor and weak owing to old age alone are taken care of; a *brephotrophium* is a venerable place in which children are nourished.
>
> [II, 30] If the ruler [*princeps*] wants to give an immovable property to a holy place and receive from it another immovable property instead, and by such action contract an exchange, he is entitled to do so by a divine pragmatic sanction promulgated by him [*divina pragmatica sanctione ab eo promulgate*].[12]

As has long been observed, this chapter is not a Frankish capitulary nor a conciliar canon but was based on a chapter of the *Epitome Iuliani*, an abbreviated Latin version of the East Roman Emperor Justinian's novels written in the mid-sixth century.[13] Ansegis directly quoted this passage without indicating where he had got the text from.[14]

In Gaul, knowledge of the *Epitome Iuliani* can be traced back to at least the late eighth century.[15] It made a number of legislative texts accessible that had originally been written in Greek and had not been included in earlier collections of Roman law, including the Theodosian Code published in the West in 438. This is important because Roman imperial legislation on the inalienability of church property began only in the later fifth century. Building on older legal concepts such as *res sacrae* and *res extra commercium*, and taking up claims made by ecclesiastical councils from the fourth century onwards, East Roman legislation beginning with the emperor Leo I (457–74) progressively developed the policy

[12] Ansegis, *Capitularium collectio* II, nos. 29–30, pp. 549–53; the textual base is *Epitome Iuliani* VII, 32–3: *Iuliani epitome Latina novellarum Iustiniani*, ed. G. Haenel (Leipzig, 1873), p. 32. Minor differences between both texts are noted in Schmitz's edition.

[13] F. Ganshof, *Droit romain dans les capitulaires*, Vol. I: *Le droit romain dans les capitulaires et dans la collection d'Ansegise* (Milan 1969), pp. 28–9; E. Boshof, 'Armenfürsorge im Frühmittelalter: *Xenodochium, matricula, hospitale pauperum*', *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 71 (1984), 153–74, pp. 153–4; G. Schmitz, 'Zur Kapitulariengesetzgebung Ludwigs des Frommen', *DA* 42 (1986), 471–516, pp. 479–81; Schmitz, *Die Kapitulariensammlung*, pp. 26–7. On the *Epitome Iuliani*, its original purpose, and its spread in the early medieval West, see W. Kaiser, *Die 'Epitome Iuliani'. Beiträge zum römischen Recht im frühen Mittelalter und zum byzantinischen Rechtsunterricht* (Frankfurt am Main, 2004).

[14] See Kaiser, *Die 'Epitome Iuliani'*, pp. 468–70.

[15] On the spread of this text in the early medieval West, see Kaiser, *Die 'Epitome Iuliani'*, pp. 419–92.

that ecclesiastical property should in principle be inalienable.[16] To achieve this aim the emperor promulgated a law in 470 that sought to classify certain types of legal transactions (donation, sale, assignment, exchange) as alienations of churches' property.[17] While he was obviously directing his law against clerics and churchmen in particular, Leo also issued regulations on how to deal with church property in order to avoid any alienation whatsoever. An alienation should only be possible in exceptional cases, provided that the bishop, the economist and the whole clergy consented to it. The primary objective in such circumstances, however, was to be the protection and increase of the churches' property, and the main argument that Leo put forward to underline why ecclesiastical property should hence be regarded as inalienable was that the Church was 'the eternal mother of religion and faith' (*religionis et fidei mater perpetua*), whose *patrimonium* had to be preserved for all time without diminishment.[18]

Expanding upon Leo's law the Emperor Anastasius I (491–518), in a Greek constitution of uncertain date, extended these measures to different types of churches and ecclesiastical institutions such as monasteries, hospitals and orphanages.[19] Anastasius introduced further specifications that indicate how important ecclesiastical property must have become in the meantime, in economic and also fiscal terms.[20] But it also becomes clear that these regulations have to be seen as part of some kind of social policy.[21] Though they explicitly refer to the churches of Constantinople, Leo's and Anastasius's laws both show an awareness that many churches' property was spread across the provinces. It was, however, only Justinian I (527–65) who extended these regulations to the property of all churches and ecclesiastical institutions within the Roman empire, which he did in a lengthy novel issued in 535 that takes up sixteen closely printed pages.[22] Continuing, altering and supplementing

[16] A. Knecht, *System des justinianischen Kirchenvermögensrechtes* (Stuttgart, 1905), pp. 133–4.

[17] See the evidence collected in M. Kaplan, *Les propriétés de la couronne et de l'Église dans l'Empire byzantin (V^e–VI^e siècles). Documents* (Paris, 1976).

[18] *Codex Iustinianus* I, 2 (*De sacrosanctis ecclesiis*), 14, 1–3 issued in 470 for the Church of Constantinople: *Codex Iustinianus* (hereafter *Cod. Iust.*), ed. P. Krüger (Berlin, 1915), p. 13.

[19] On Anastasius and his policies in general see most recently F. Haarer, *Anastasius I. Politics and Empire in the Late Roman World* (Cambridge, 2006); and M. Meier, *Anastasios I. Die Entstehung des byzantinischen Reiches* (Stuttgart, 2009).

[20] *Cod. Iust.* I, 2 (*De sacrosanctis ecclesiis*), 17, 1–3, p. 15.

[21] H.-R. Hagemann, *Die Stellung der 'Piae Causae' nach justinianischem Rechte* (Basel, 1953), pp. 42–65; H. Krumpholz, *Über sozialstaatliche Aspekte in der Novellengesetzgebung Justinians* (Bonn, 1992), pp. 31–6.

[22] On Justinian's legislation on church property see Knecht, *System des justinianischen Kirchenvermögensrechtes*; H. Alivisatos, *Die kirchliche Gesetzgebung Justinians*

his predecessors' provisions, Justinian classified donation, exchange, sale and emphyteusis as the four most important types of alienation.[23] An important feature of this novel, however, is the exceptions to the rule. For Justinian specially entitled the emperor to exchange church property, provided that the holding he offered was of equal or higher value, that he observed the legal regulations diligently, and that he did so by necessity, 'to the benefit of the State' (*πρὸς λυσιτέλειαν τῆς πολιτείας*). Even more striking is the justification the emperor gave:

> Therefore We authorize the government, when it is for the common welfare and the general advantage of the State, to obtain possession of any immovable property belonging to churches, religious houses, or associations, where others of equal or even of greater value than what was received are transferred by way of compensation. What excuse can the Emperor have to avoid furnishing greater indemnity? For God has given him possession of enormous wealth, and has made him the ruler of many subjects, and has rendered it easy for him, above all, to give to the holy churches, towards which one cannot be too liberal. Wherefore, if such a thing should take place, the transfer shall be valid, provided it is preceded by a pragmatic sanction authorizing the government to transfer property in compensation, where compensation is provided by reason of the gift of better and more productive immovable property; and those who have charge of the religious establishments whose property is alienated, and the notaries who drew up the contracts, shall everywhere be exempt from blame, and shall not be apprehensive of the penalties prescribed by Leo, of pious memory, and which have been confirmed by Us, since priesthood [*ἱερωσύνη*] and imperial rulership [*βασιλεία*] do not differ greatly from one another, as sacred things [*τὰ ἱερὰ πράγματα*] do from those which are common and public [*τῶν κοινῶν τε καὶ δημοσίων*], and the abundance enjoyed by the churches is continually derived from the munificence of the Emperors.[24]

Because God had bestowed imperial rule and imperial wealth on the emperor for ruling his subjects, it was the emperor who was ultimately held responsible for preserving the property of the churches. From this perspective, priesthood and imperial rule did not differ from one another very much, and the claim that church property mostly derived from imperial munificence adds to the argument that the *res sacrae* may be regarded to a large extent as public and thus had to be protected by the emperor. This did not mean, however, that the emperor was entitled to deal with ecclesiastical property

I. (Berlin 1913), pp. 84–97; see also the most recent survey by H. Leppin, *Justinian. Das christliche Experiment* (Stuttgart, 2011), pp. 106–10.

[23] Justinian, *Nov.* 7, ed. R. Schoell and W. Kroll (Berlin, 1895), pp. 48–64.

[24] Justinian, *Nov.* 7, 2, p. 53; trans. S. Scott, *The Civil Law*, Vol. XVI: *New Constitutions (Novels) Collections I–VII* (Cincinnati, 1932) (quoted with slight alterations from: www.constitution.org/sps/sps.htm).

as he pleased, for he had to respect its inalienable character. Under these circumstances, the emperor could exchange church property if he did so for the public benefit (*utilitas publica*), provided sufficient compensation and used a rescript in the manner of a pragmatic sanction.[25] While this points to the vital role of the emperor in the preservation, protection and exchange of ecclesiastical property, only two years later Justinian clarified that religious houses were 'dedicated to God, who is the king of all' (*τῷ βασιλεῖ πάντων ... θεῷ*). For this reason, they were allowed to exchange church property on the condition that they diligently observed the legal preconditions and procedures and confirmed the transaction with a formidable oath, which would make it a 'public' affair.[26]

While Leo's law of 470 always remained a reference point and was included in Justinian's Code published in 529 and 533, it is in Justinian's novels that we find the concept of the inalienability of church property worked out both in programmatic fashion and in detailed legal provisions. For only the novels give the emperor a prominent position with regard to church property: churches are religious foundations, immortal trustees administering their property on behalf of God, to whom it actually belongs.[27] From this point of view, the novels embodied a principle of sovereignty that would ultimately have an enormous impact on the development of the concept of political sovereignty and the State in medieval and modern political theory. But the heritage of Justinian's legislation was by no means unambiguous. For the ruler's right to intervene in the administration of ecclesiastical property, and to use it if he provided compensation, was not only extraordinarily important in practical

[25] On the legal character of pragmatic sanctions and their relationship to imperial rescripts and constitutions, see P. Kussmaul, *Pragmaticum und Lex. Formen spätrömischer Gesetzgebung, 408–457* (Göttingen, 1981), pp. 77–98. The term is also used in the passage of the *Epitome Iuliani* that Ansegis quoted.

[26] Justinian, *Nov.* 54, 2, pp. 307–8, published in 537. On the role played by oaths in Justinianic legislation see C. Pazdernik, '"The Trembling of Cain": religious power and institutional culture in Justinianic oath-making', in A. Cain and N. Lenski (eds), *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity* (Farnham, 2010), 143–54. On the reception of ancient oath and curse formulas in the penal clauses of medieval charters, see H. Voltelini, 'Die Fluch- und Strafklauseln mittelalterlicher Urkunden und ihre antiken Vorläufer', in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband*, Vol. XI (Graz, 1929), 64–75; J. Studtmann, 'Die Pönformel der mittelalterlichen Urkunden', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 12 (1932), 251–374.

[27] Note the parallels to this in Islamic law on religious foundations: D. Behrens-Abouseif, 'The *Waqf*: a legal personality?', in A. Meier, J. Pahlitzsch and L. Reinfandt (eds), *Islamische Stiftungen zwischen juristischer Norm und sozialer Praxis* (Berlin, 2009), 55–60.

terms; it would also raise the question of whether a ruler who was entitled to access the inaccessible could also claim for himself some sort of superiority over the *ecclesia* as a whole. It was the legal material on this ambiguous and highly debatable issue that the *Epitome Iuliani* would impart to any ruler who was willing to follow in Justinian's footsteps, or to any ecclesiastical institution that regarded itself as an acting trustee for God.

Policies and debates on church property under Louis the Pious

It thus appears as highly significant that Ansegis incorporated not only the chapter on the inalienability of church property into his collection, but also the following provision, which emphasised the ruler's right to intervene. Although both texts were clearly not capitularies, their inclusion in a capitulary collection that soon came to be regarded and used as an official law-book would foster the notion that even these texts were supposed to be Frankish royal law.[28] One may even wonder, given the role played by imperial models in this period, to what extent Ansegis himself may have thought of these texts as imperial law.[29] For while the idea that church property was inalienable can be found in western sources as early as the year 500 or so, we cannot be sure whether western kings' encroachment upon church property was actually informed by Justinian's legislation.[30] With the reception of the *Epitome Iuliani*, however,

[28] G. Schmitz, '"... pro utile firmiter tenenda sunt lege": Bemerkungen zur Brauchbarkeit und zum Gebrauch der Kapitulariensammlung des Ansegis', in D. Bauer, R. Hiestand, B. Kasten and S. Lorenz (eds), *Mönchtum – Herrschaft – Kirche, 750–1000. Josef Semmler zum 65. Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen, 1998), 213–29. On the reception of Ansegis see especially Schmitz, *Die Kapitulariensammlung*, pp. 282–374. S. Airlie, '"For it is written in the law": Ansegis and the writing of Carolingian royal authority', in S. Baxter, C. Karkov, J. Nelson and D. Pelteret (eds), *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald* (Farnham, 2009), 219–36, pp. 226, 229–31.

[29] See, e.g., W. Wendling, 'Die Erhebung Ludwigs des Frommen zum Mitkaiser im Jahre 813 und ihre Bedeutung für die Verfassungsgeschichte des Frankenreiches', *FrSt* 19 (1985), 201–38.

[30] S. Esders, 'Die frühmittelalterliche "Blüte" des Tauschgeschäfts: Folge ökonomischer Entwicklung oder Resultat rechtspolitischer Setzung?', in I. Fees and Ph. Depreux (eds), *Tauschgeschäft und Tauschurkunde vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert – L'acte d'échange, du VIII^e au XII^e siècle* (Cologne, 2013), 19–44, with further references; the evidence supplied by Merovingian Church councils is summarised by E. Loening, *Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenrechtes*, Vol. II: *Das Kirchenrecht im Reiche der Merowinger* (Strasbourg, 1878), pp. 696–702. On ecclesiastical slaves and the patronage over freedmen being treated as church property, see S. Esders, *Die Formierung der Zensualität. Zur kirchlichen Transformation des spätrömischen*

this question clearly became an issue of imperial rulership as conceptualised in Roman imperial law.[31] Yet Alfred Boretius characteristically supposed that both chapters, which Ansegis alone had transmitted, could have been promulgated either by Louis himself or by an ecclesiastical assembly.[32]

In fact even in the time of Louis the Pious we can observe still other traces of the reception of the *Epitome Iuliani* – not least in provisions relevant to our context, about the holdings of churches. The *Epitome* is transmitted together with other Roman law in the Codex Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Hänel 8+9; the manuscript was probably written in Verona in the first third of the ninth century.[33] At that time, Bishop Ratold was in office there: the Reichenau-educated Alaman had already served as chaplain to Pippin of Italy, was promoted to bishop in 803, and by 814 was a loyal follower of the Emperor Louis. In 817 he took part in the suppression of the rebellion of Bernhard of Italy; and still in 833/34 Ratold was so steadfastly loyal to Louis's side that he was subsequently denied return to Verona.[34] Thus the Leipzig codex originated under the aegis of a man who maintained close contact with Louis's court. But that's not all: the *Epitome* is also transmitted in Paris, BnF, lat. 4418. Bernhard Bischoff and Hubert Mordek regarded this codex with good reason as a product of the court of Louis the Pious himself.[35] Even independently of

Patronatswesens im früheren Mittelalter (Ostfildern, 2010), pp. 32–6, 47–50. On East Roman influence, see M. Rouche, '"Religio calculata et dissipata"; ou, Les premières sécularisations de terres d'église par Dagobert', in J. Fontaine and J. Hillgarth (eds), *Le septième siècle. Changements et continuités – The seventh century. Change and Continuity* (London, 1992), 236–46. On the knowledge of Justinianic law in Merovingian Gaul see also the references in S. Esders, *Römische Rechtstradition und merowingisches Königtum. Zum Rechtscharakter politischer Herrschaft in Burgund im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1997), pp. 180–181 n. 376.

31 The passage quoted by Ansegis referred to Leo's law from 470, which could only have been available to Ansegis if he had access to Justinian's Code.

32 *Capitula e lege Romana excerpta* (*a.* 826?), ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap. 1*, 310–11, p. 310.

33 *Lex episcoporum et ceteris clericorum*, ed. A. Krah, *Frühe kirchenrechtliche Texte aus Oberitalien in einer Handschrift der Leipziger Universitätsbibliothek* (Berlin, 1993), 9–15; W. Kaiser, *Studien zu den 'Sacra privilegia concilii Vizaceni'* (Munich, 2007), p. 4; for other dates floated in the literature see K. Ubl in the *Bibliotheca legum*, www.leges.uni-koeln.de/mss/handschrift/leipzig-ub-3493–3494 (accessed 20 June 2014).

34 C. Stadler, 'Ratold', in *LdM*, Vol. VII (1995), col. 461; T. Zotz, 'Ratold', *Neue deutsche Biographie* 21 (2003), cols 183–4, available online at http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0001/bsb00016339/images/index.html?seite=199 (accessed 20 June 2014).

35 For pinpointing the codex to the court see the *Bibliotheca legum*, www.leges.uni-koeln.de/mss/handschrift/paris-bn-lat-4418 (accessed 20 June 2014) with the

the quotations in the *Collectio* of Abbot Ansegis, we can safely assume that the *Epitome Iuliani* was known at Louis's court.

In the very same place, moreover, the Reichenau-educated Grimald had been serving as chaplain since 824. Between 833 and 837 he headed Louis's chancery. As abbot of Wissembourg, abbot of St Gall since 841 and long-serving arch-chaplain of Louis the German, he was undoubtedly one of the outstanding political figures of the 830s through the 860s.[36] In the Codex Sangallensis 397, his so-called 'vademecum,' Grimald had the terminologies from the second section of Ansegis's *Collatio* II, 29 copied onto p. 38.[37] Once again we see directly how the court picked up a pertinent passage of the *Epitome Iuliani* and found it interesting – even if we cannot determine exactly when Grimald's attention was first called to this passage in the course of a career that lasted for decades.

Not the wording but very much the subject of the provisions of the *Epitome Iuliani* that Ansegis II, 29 included were also known in Francia from the so-called *Summa de ordine ecclesiastico*. In the seventh or eighth century a compiler had culled excerpts from the passages of the *Epitome Iuliani* that referred to clerics and churches.[38] Significantly for us, in the course of doing so he also incorporated a streamlined version of Chapter 7, 32 of the *Epitome*

relevant literature cited there; against counting the codex as evidence for the existence of a 'leges scriptorium' in the time of Louis the Pious see K. Ubl, 'Gab es das Leges-Skriptorium Ludwigs des Frommen?', *DA* 70 (2014), 43–66, pp. 47, 53–4, who at the same time also follows Bischoff's localisation to Louis's court.

[36] On the figure of Grimald: D. Geuenich, 'Beobachtungen zu Grimald von St. Gallen, Erzkapellan und Oberkanzler Ludwigs des Deutschen', in M. Borgolte and H. Spilling (eds), *Litterae medii aevi. Festschrift für Johanne Autenrieth zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen, 1988), 55–68.

[37] On the 'vademecum' classification: B. Bischoff, 'Bücher am Hofe Ludwigs des Deutschen und die Privatbibliothek des Kanzlers Grimalt', in B. Bischoff (ed.), *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. III (Stuttgart, 1981), 187–212, pp. 201–12. See now, however, U. Grupp, 'Der Codex Sangallensis 397 – ein persönliches Handbuch Grimalds von St. Gallen?', *DA* 70 (2014), 425–63. St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 397, p. 38: 'XENODOCHIUM. Id est locus uenerabilis in quo peregrini suscipiuntur. PTOCHOTROPHIUM. Id est locus uenerabilis in quo pauperes et infirmi homines pascuntur. NOSOCHOMIUM. Id est locus uenerabilis in quo egroti homines curantur. ORPHANOTROPHIUM. Id est locus uenerabilis in quo parentibus orbati pueri pascuntur. GERONTOCHOMIUM. Id est locus uenerabilis in quo pauperes et propter senectutem solam infirmi homines curantur. BREPHOTROPHIUM. Id est locus uenerabilis in quo infantes aluntur.'

[38] M. Conrat publicised the text in 'La somma delle Novelle *De ordine ecclesiastico*', *Bulletino dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano* 11 (1898), 7–22; M. Conrat, 'Der Novellenauszug *De ordine ecclesiastico*, eine Quelle des Benedikt Levita', *Neues Archiv* 24 (1899), 341–8; see in addition Kaiser, *Die 'Epitome Iuliani'*, pp. 461–92, as

Iuliani into his collection (the chapter that Ansegis later took up as well).[39] This is followed by eight additional provisions from the *Epitome*, which likewise regulate how the holdings of churches should be handled.[40]

Today the *Summa de ordine ecclesiastico* is only transmitted in a single manuscript (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phill. 1735), which probably dates to late in the reign of Charlemagne, possibly from Burgundy. But the codex is not the archetype of the collection; earlier on, the text must have disseminated at least a bit more widely.[41] At any rate, perhaps already since the 830s some other witness to the *Summa* was gutted fairly extensively at Corbie by the capitulary-counterfeiter Benedictus Levita: Benedict used this exemplar for no fewer than forty-eight of his *capitula*, among them the provision 7, 32 of the *Epitome Iuliani* which was also included in Ansegis II, 29. The text appears again in the fifty-sixth chapter of Benedict's third *Additio*.[42] Conspicuously, though, Benedictus Levita did not adopt the eight chapters of the *Summa* that follow this one – although they still spoke to the same subject, namely dealing with churches' property.[43]

So when Abbot Ansegis of St Wandrille adopted the prohibition on alienating churches' property that the *Epitome Iuliani* had formulated, the text he chose would not have been utterly exotic in the time of Louis the Pious. Once it was included in the capitulary collection, at the latest, the provision circulated rapidly and fairly widely. What is more, soon after that we can also observe its impact on the very exercise of royal rule: from Louis the Pious onwards, the second clause of the passage quoted (Ansegis II, 30) could serve as an important argument for the Carolingian rulers to use ecclesiastical property for political purposes. In a capitulary of 829, which quotes Ansegis several times, Louis had emphasised that exchanges of ecclesiastical property should remain valid, whereas unreasonable and useless trades (*inutiles et incommodae atque inrationabiles*) should be revoked: when the 'dead hand' was at stake or there was some other 'reasonable cause' (*causa rationabilis*), it should be written down carefully and reported to the emperor so that he could eventually decide on the matter.[44] It is perhaps not by chance that this is the earliest

well as the edition of the text by M. Weber and G. Schmitz, *Die 'Summa de ordine ecclesiastico'. Eine römisch-rechtliche Quelle Benedicts*, available at www.benedictus.mgh.de/quellen/summa.pdf (the basis for what follows).

[39] *Summa de ordine ecclesiastico*, c. 22, p. 18.

[40] *Summa de ordine ecclesiastico*, cc. 23–30, pp. 18–20.

[41] *Summa de ordine ecclesiastico*, p. 6.

[42] On the reception of the *Summa* see Table 1 in *Summa de ordine ecclesiastico*, pp. 6–7; and further Benedictus Levita, *Collectio capitularium*, c. 56, ed. G. Schmitz, available at www.benedictus.mgh.de/edition/aktuell/additio3.pdf, p. 9.

[43] See Table 1, *Summa de ordine ecclesiastico*, p. 7.

[44] On this and on the common manuscript tradition of Ansegis and the Worms legislation of 829, see Schmitz, '… pro utile firmiter tenenda sunt lege', pp. 226–7.

piece of evidence we have for a technical use of the Latin term *mortua manus* in the sense of ecclesiastical property, the later well-known 'mainmorte' or 'mortmain'.[45]

Quite strikingly, at almost exactly the same time that Ansegis was quoting the *Epitome Iuliani* a new type of royal charter was being issued – a special royal privilege confirming the exchange of church property.[46] This points to a deliberate reception and use of Roman imperial law by Louis the Pious and his advisers. One may suspect that the Carolingian rulers – as Justinian before – did not intend to give up control over ecclesiastical property, which in the West had derived to a large extent from the royal donation of fiscal lands.[47] Munificence of this kind played an enormous part not only in the endowment of royal monasteries, but also in the foundation of new bishoprics, and in the process of extending the borders of Christianity.[48] Typically, Carolingian monarchs like Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald could think of themselves as being 'le souverain, maître de l'échange'.[49]

Under Charles the Bald, at an assembly held at Soissons in 853, it became fixed as a general rule that no ecclesiastical property could be exchanged

Capitulare missorum Wormatiense (*a.* 829), c. 5, ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause, *MGH Cap.* 2, 14–16, p. 15. On the increasing relevance of the court in judicial procedure under Louis the Pious see Ph. Depreux, 'L'absence de jugement datant du regne de Louis le Pieux: l'expression d'un mode de gouvernement reposant plus systématiquement sur le recours aux *missi*?', *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest (Maine, Anjou, Touraine)* 108 (2001), 7–20; see also B. Mischke, 'Kapitularienrecht und Urkundenpraxis unter Kaiser Ludwig dem Frommen (814–840)' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Bonn, 2013), pp. 139–73 on restitution of property, available at http://hss.ulb.uni-bonn.de/2013/3157/3157.htm. S. Esders and S. Kaschke, '"Ut sub fideiussoribus ad nostrum palatium veniat": Gestellungsbürgschaft und Letztentscheidung des Hofgerichtes unter Ludwig dem Frommen', in Ph. Depreux, S. Esders and S. Patzold (eds), *'Regnum semper reformandum'. Causes et mobiles de la législation capitulaire de Louis le Pieux en 829 – Hintergründe und Ziele der Kapitulariengesetzgebung Ludwigs des Frommen im Jahr 829* (Thorbecke Verlag, in press).

[45] Esders, *Die Formierung der Zensualität*, p. 72 n. 241.

[46] Ph. Depreux, 'The development of charters confirming exchange by the royal administration (eighth–tenth centuries)', in K. Heidecker (ed.), *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society* (Turnhout, 2000), 43–62, pp. 48–50 and 53–62, referring to this development as 'an evolution in capitulary law' (p. 48).

[47] I. Wood, 'Entrusting Western Europe to the Church, 400–750', *TRHS* 23 (2013), 37–73.

[48] R. Schieffer, 'Über Bischofssitz und Fiskalgut im 8. Jahrhundert', *HJ* 95 (1975), 18–32.

[49] Ph. Depreux, 'Le souverain, maître de l'échange?', in I. Fees and Ph. Depreux (eds), *Tauschgeschäft und Tauschurkunde vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert – L'acte d'échange, du VIII^e au XII^e siècle* (Cologne, 2013), 45–64.

without his consent (*sine licentia vel consensu nostro*); accordingly Charles directed his *missi* to make sure that ecclesiastical *mancipia* and dependants retained their status when changing owners.[50] In 865, in a capitulary intended to settle Burgundian affairs, Charles ordered his *missi* to investigate unjust commutations of church property that had been put into effect without royal consent (*sine regia auctoritate*) and to dissolve them; again, in the event of the 'dead hand' or a royal precept, they were to send a written report on this to the monarch so that he would eventually decide. Charles the Bald was fully aware that he was following in more than his father's footsteps here, for he based his claim on Roman law as well as on his predecessors' capitularies (*sicut lex Romana praecipit … sicut in capitularibus progenitorum nostrorum continetur*).[51]

The reception of the Justinianic prohibition against alienation and of the ruler's special licence to exchange holdings with churches also stood in the context of a wider discussion about the protection of ecclesiastical property, which we can outline in the sources from the 820s at least. Shortly before Ansegis assembled his collection – so after November 823 – the archbishop Agobard of Lyon formulated an epistolary treatise of his own on the subject: drawing on the Old and New Testament but also on canons and other texts, Agobard sought to prove that properties that had originally been dedicated to churches should under no condition be alienated from them later on. But when lay persons (and this included kings!) or even clerics themselves alienated their churches' holdings, then God's punishment for this serious sin should not be long in coming – and in Agobard's view, such a punishment could affect the entire polity.[52]

Agobard indicated in his text that he had personally presented these arguments in Attigny in 822, at an episcopal council that the emperor had not attended.[53] We hear hints of how Agobard's performance resonated with the assembled magnates: the archbishop reported that Adalhard and the

[50] *Conventus Suessionensis* (*a.* 853), c. 12, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 2, 263–6, p. 266. *Capitulare missorum Suessionense* (*a.* 853), c. 12, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 2, 266–70, p. 270.

[51] *Capitulare Tusiacense in Burgundiam directum* (*a.* 865), c. 6, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 2, 329–31, p. 330.

[52] Agobard, *Ep.* 5, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 5, 150–239, pp. 166–79; for more detailed analysis see E. Boshof, *Erzbischof Agobard von Lyon. Leben und Werk* (Cologne, 1969), pp. 85–101: on the dating see p. 85, although Boshof's view that Agobard's arguments comprised the platform of a 'Reichseinheitspartei' (pp. 93–4) has since become obsolete. On the figure of Agobard, see further S. Airlie, 'I, Agobard, unworthy bishop', in R. Corradini *et al.* (eds), *Ego Trouble. Authors and Their Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, FGM 15 (Vienna, 2010), 175–84.

[53] See Agobard, *Ep.* 5, c. 2, p. 166; and c. 4, p. 168.

chancellor, Helisachar, had responded to him, but he did not know to what extent they had brought his arguments to the king's attention in turn.[54] At the same time Agobard also makes clear from the outset that his suggestions had met with particularly harsh criticism among the aristocracy of Septimania and Provence.[55]

There is no doubt, however, that the question of ecclesiastical property was discussed with even greater intensity after that: we learn from Agobard that the matter was also the subject of an assembly at Compiègne in November 823.[56] His epistolary treatise also ensured besides that the subject would remain virulent. Louis the Pious addressed at least some of these open questions in his *Admonitio* of 823/25.[57] And the Paris council of 829 too had to address the question of properties in churches' possession: Jonas of Orléans recorded in the acts of the synod, in four long chapters and in full detail, what *res ecclesiae*were – and how they should be handled.[58] In the process he also quoted the statement of Julianus Pomerius (fifth century) that the goods of the Church were no less than 'pledges of the believers, fines for sins and assets of the poor'.[59] The quotation soon enjoyed great popularity in the Carolingian period; significantly, Grimald would have this sentence entered in his so-called 'vademecum'.[60] But even by early 829 the question of whether all ecclesiastical property should be treated as fiscal property – for example by including it in fiscal revenue inquests – was still unresolved, possibly not only because the episcopate was eager to safeguard church property but also thanks to Justinian's interest in understanding church property as something that originated and continued to function as fiscal property.[61]

[54] Agobard, *Ep.* 5, c. 4, p. 168.

[55] Agobard, *Ep.* 5, c. 1, p. 166.

[56] Agobard, *Ep.* 5, c. 5, p. 168. On which see also F. Ganshof, *Was waren die Kapitularien?* (Weimar, 1961), pp. 42, 49 n. 94.

[57] *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines*, c. 5, p. 304; cc. 23–4, p. 307 (on *nona et decima* as well as the obligation to maintain church buildings).

[58] *Concilium Parisiense* (*a.* 829), c. 15, p. 622 (see also cc. 16–18).

[59] *Concilium Parisiense* (*a.* 829), p. 623: '… nihil aliud esse res ecclesiae nisi vota fidelium, pretia peccatorum et patrimonium pauperum [= Iulianus Pomerius, *De vita contemplativa* II, c. 9]'.

[60] Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 397, fol. 27 (last line on the page).

[61] *Capitulare missorum* (*a.* 829 *initio*), c. 1, ed. A Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 2, 9: 'Volumus, ut omnes res ecclesiasticae eo modo contineantur, sicut res ad fiscum nostrum contineri solent, usque dum nos ad generale placitum nostrum cum fidelibus nostris invenerimus et constituerimus, qualiter in futurum de his fieri debeat.' On the inclusion of ecclesiastical property in fiscal revenue inquests, see H. Brunner, 'Zeugen- und Inquisitionsbeweis der karolingischen Zeit' (1865), in H. Brunner, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des deutschen und französischen Rechts. Gesammelte*

To sum up so far: in the time of Louis the Pious, persons at the court and close to the court were borrowing from the *Epitome Iuliani* – more precisely for their provisions against the alienation of church property and considerations of the emperor's special role in exchanges transacted with churches. Via the *Collectio* of Ansegis these same provisions quickly found a wide distribution. Louis himself modified the practices of his Government in response, with a new kind of royal document that confirmed exchanges between churches and third parties. And we see all of this embedded in a larger discussion in the 820s about the legal status of church property.

Against this background one should now perhaps revisit the infamous *schedula* of Abbot Wala of Corbie for the discussion of 828/29, which Paschasius Radbertus claimed in his *Epitaphium Arsenii* to have known. A central theme of the great exhortation, which Radbert places in the mouth of his hero in the context of the discussion at court in the late 820s, is in fact this very subject: Radbert has his Wala fulminate against the emperor's access to church property and against the alienation of this property for other, secular aims of imperial rule. In doing so Wala's criticism derived from the fundamental question of how both 'orders' (*ordines*) within the *ecclesia* – the laity and the clergy – were to be differentiated from each other.[62]

Mayke de Jong and Patrick Breternitz have recently made a good case for regarding the entire scene as a story Radbert told *ex post facto*: this passage does not reflect the contentious political questions of the 820s but rather problems that became acrimonious only when the *Epitaphium Arsenii* was composed in the mid-ninth century.[63] The core of Breternitz's argument is as

Aufsätze (Stuttgart, 1894), 88–247, pp. 163–6 and 183–5, who wanted to credit the attempt to treat ecclesiastical and fiscal properties equally to the efforts of the ecclesiastical establishment ('Geistlichkeit').

[62] See Paschasius Radbertus, *Epitaphium Arsenii* II, ed. E. Dümmler (Berlin, 1900), pp. 62 and 64. On the immediate political context: L. Weinrich, *Wala: Graf, Mönch und Rebell. Die Biographie eines Karolingers* (Lübeck, 1963), 62–8; on the text: D. Ganz, 'The *Epitaphium Arsenii* and opposition to Louis the Pious', in Godman and Collins, *Charlemagne's Heir*, 537–50. The passages quoted can be safely dated only to the 850s, so it is uncertain which sources Radbert had at hand: Ganz, 'The *Epitaphium Arsenii*', p. 545 supposes that Radbert was actually able to base his work on notes that Wala had written himself and finished by 828/29. On Radbert's narratives of identity: M. de Jong, 'Becoming Jeremiah: Paschasius Radbertus on Wala, himself and others', in R. Corradini, M. Gillis, R. McKitterick and I. van Renswoude (eds), *Ego Trouble. Authors and Their Identities in the Early Middle Ages* (Vienna, 2010), 185–96.

[63] M. de Jong, 'Familiarity lost. On the context of the Second Book of the *Epitaphium Arsenii*', in M. Gravel and S. Kaschke (eds), *Politische Theologie und Geschichte unter Ludwig dem Frommen – Histoire et théologie politiques sous Louis le Pieux* (Thorbecke

follows: in the 820s it is possible to detect a discussion about churches' properties, but the subject of alienation by the emperor himself never became part of that discussion in any way. Wala's speech that Radbert spread around was thus devoid of any contemporary context:

> Arsenius's criticism of Louis's expenditure of church property is not genuine. That also means that the single source that has been advanced for this expenditure no longer constitutes proof that Louis took such actions. So throughout the crisis of his reign from 827 onward he was not, as was previously assumed, extravagantly spending church property on laypersons.[64]

Perhaps in light of the reception of the Justinianic novels in the form of the *Epitome Iuliani* and in light of the ruler's new documentary practice we may rethink Radbert's representation once more. Even though De Jong justifiably emphasised how difficult it is 'to extricate the historical Wala from Radbert's narrative', a contemporary context for Wala's harsh exhortation is discernible all the same.[65] It is quite conceivable that Paschasius Radbertus, supported by a *schedula* of Wala, picked up (at an obvious chronological distance) a point that had already preoccupied the abbot of Corbie himself in the 820s – even if Radbert may have embellished and updated Wala's speech from the vantage of his own interests in the present day. At any rate, Radbert's nicknaming his hero Wala as Arsenius, tutor of Theodosius I's son Honorius (identified with Lothar), while attributing to Louis the Pious the alias of Justinian, clearly could be read as a statement on the ecclesiastical policy of the 820s as well as of the 840s and 850s.[66]

In any case, one must ask what could have led to a situation in which lay persons' (and also the emperor's) access to churches' property, and the prohibition of alienating such holdings, became the subjects of such fierce political debates in the 820s. The following considerations may be pertinent here, at least hypothetically: precisely the period from 820 onwards was struck by a close

Verlag, in press); M. de Jong, 'Paschasius Radbertus and Pseudo-Isidore: the evidence of the *Epitaphium Arsenii*', in V. Garver and O. Phelan (eds), *Rome and Religion in the Medieval World. Studies in Honor of Thomas F. X. Noble* (Farnham, 2014), 149–77, p. 160; P. Breternitz, 'Ludwig der Fromme und die Entfremdung von Kirchengut: Beobachtungen zum Epitaphium Arsenii', in K. Ubl and D. Ziemann (eds), *Fälschung als Mittel der Politik? Pseudoisidor im Licht der neuen Forschung. Gedenkschrift für Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, MGH Studien und Texte* 57, 187–206.

64 P. Breternitz, *Ludwig der Fromme*, p. 206.

65 M. de Jong, 'Paschasius Radbertus', p. 160.

66 M. de Jong, 'Becoming Jeremiah'; M. de Jong, 'The Resources of the Past: Paschasius Radbertus and his *Epitaphium Arsenii*', in S. Dusil, G. Schwedler and R. Schwitter (eds), *Exzerpieren – Kompilieren – Tradieren. Transformationen des Wissens zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter* (forthcoming).

succession of serious famines and consequent epidemics. Michael McCormick has proved that the crop failures and famines that we hear about in our sources on the 820s were actually the result of short-term climate changes, which had in turn been caused by a dramatic increase in volcanic activity.[67] Already for the year 820 the Royal Annals had calamities to report: it had rained incessantly, and on account of the moisture, pestilences raged almost everywhere among humans and livestock. The crops too fell victim to the rain. In many places they could not be harvested at all; even when they were, the grain rotted in the barns. The vines hardly grew. In many regions there was no question of an autumn sowing in the soaked and flooded fields. By next spring there was no grain in the ground.[68] In the following year things did not get any better. The annalists' reports were terrible again: heavy rainfall prevented sowing in autumn, and the winter was once again harsh. Severe frost froze the Rhine, Danube, Elbe and Seine so solid that for thirty days load-bearing carts could traverse them.[69] In some places there was snow on the ground from the end of September through April.[70] Louis's penance at Attigny in 822 brought no improvement: for the year 823 his chaplains reported that an earthquake shook the emperor's palace at Aachen; the centre of power itself had trembled. In Saxony, the clerics of the court noted, no fewer than twenty-three settlements in a single district had all been struck by lightning and burnt down. Then in many places hail storms destroyed the fruit of the fields. Throughout Francia pestilences raged again and claimed countless men and animals.[71] Unusually high numbers of houses, people and animals were rumoured to have been killed by lightning.[72] The winter of 824 was again severe; livestock and humans died from the cold.[73]

At Reichenau the monastic teacher Wetti – who had fallen mortally ill on Saturday 30 October 824 – was taken to the afterlife on the night of 3 November; here he saw, led by an angel, the grisly punishments that all the sinners were suffering. Wetti asked the angel why so many people had fallen prey to disease. It was punishment for the crimes of the sinful world, the angel

[67] M. McCormick, *Karl der Große und die Vulkane. Naturwissenschaften, Klimageschichte und Frühmittelalterforschung* (Saarbrücken, 2008).

[68] *ARF*, *s.a.* 820, p. 154; *AF*, *s.a.* 820, p. 22; much later: *Annales Sithienses*, *s.a.* 820, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SS* 13, 34–8, p. 38.

[69] *ARF*, *s.a.* 821, p. 157.

[70] Hermann von Reichenau, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 822, ed. G. Pertz, *MGH SS* 5, 67–133, p. 102 n. * (= Cod. 4, 4b), certainly drawing on an older source; see B. Simson, *Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reichs unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, Vol. I: *814–830* (Leipzig, 1874), p. 302.

[71] *ARF*, *s.a.* 823, pp. 163–4.

[72] *AF*, *s.a.* 823, p. 23.

[73] *ARF*, *s.a.* 824, p. 164; *AF*, *s.a.* 824, p. 23.

answered; the Lord had 'announced a sign, which by His prediction shows that the end of the world is now soon to come'.[74] The following year was hardly better. Even as late as the autumn of 828 Bishop Frothar of Toul was lamenting to the archchaplain Hilduin: 'The hunger of the previous year' had driven the men who worked his church's land 'into the misery of such great poverty' that they could hardly eke out an existence any more.[75] A few weeks later Louis the Pious also had to speak openly about the 'ongoing hunger' and the 'barrenness of nearly all grains'.[76]

Hunger – as a local or regional phenomenon – was surely ubiquitous in the early Middle Ages. The dramatic news of the 820s, however, indicates that the typical degree of hardship had been exceeded. The harvests clearly lingered far below the necessary levels. Under these conditions, dramatic and far-reaching shortages may have markedly worsened the conflict over property among the emperor, the lay magnates and the churches, because without harvests and incomes it was no longer possible to carry out certain central functions. So we hear, for example, that in 824 Louis had to postpone a campaign he had planned against the Breton leader Wiomarc'h, on account of the famine.[77] But in 827/28 at the very latest – possibly earlier – the rebellion of Aizo in the Spanish March and the attacks of the Bulgars necessitated large military contingents.[78] That even by that time the emperor had acute difficulties in recruiting warriors is evident in no fewer than four different *capitula* of 829, all of which aimed to regulate more precisely how the king's envoys were to determine the strength of the recruitment pool in a given region.[79]

[74] Heito, *Visio Wettini*, c. 25, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Poet. lat.* 2, 267–75, p. 274.

[75] Frothar of Toul, *Ep.* 11, ed. M. Parisse, *La correspondance d'un évêque carolingien. Frothaire de Toul (ca. 813–847) avec les lettres de Theuthild, abbesse de Remiremont* (Paris, 1998), pp. 110–14.

[76] *Epistola generalis*, ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause, *MGH Cap.* 2, 3–5 (long version), p. 4, lines 30–3.

[77] *ARF*, *s.a.* 824, p. 165.

[78] On these events: S. Patzold, *Ich und Karl der Große. Das Leben des Höflings Einhard* (Stuttgart, 2013), pp. 159–60 (with further literature).

[79] *Capitulare pro lege habendum Wormatiense* (*a.* 829), c. 7, ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause, *MGH Cap.* 2, 17–19, p. 19. *Capitula ab episcopis in placito tractanda*, c. 7, ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause, *MGH Cap.* 2, 6–7, p. 7. *Capitulare missorum* (*a.* 829 *initio*), c. 5, p. 10. Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Ripoll 40, fol. 7va: 'Volumus atque iubemus ut missi nostri diligenter inquirant quanti liberi homines in singulis comitatibus maneant qui possunt expeditionem exercitalem facere nobisque per brevem eorum summam inferant. Et qui necdum fidelitatem nobis promiserunt cum sacramento nobis fidelitatem promittere faciatis.' (Likewise: Paris, BnF, lat. 10758, p. 271).

Apparently other services to the king were no longer possible to ascertain adequately either: Frothar had lamented his men's hunger to Hilduin in order to explain why he was unable to carry out the construction work he had been instructed to complete on the imperial palace in Gondreville.[80] The old ecclesiastical legal statement that robbers of church property were *necatores pauperum* (or *necatores egentium*) took on a very concrete sense under such conditions.[81] And maybe in light of the manifest famine it was no coincidence that Agobard of Lyon, in his epistolary treatise about churches' properties, mentioned the want and hunger of the poor several times – and then marshalled them as an argument against the alienation of such properties by greedy lay magnates or even clerics.[82]

Historians like to say that land was the most important economic resource of the early Middle Ages. But actually it was the incomes that could be made from that landed property that were important. Because of the disastrous weather and consequent harvest failures of the 820s, this very resource shrank dramatically – so that the conflict over the land from which incomes could be generated almost unavoidably intensified. In such a situation the rich land that churches held could have especially aroused the desires of magnates (and of the emperor). The discussion about protecting churches' properties that we observe in the 820s may reflect this connection: it would have indeed been necessary to protect churches' holdings in particular ways. The sections of the *Epitome Iuliani* on the question of alienating churches' property, which were known at court, were highly applicable here. And, by making recourse to the law of Justinian, the emperor was also ascribed a special role in – really, over – the *ecclesia*. But this only just touched upon a core problem that very vigorously preoccupied the intellectual elites of the realm in the 820s: the separation of the emperor's and bishops' responsibilities within the *ecclesia*.

The sovereignty of a ruler

To summarise briefly: we have argued that in the 820s an intense debate unfolded about the legal status of churches' properties. This debate, we think, was fuelled on the one hand by crop failures and dramatic famines, which sharpened the conflict over access to landed property. On the other hand, it fitted into the intensifying policy arguments about the God-given duties of the laity, clergy and emperor within the *ecclesia*. In the process, the participants

[80] Frothar, *Ep.* 11, p. 112.

[81] On which M. Moore, 'The ancient Fathers: Christian Antiquity, patristics and Frankish canon law', *Millennium* 7 (2010), 293–342, pp. 321–3.

[82] See above all Agobard, *Ep.* 5, c. 31, p. 179.

in the discussion about the *Epitome Iuliani* went back to the provisions of the Justinianic novels against the alienation of ecclesiastical holdings.

The idea that ecclesiastical property should be treated as inalienable would have an enormous impact on both legal theory and practice. For it shaped the types of transaction that could be used when dealing with church property in a characteristic manner, so that donation, *precaria oblata*, infeudation and exchange dominate our ecclesiastical charter evidence from the early Middle Ages onwards.[83] Equally important was the idea that the ruler had to give his *consensus* to any exchange of church property, which we first encounter in normative texts and charters from Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald. It attests to these rulers' aspirations to define their sovereignty as monarchs by paying respect to the principle of inalienability, but at the same time firmly placing legal transactions of exchange under their control.

Conflicts between rulers and the *ecclesia* from the eleventh century onwards increasingly called this claim into question and refined it in terms of feudal law.[84] As is well known, it was from the twelfth century onwards that the idea of church property as inalienable would form the starting point for a new conception of sovereignty.[85] From then on it could be argued by analogy that secular rulers were sovereign because their patrimony would be regarded as inalienable, too, for only he whose property could be exchanged but not alienated could be truly sovereign.[86] But this is only a long-term perspective – and a single-sided one, too.[87] For the discussion about the nature, legitimacy and

[83] See P. Roth, *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens von den ältesten Zeiten bis ins 10. Jahrhundert* (Erlangen, 1850), pp. 433–7; P. Roth, *Feudalität und Untertanverband* (Weimar, 1863), pp. 147–55, 160–4, 199; and C. Hammer, 'Land sales in eighth- and ninth-century Bavaria: legal, economic and social aspects', *EME* 6 (1997), 47–76, p. 70, who points out that it was usually churches that bought land.

[84] P. Classen, 'Das Wormser Konkordat in der deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte', in J. Fleckenstein (ed.) *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung* (Sigmaringen, 1973), 411–60.

[85] J. Cleary, *Canonical Limitations on the Alienation of Church Property* (Washington, DC, 1936); E. Kantorowicz, 'Inalienability: a note on canonical practice and the English coronation oath in the thirteenth century', *Speculum* 29 (1954), 488–502; P. Riesenberg, *Inalienability of Sovereignty in Medieval Political Thought* (New York, 1956); H. Hoffmann, 'Die Unveräußerlichkeit der Kronrechte im Mittelalter', *DA* 20 (1964), 389–474; C. Strandberg, *Zur Frage des Veräußerungsverbotes im kirchlichen und weltlichen Recht des Mittelalters* (Lund, 1967).

[86] Kantorowicz, 'Inalienability'; Riesenberg, *Inalienability of Sovereignty*.

[87] For a different concept of sovereignty, referring to the *consensus* of ecclesiastical communities as indispensable for any exchange of ecclesiastical property, see T. Frank, 'Korporationslehre und Souveränität bei Bodin und Althusius', in T. Frank, A. Koschorke, S. Lüdemann and E. Matala de Mazza, *Der fiktive Staat.*

sovereignty of the modern State can only be fully understood with what had been conceived under the East Roman Emperor Justinian and first intensively discussed in the West in the reign of Louis the Pious. When viewed from a Carolingian perspective, however, any debate about sovereignty was, like so many other great debates of this vibrant period, not simply about who was taking the lead but equally also about a ruler's responsibility and about his ability to meet the expectations of the Christian people.[88]

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank Jamie Kreiner for translating this contribution into English.

Konstruktionen des politischen Körpers in der Geschichte Europas (Frankfurt am Main, 2007), 93–102.

[88] M. de Jong, 'Admonition at the court of Louis the Pious', in R. Le Jan, F. Bougard and R. McKitterick (eds), *La culture du haut Moyen Âge. Une question des élites?* (Turnhout, 2009), 315–340; M. de Jong, 'The State of the Church'; R. Kramer, 'Great expectations: imperial ideologies and ecclesiastical reforms from Charlemagne to Louis the Pious (813–822)' (Ph.D. dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin, 2014).

22

Incest, penance and a murdered bishop: the legend of Frederic of Utrecht

Bram van den Hoven van Genderen

The title of this contribution refers to the early-eleventh-century *Passio Friderici*.[1] In this saint's life bishop Frederic of Utrecht (*fl. c.* 822/26–34) is murdered by a couple of minions of Empress Judith, wife of Emperor Louis the Pious, out of revenge for the bishop's accusations of incest and adultery against her. Moreover, incest was involved in a double sense. Judith's presumed lover, Count Bernard of Septimania, was, according to the *Passio*, also the emperor's godson: family, therefore.[2] Bishop Frederic had, according to the *Passio*, acted as the most resolved and stubborn opponent to Judith's and Louis's marriage in the first place, because as cousins they were related to each other.[3] Moreover, in the *Passio* itself, Frederic is active as a preacher, summoning a synod on the island of Walcheren (Zeeland), threatening obdurate sinners with excommunication,

[1] *Passio Friderici episcopi Traiectensis auctore Odberto*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH SS* 15:1, 342–56.

[2] According to Thegan, Bernard was the godson of Charlemagne. For this complicated relation and genealogies of Bernard and his relatives: C. Bouchard, *Those of My Blood. Creating Noble Families in Medieval Francia* (Philadelphia, 2011), pp. 183–8.

[3] *Passio Friderici*, p. 345. For the changing ideas on incest and its definitions in general: M. de Jong, 'To the limits of kinship: anti-incest legislation in the early medieval West (500–900)', in J. Bremmer (ed.), *From Sappho to De Sade. Moments in the History of Sexuality* (London/New York, 1989) 36–59; M. de Jong, 'An unsolved riddle: early medieval incest legislation', in I. Wood (ed.), *The Franks and Alamanni in the Merovingian Period. An Ethnographic Perspective* (Woodbridge, 1998), 107–40; K. Ubl, 'Doppelmoral im karolingischen Kirchenrecht? Ehe und Inzest bei Regino von Prüm', in W. Hartmann and A. Grabowsky (eds), *Recht und Gericht in Kirche und Welt um 900* (Munich, 2007), 91–124, pp. 108–19; K. Ubl, *Inzestverbot und Gesetzgebung. Die Konstruktion eines Verbrechens (300–1100)* (Berlin/New York, 2008), *passim*. In detail on Judith and the word *neptis*: P. Corbet, 'Interdits de parenté, hagiographie et politique. La *passio Friderici episcopi Traiectensis* (ca. 1024)', *Ius Commune. Zeitschrift für Europäische Rechtsgeschichte* 23 (1996), 1–97, pp. 31–4.

and giving penance to the contrite, after the islanders swear to end their incestuous marriages. Ironically, he was earlier spurred on to do so by the emperor, who tried to divert Frederic's mettle away from his own dubious marriage, begging him to take care of the souls 'of the ferocious sea people', the inhabitants of Walcheren, who had married their nieces, sisters and mothers.[4]

To make matters more intriguing, Bishop Frederic also plays a part in a miracle story of his assistant, St Odulphus, although in a very different capacity. Frederic is saved from committing a mortal sin by Odulphus, who prevents the bishop from celebrating Easter Mass after fornicating with his sister, a nun, earlier on Easter Eve. After ten years of exile, apparently a proper penance for such an act of incest, Frederic was redeemed through the Grace of the Holy Spirit, and reinstated as bishop, attaining sainthood.[5]

In what follows, I shall focus on the question of how and why the author of Frederic's Life made such a use of the Carolingian past – in this instance the presumed marital problems of Louis the Pious and the ensuing rebellion of his sons – in Utrecht just after the year 1000.[6] After presenting the views of Patrick Corbet on the *Passio* and shedding more light on its date and place of origin, I shall continue with a discussion of its key miracle. The formation and consolidation of a bishopric, and the changing position of its oldest institutions, are important elements here.[7] A clear continuation will be shown of Carolingian

[4] *Passio Friderici*, p. 347: 'salus ferocium, suppliciter rogo, maritimarum gentium'; p. 349.

[5] M. van Buijtenen, *Langs de heiligenweg. Perspectief van enige vroeg-middeleeuwse verbindingen met Noord-Nederland* (Amsterdam, 1977), pp. 139–40, edited after *Chronicon abbatiae de Evesham ad annum 1418*, ed. W. Dunn Macay, Rerum Brittanicarum medii aevi scriptores 29 (London, 1863), pp. 315–17.

[6] For the historical context of Louis's troubles: E. Ward, 'Caesar's wife: the career of the Empress Judith, 819–829', in P. Godman and R. Collins (eds), *Charlemagne's Heir. New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)* (Oxford, 1990), 205–27; C. Booker, *Past Convictions: The Penance of Louis the Pious and the Decline of the Carolingians* (Philadelphia, 2009), Chapter 1; G. Bührer-Thierry, 'La reine adultère', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 35 (1992), 299–312; A. Koch, *Kaiserin Judith. Eine politische Biographie* (Husum, 2005); S. Patzold, *Episcopus. Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankenreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts, Mittelalter-Forschungen 25* (Ostfildern, 2008), pp. 185–98; M. de Jong, 'Bride shows revisited: praise, slander and exegesis in the reign of the empress Judith', in L. Brubaker and J. Smith (eds), *Gender in the Early Medieval World. East and West, 300–900* (Cambridge, 2004), 257–77; and especially M. de Jong, *The Penitential State. Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge, 2009), *passim*. In the *Passio* Judith has the classical role of Jezebel.

[7] See S. Haarländer, *'Vitae episcoporum'. Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum*

reform ideas in the duties of bishops. Finally, discussion will focus on the role of Bishop Adelbold and on the function of the *Passio* in the education of young Utrecht clerics.

The *Passio Friderici* is a fairly long – twelve pages in the densely printed folio *MGH* edition – detailed and rich, though 'abstract', life of a saint, probably the most remarkable example of hagiography from the episcopal town of Utrecht.[8] Nevertheless it has received scant attention.[9] One of the reasons for its neglect was uncertainty about the date of origin of the Life. According to the metric prologue it was written by the 'young boy Odbertus', still 'an unlearned boy of only ten years old', during the episcopate of Bishop Adelbold of Utrecht (1010–26).[10] Moreover, the content of the *Passio Friderici* was considered more than useless, thus angering the respectable *MGH* editor, Oswald Holder-Egger. Most offensive to positivist historians was the abuse the author made of two of his sources, Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle*, and Thegan's Life of Louis the Pious, rendering all its contents and information about 'real' ninth-century history of the empire to naught. Worthless maybe for the history of Louis the Pious and his troubles, but not for an investigation into the uses a clever medieval author can make of the Carolingian past.

Back to the front

In a groundbreaking and authorative article Patrick Corbet reintroduced the text to the world of learning, and presented it as one of the core texts in the

Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 21–2, for the interesting question of why some bishops get a *vita* and others do not.

[8] One easily understands why the *Passio* was edited and heavily abridged in the later Middle Ages. For all the manuscripts, editions and literature, see the site of *Narrative Sources*: www.narrative-sources.be; M. Carasso-Kok, 'Le diocèse d'Utrecht, 900–1200', in G. Philippart (ed.), *Hagiographies. Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, Vol. II (Turnhout, 1996), 373–411, pp. 378–9, 392–4.

[9] The exception being Corbet, 'Interdits de parenté'. Booker, *Past Convictions*, pp. 73–8 summarises the Life extensively but without adding much new information.

[10] *Passio Friderici*, p. 344, lines 1 and 28: 'Parvulus Odbertus dum veni, nempe puellus', and 'decennis et puer indoctus'. The last quotation could perhaps better be interpreted as 'in his teens' instead of ten years old. This solution has been suggested previously by G. Cuper, the editor of the *Acta Sanctorum*, July, Vol. IV, col. 458C. In his interpretation, Odbert came as a boy of ten years old to Utrecht, in the company of the new bishop, Adelbold. After completing his education he wrote his Life of the saint, at maybe fifteen or sixteen years of age. The word *decennis* was chosen for a better metrical rhythm.

intriguing debates on marriages of rulers and shifting ideas on incest in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[11] In his lengthy contribution Corbet meticulously unravels the *Passio Friderici*. He is able to show how all the ideas in it, just as the phraseology, are perfectly compatible with a date of origin in the first half of the eleventh century. Moreover, he suggests the Life was written with a particular politico-religious event in mind: the succession of Conrad II, the first emperor of the Salian dynasty, to the throne (1024), and his coronation with his wife Gisela. During this succession crisis lingering discord about the presumed illicit marriage of the new emperor – he had married his own niece – broke into the open. According to Corbet, Bishop Adelbold of Utrecht was heavily involved in these troubles and debates. Adelbold was the last opponent to make his peace with the emperor. He almost immediately received four important imperial donations to his bishopric – all, ironically, on the explicit intercession of Empress Gisela.[12] As we will see, Adelbold had all the qualifications and connections necessary to involve him in this complicated political affair, making him a possible patron for the *Passio Friderici*. Furthermore, Corbet argued that the *Passio Friderici* is a rich, carefully crafted and learned work, in contrast to earlier assumptions that it is a meagre rag-bag.

The murder of a bishop

The Life has a clear exposition and layout. After the prologue it tells of the origins of the saint, his youth and arrival in Utrecht during the reign of another saintly bishop, Ricfrid. Imbued with proper learning and a comparable attitude, Frederic follows the clerical *cursus* of minor orders, subdiaconate and diaconate, to be finally ordained priest by St Ricfrid. The next chapter tells of the death of Ricfrid, and how Louis brings his wife Judith over to the Rhine region to be consecrated, because he does not want her to stay in Gaul any longer for fear of possible excommunication by the bishops there. *Clerus et populus* in Utrecht desire Frederic as their new bishop. Immediately Louis orders 'the seniors of the holy Church of Utrecht' to acclaim him. Indeed, against all Frederic's protestations of shortcomings the 'people' voice their agreement, 'knowing no one worthier'.[13] Only after more protestations and

[11] Corbet, 'Interdits de parenté', *passim*; a summary of some of it is contained in P. Corbet, *Autour de Burchard de Worms. L'Église allemande et les interdits de parenté (IXème–XIIème siècle)* (Frankfurt am Main, 2001), pp. 128–37.

[12] Corbet, 'Interdits de parenté', pp. 79–80; S. Muller, Fz. and A. Bouman (eds), *Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht*, Vol. I (Utrecht, 1920), nos 180–4: all four also on the intervention of Archbishop Haribo of Mainz, another protagonist in the quarrel.

[13] *Passio Friderici*, pp. 345–6.

after being called in person to Louis does Frederic accept the episcopal staff from the emperor, but not after having begged, prostrate and in tears, that the emperor pick a holier man, offering Louis all his worldly possessions.

Then the story really gets apace. Immediately after Frederic's consecration and the festive meal offered by Louis – of course Frederic's attention is all on a spiritual meal with the Lord – the emperor starts worrying about possible criticism of his marriage by Frederic. He tries to send Frederic to Walcheren to combat incest there, and promptly gets a reply in the form of two rhetorical questions: 'whether it is more correct to start eating a fish by the head or the tail' and 'whether it is more correct to build a wall high up first and then to lay the foundations'.[14] Frederic then admonishes Lòuis sternly on his marriage and its dire consequences. The emperor, flushed and in tears, promises to amend himself. After his arrival and enthronement in Utrecht, Frederic fulfils all duties expected of a bishop. Indeed, he goes off to Walcheren and succesfully corrects the incestuous ways of its inhabitants. Anxious about Frederic's successes – and the threat to his own marriage – the emperor unsuccessfully tries to buy him off. The following scenes, reporting on the failed seduction of Bernard by Judith (in the roles of Potiphar's wife and Joseph), and the failed ordeal of Bernard – no one dares to compete with him – are taken from Thegan's Life of Louis. Meanwhile, Frederic and his assistant St Odulphus go to Frisia to combat a Trinitarian heresy. Afterwards Frederic prophesies how the Bretons will rise to rebellion and invade Francia, since the emperor has erred from the path 'because of a woman' and has neglected the Law. And so it happens. With Judith's seduction of Bernard now a success, Louis's sons and the bishops react, setting the well-known events of 830–33 in motion. Judith's hate is targeted at the bishops, but especially at Frederic, being foremost in zeal among them, 'always more than the others.'[15] Frederic announces to Louis that he will excommunicate him 'because his heart was hardened' (like the Pharaoh's in Ex. 7.14 and 9.33).

An irate Judith, promising rich rewards, orders her faithful to murder Frederic, provided they act in secret, avoiding suspicion. Two proud and greedy young men comply. Frederic, prescient of his fate, is more than cooperative (but only after having celebrated Mass first), joining the murderers in 'the Chapel of St John the Evangelist', where his sarcophagus already stands, ordering them to do 'their thing' and securing their escape.[16] Only then does he raise the alarm. Dying, the bishop prophesies an incursion of the Danes and a depopulation of the area 'because of our crime, the emperor having resided often with us'.[17] Blessing clergy and people, Frederic steps into his

[14] *Passio Friderici*, p. 347: 'an rectius sit ad caput vel ad caudam mandicando incipere piscem, aut primum in altum ducere murum et postea collocare fundamentum'.

[15] *Passio Friderici*, p. 352: 'et nil quod iustum fuerat reticuit … semper plus ceteris'.

[16] *Passio Friderici*, p. 353.

[17] *Passio Friderici*, p. 354: 'ob scelus nostrum, quia saepius mansit nobiscum'.

sarcophagus, while singing the Rites of the Dead (the *Placebo*), only to expire shortly thereafter.

Indeed, the same year Norsemen invade, burning Dorestat and 'its fifty-five churches' and enslaving a lot of people, to return later on to take Utrecht itself, 'sparing no one, leaving not a man to piss against the wall'.[18] The *Passio* proper ends here, in desolation, 'with the land and city destroyed', until the pious Bishop Baldric starts the reconstruction.[19] In the next chapter Louis, afraid of his sons and of the bishops wishing to anathematise him, swears his and the empress's innocence in all this. He dies suddenly, 'a perjurer and homicide', 'having shown to all how he was only called Pious in name but not in his actions'.[20] The hagiographer, however, fails to give any details on the fate of Judith.

After this coda to the *Passio* a final chapter follows: a long and complicated story of a miracle by St Frederic that baffled most historians by its presumed banality. Several witnesses of both sexes told the hagiographer Odbertus how, during the episcopate of Baldric (917–75), the subordinated helper of the treasurer of the church stole Mass offerings and candles and spent the proceeds on his lusts.[21] Often he entered the sacristy at night drunk, and slept

[18] *Passio Friderici*, p. 354: 'alicui non pepercerunt nec reliquerunt mingentem ad parietem'. For the Vikings and Utrecht: K. van Vliet, 'Traiecti muros heu! The Bishop of Utrecht during and after the Viking invasions of Frisia (834–925)', in R. Simek and U. Engel (eds), *Vikings on the Rhine. Recent Research on Early Medieval Relations between the Rhinelands and Scandinavia* (Vienna, 2004), 133–54; and L. van der Tuuk, 'Gingen de Utrechtse bisschoppen Hunger, Odilbald en Radbod vanwege de Noormannen in ballingschap?', *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht* (2003), 33–66. Just before the writing of the *Passio*, Utrecht had experienced a last Viking incursion (1007): Alpertus of Metz, *Gebeurtenissen van deze tijd & Een fragment over bisschop Diederik I van Metz*, ed. and trans. H. van Rij (Amsterdam, 1980), pp. 18–22.

[19] *Passio Friderici*, p. 354: 'fugatis de rure populis, pagus et urbs staret destructa'.

[20] *Passio Friderici*, p. 354: 'Imperator ergo periurus et homicida … subito gravatus est morbo'; 'monstratum est populis omnibus, quamvis diceretur Pius, qualis in suis fuerat actibus'. For the creative re-writing of Louis's history: C. Booker, 'Histrionic history, demanding drama: the Penance of Louis the Pious in 833, memory, and emplotment', in H. Reimitz and B. Zeller (eds), *Vergangenheit und Vergegenwärtigung. Frühes Mittelalter und europäische Erinnerungskultur* (Vienna, 2009), 103–27, pp. 114–15; and Booker, *Past Convictions*, Chapter 2.

[21] He is called a 'virum profanum' first, but this labelling has more to do with his moral attitude. Frederic addresses him as 'frater', a clear indication of clerical status. His 'dominus' is the 'aedituus' of the church. This last one can be interpreted as the canon-*custos*, identifiable with the later treasurer of a chapter. His assistant would then be the bell-ringer-annex-subordinated sacristan. In the later inscription on the tomb of Frederic the last function is mentioned several times.

under the Mass ornaments on a bed near the tomb of St Frederic, 'befouling the graves of the saints by pissing and emptying his bowels so that everyone who wished to pray there shunned to approach'. One night Frederic, followed by two other saintly bishops, hit him in the chest with his episcopal staff, warning him, ordering him to respect the sacristy and no longer to sleep in it. Fearful at first, the sacristan dismissed it during the day as phantasmagoria. A second apparition came to no avail either. What happened the third time is unknown, but clerics who broke down the door at the break of dawn – because no one had tolled the bells for Lauds – found the room fouled by urine and excrement, and the sacristan and his bed consumed by a sulphurous fire.[22] After that no one tried to sleep in the sacristy, the new sacristan placing his bed in front of the door, the inner room protected by locks. The *Passio* ends in happier tones, with prayers and felicitations: 'O, how happy is the man, whose mind is on this saint', and 'O, city of Utrecht, happier and holier than most', day and night granted 'manly' protection by the martyr Frederic, 'girded with a divine sword'.[23]

More on the date and the context of the *Vita* and the miracle

This odd miracle at the end of the Life can give us some clues to the dating of the *Passio* and its context. The veneration of Frederic is a relatively late appearance in Utrecht: last in line of the martyrs, intercessors and venerable bishops who were presented as the founding fathers of the bishopric. The first time he is mentioned as a saint is in the *Vita Odulphi*, dating from the time of Bishop Baldric (917–75), though in a somewhat secondary position.[24] The same, slightly subordinated position can be found in Utrecht's liturgical sources. His name is still missing in the oldest, tenth-century Sacramentary of Bishop Baldric (post-965), containing masses for the Utrecht saints Willibrord, Boniface, Lebuin and Odulphus. The same holds true for the litanies in the Psalter of Wolbodo (end of the tenth century) where Sts Martin,

[22] *Passio Friderici*, p. 355: 'et sacrarium mictu et caccatu eius foedatum'.

[23] *Passio Friderici* , pp. 355–6: 'O quam felix est homo, cui sanctus iste est in animo … O civitas Traiectensis, tu felicior et sanctior multis … divino circumcincto gladio, nocte et die viriliter te non desinit defendere'.

[24] Neither he nor his archdeacons could combat the lapse into heresy of 'the ferocious men', the Frisians, and needed the help of Odulphus to succeed; *Vita Odulphi*, *PL* 133, cols 857–62, at 859: 'Erat per id tempus Trajecti episcopus eximia sanctitate, Fredericus nomine.' This idea of sanctity could have been derived from the letter (826–29?) Hrabanus Maurus sent to Frederic mentioning *plures qui sanctitatem tuam noverunt … Unde plurimi fratrum venerationem tuam colunt atque colendo diligunt*; Muller and Bouman, *Oorkondenboek*, p. 64.

Willibrord, Liudger, Lebuin, Werenfridus, Odulphus and Radbod are called upon. Wolbodo was bishop of Liège (1018–21) but before that he had been *scolasticus* and provost of Utrecht Cathedral. Frederic appears on the festival Calendar in the 1130s at the latest.[25]

Thus, at best the veneration of Frederic started (hesitantly though) in the second half of the tenth century, as an addition to an earlier veneration of Odulphus. The latter had a far wider dissemination too, reaching from England to Erfurt, Quedlinburg and Magdeburg, and from Flanders to Frisia.[26] Frederic's veneration is centred in Utrecht and its bishopric, and in England, as we shall see.

Odbertus recalls in the prologue of his *Passio Friderici* how, upon his arrival in Utrecht, he was guided by 'a senior' inside the walls of the 'Old Temple' to pray. This elder or senior cleric led him to the tomb of the 'great saint Frederic', and weepingly narrated for him the saint's life, based on recollections of the elderly clerics.[27] Frederic's enthronement took place, according to the Life, inside the Church of Our Lady, where the martyr St Boniface and his companions lay buried. His murder took place inside the sacristy dedicated to St John, while he ordered a chaplain accompanying him to leave the chapel 'to go' behind the altar of the Saviour.[28] In the miracle story the sacristan procures all the treasury of the 'Old Temple' and the 'Old Minster', sleeping in the sacristy of St John, while the saints appearing to him are Frederic, Alfric and Liudger.[29]

In fact both saints, Odulphus and Frederic, later had their tombs in the crypt of St Saviour in Utrecht, together with other minor saints and bishops like Ricfrid, Alfric and Liudger. In the later Middle Ages especially they were

[25] P. Séjourné (ed.), *Ordinarius S. Martini Trajectensis* (Utrecht, 1919–21), pp. 36–7, 73, 109 and 141–7. The scrambled-up edition of Pamelius probably used the now lost Sacramentary of Oudmunster in Utrecht; E. A. Overgaauw, 'Saints in medieval calenders from the diocese of Utrecht as clues for the localization of manuscripts', *Codices manuscripti* 16 (1992), 81–97, pp. 83–7 and 91–3; B. van den Hoven van Genderen, *De heren van de kerk. De kanunniken van Oudmunster te Utrecht in de late middeleeuwen* (Zutphen, 1997), pp. 548–9; K. van Vliet, *In kringen van kanunniken. Munsters en kapittels in het bisdom Utrecht 695–1227* (Zutphen, 2002), pp. 441–2; M. Coens, 'Anciennes litanies des saints', *Recueil d'études Bollandiennes* (Brussels, 1963), 131–324, pp. 221–5.

[26] Van Buijtenen, *Langs de heiligenweg*, pp. 82–90. Carasso-Kok, 'Diocèse d'Utrecht', p. 392.

[27] *Passio Friderici*, p. 344: 'Sum mox antiqui ductus per moenia templi' – an older, elaborate life having been burnt by Vikings.

[28] *Passio Friderici*, p. 348: 'infra sanctum templum beatae virginis atque genetricis Dei Mariae'; p. 353: 'sacrarium sancti Iohannis evangelistae … retro altare sancti Salvatoris ambulare'.

[29] *Passio Friderici*, pp. 354–5: 'in venerabili monasterio'; 'veteris templi'.

venerated there as a kind of companion 'house' to saints of the church.[30] The collegiate Church of St Saviour was presented by its canons as the church of Willibrord and Boniface, as the origin of the bishopric of Utrecht. It was dedicated to the Saviour; Mary; and maybe also to Peter, Paul, John and All Saints.[31] Just four times this church is designated by its dedication to Our Lady alone: in three charters with important donations – by emperor Otto (944) and Bishop Ansfried (995–1010) – and in the *Passio Friderici*. Between around 1027/40 and the last quarter of the twelfth century the church is named after the Saviour but more often after St Boniface. 'Oudmunster', or Old Minster, was often used in the vernacular, recorded for the first time in 1108. However, an 'Old Minster' or 'Old Temple' only makes sense if a 'New Minster' is at hand. Exactly that was the case with the new cathedral of Bishop Adelbold, dedicated in 1023. In the *Miracula sanctae Walburgis*, written in 1022/23 and dedicated to the same bishop, the *novum monasterium* of Adelbold is mentioned for the first time.[32] Moreover, in the later Middle Ages the Romanesque Church of St Saviour or Oldminster in Utrecht had a 'small chapel' in the crypt, to the right of Frederic's tomb, dedicated to St John the Evangelist, just as the *Passio* records.[33]

Therefore, we can be sure that Odbertus was associated with, or wrote for, the collegiate Church of St Saviour or Oldminster in Utrecht, and not, as

[30] Van den Hoven van Genderen, *Heren*, pp. 546–85. It is no coincidence that one of the manuscripts Holder-Egger used for his edition continues with the *Vita Odulphi*. For Odulphus see also A.-J. Bijsterveld, 'Odrada, Oda, Odulfus: de drie middeleeuwse heiligen van Noord-Brabant', in A-J. Bijsterveld and J. Goris (eds), *Heiligen in de Kempen* (Turnhout, 2001), 9–31.

[31] For the complicated issue of these last patron saints see Van Vliet, *In kringen*, pp. 89–91, and 237–8 for a possible dedication to the Holy Cross; C. Broer, *Uniek in de stad. De oudste geschiedenis van de kloostergemeenschap op de Hohorst bij Amersfoort, sinds 1050 de Sint-Paulusabdij in Utrecht: haar plaats binnen de Utrechtse kerk en de ontwikkeling van haar goederenbezit (ca. 1000–ca. 1200)* (Utrecht, 2000) correctly supposes a juxtapostion of the Holy Cross and the Saviour.

[32] Van den Hoven van Genderen, *Heren*, pp. 38–42 and 158–60. However, Utrecht itself was earlier called a *civitas antiqua* (Liudger's *Vita Gregorii*); a reflection of this can be found in *Veteris Traiecti ecclesie episcopus* in one of the four donations of Conrad II to Adelbold: Muller and Bouman, *Oorkondenboek*, p. 171.

[33] *Passio Friderici*, pp. 515–18. For the architectural history of the church, and a fairly hypothetical reconstruction of a possible renewal of the church by Bishop Ansfrid (995–1010): R. Stöver, *De Salvator- of Oudmunsterkerk te Utrecht. Stichtingsmonument van het bisdom Utrecht* (Utrecht, 1997), pp. 93–105. The later situation of the crypt probably differs from the older 'eastern annex', originally used for the burial of saints and bishops (Stöver, *De Salvator- of Oudmunsterkerk*, pp. 55–65).

suggested by Corbet, for Adelbold and the cathedral – and certainly not with the cathedral only, as Holder-Egger thought. Booker's idea of a 'monk' and a dedication to Adelbold is even further from the mark.[34] There is no reason to doubt Odbert's assertion that he wrote during the episcopate of Adelbold (1010–26). The rare use of a dedication to Our Lady to designate this church points to a time of origin not much later than 1010. The repeated use of words like 'Old Temple' and 'Oldminster' reveals that the work cannot have been written much earlier than 1017, when the building of the new cathedral started. All in all, a date of around 1020–25 would fit nicely. Corbet could be right therefore with his hypothesis of *c.* 1025 and the close connection of the *Passio* with the disputed consecration of the new empress in 1024. However, there is more at hand in the *Passio* than incest and a marriage only.

A filthy miracle and more incest

The *Passio Friderici* is remarkably sparse in relating miracles. Frederic prophesies two political disasters, both of them a punishment for breaking God's Law.[35] He is prescient of his own death and he is able to tie up his wounds 'to prevent his blood and intestines spilling out' in order to console the people and pray for them.[36] The other miracle is his repeated appearance to, and his admonitions and punishment of, the sacristan.[37] Basically, this is a story about a transgression of the Law too: theft and misuse of altar offerings, abuse of Mass ornaments, transgression of every moral code, and a profanation of sacral space. The author is quite clear about this, writing about 'sacrilege and pollution of holy graves' and the need for the saintly order 'to purge the space'.[38] Pollution is one of the key words in the *Passio* anyway. Of course, it is

[34] Booker, *Past Convictions*, pp. 73, 77.

[35] For the crucial connotation of the Divine Law in this text: Corbet, 'Interdits de parenté', pp. 47–9. A key passage is the culmination of Frederic's martyrdom: 'cuius pro lege hodie sanguis meus fusus est in terram': *Passio Friderici*, p. 353.

[36] *Passio Friderici*, p. 353: 'ne sanguis et intranea exirent vulnera restrinxit'.

[37] For appearances and visions, especially from Utrecht sources: W. van Egmond, 'Saintly images: visions of saints in hagiographical texts', in M. Hageman and M. Mostert (eds), *Reading Images and Texts. Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication* (Turnhout, 2005), 221–37, pp. 224–6 and 233–5, on the favourite 'triple dream', also found in the somewhat earlier Utrecht *Translatio Agnetis et Benignini*. The saintly character of Frederic's appearance is clear from his brilliance 'like a radiating sun in the sky'.

[38] *Passio Friderici*, p. 355: 'sacrilegium'; 'sacrilegio sacrarorumque pollutione tumulorum'; 'caeleste nostrum transgressus es praeceptum et ammonitionem'; 'purga et locum'.

underlined by the repeated mention of vomit, urine and excrement, all of them signs of fatal disorder near sacred objects – the 'sulphurous fire' a true sign of the devil.[39]

This type of miracle story seems to be rare. Of course, there are (folk)stories about vigils and the temptations and challenges of the night. There are also many stories about monasteries and monks, visited and haunted by spirits and demons at night. Take for instance the *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium* from the end of the eleventh century, where young warriors abuse altarcloths and tapestries to screen a corridor, to eat and drink there without restraint.[40] A combination of both, however – nightly abuse in church and an appearance of saints – I have not come across so far.

Two explanations as to why such a miracle fitted the end of the *Passio* might be given. One is directly centred on the collegiate Church of St Saviour. The miracle is explicitly given a wide audience by bringing the smoking body of the culprit outside the *castrum* to bury him there. It was 'exhibited to the people', to show how much St Frederic and his successors had been sinned against.[41] This miracle was written down at the time of a grand re-ordering of ecclesiastical Utrecht. In the second half of the tenth century Bishop Baldric elevated the status of the Church of St Martin, making it the sole cathedral church of Utrecht, and the new burial church of Utrecht bishops. Before then, most of them had been buried in the 'old' Church of St Saviour.[42] In the first decades of the eleventh century St Martin and St Saviour lost their parochial function in the episcopal city to a new church dedicated to St Mary. Properties were

[39] *Passio Friderici*: 'quia mansit in eo dyabolus'.

[40] Rodolfus Trudonensis, *Rodolfi Trudonensis Gesta abbatum Trudonensium*, cc. 3.4 and 3.9–10, ed. P. Tombeur (Turnhout, 2013). For instance, the stories in J. Verdon, *La nuit au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1995), pp. 67–75 and 221–46. For a very remarkable one, of a priest in a recently (*c.* 950–75) restored church in Deventer burnt to death by the ghosts of the dead while sleeping in his church, notwithstanding the protection of relics and holy water, see Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, ed. R. Holtzman, trans. W. Trillmich (Darmstadt, 1985), p. 16 (because the night belonged to the dead); see also M. de Jong, '"Volk" en geloof in vroegmiddeleeuwse teksten', in G. Rooijakkers and T. van der Zee (eds), *Religieuze volkscultuur. De spanning tussen de voorgeschreven orde en de geleefde praktijk* (Nijmegen, 1986), 16–35, pp. 30–4.

[41] *Passio Friderici*, p. 355: 'advocantes omnem pagum ad videndum tale factum, extra castrum gerebant eum sepeliendum … et est populis demonstratum, quale et quam magnum contra sanctum Fredericum eiusque successores egisset peccatum'. The burial outside the wall of the episcopal *castrum* once again points to a date for the *Passio* before 1100.

[42] A. de Groot, *De Dom van Utrecht in de zestiende eeuw. Inrichting, decoratie en gebruik van de katholieke kathedraal* (Utrecht, 2011), pp. 114–17.

divided and newly organised. Bishop Ansfried founded the first Benedictine monastery – dedicated to St Saviour, Our Lady, and Sts Peter and Paul – belonging to the episcopal *familia*, or 'group', of churches. Both he and his successor Adelbold had a reputation for severity, living or aspiring to live the life of a monk. Possibly this new monastery was split off from the community of St Saviour. Lotty Broer views the community of St Saviour as a kind of episcopal *Eigenkirche*, with, up to the year 1000, a monastic component. Finally, the old community between the chapters of St Saviour in Utrecht and St Lebuin in Deventer was split.[43]

In the later Middle Ages the chapter of St Saviour had a carefully constructed identity as the oldest church of the bishopric, the original church of Willibrord and Boniface, and of the other saints and bishops to whom the christianisation of the bishopric was owed.[44] With relics of both saints, of the famous Abbot Gregory of Utrecht, and of Odulphus and Frederic, an elegant list of Utrecht martyrs and *confessores* was presented, with the first martyrs of the diocese and the important first leaders of the Christian community in Utrecht, all teachers and impeccable priests. It is no coincidence that in the *Vita tertia* of St Boniface, written at the same time in Utrecht as the *Passio Friderici*, the martyrdom of Boniface and his companions was emphasised. More so, it expressively states their burial in Utrecht's St Saviour, without any reference to a translation to Fulda.[45]

In the milieu of St Saviour Odulphus was cast as the perfect priest. In his *Vita*, dating from the middle of the tenth century, he is presented as the perfect preacher and minister, the *Pater monasterii*.[46] Against the background of

[43] Alpertus, *Gebeurtenissen*, pp. 24 and 28–32; Van Vliet, *In kringen*, pp. 239–48. Van den Hoven van Genderen, *Heren*, pp. 38–44. Broer, *Uniek in de stad*, pp. 76–97. Broer combines this with the introduction of the Rules of Aachen in both Cathedral and St Saviour.

[44] Van den Hoven van Genderen, *Heren*, pp. 534–85; W. van Egmond, 'Éloge ou légitimation politique? Les prophéties sur l'évêque Baldéric d'Utrecht (917–975) dans la "Vita Radbodi"', in M. Derwich and M. Dmitriev (eds), *Fonctions sociales et politiques du culte des saints dans les sociétés de rite grec et latin au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne. Approche comparative* (Wrocław, 1999), 43–52, p. 50.

[45] P. Kehl, *Kult und Nachleben des heiligen Bonifatius im Mittelalter (754–1200)* (Fulda, 1993), pp. 144–9. Instead of St Saviour the Holy Trinity is mentioned, possibly as a synonym. Stöver, *De Salvator- of Oudmunsterkerk*, p. 129; and Van Vliet, *In kringen*, pp. 238–9, both with a possible date of *c.* 1020s–1030s.

[46] *Vita Odulphi*, cols 859–60. J. van Winter, 'The first centuries of the episcopal see at Utrecht', in E. de Bièvre (ed.), *Utrecht, Britain and the Continent. Archaeology, Art and Architecture* (Leeds, 1996), 22–9, p. 23, calls him 'the conscience of the Utrecht church'.

the profound changes at the beginning of the eleventh century Frederic was added, cast as the perfect bishop. He and Odulphus were presented as a team of blameless and exemplary pastors.

Before presenting the second ground for incorporating this type of a miracle, another story needs to be tackled: the strange case of Frederic himself, saved from committing a mortal sin by St Odulphus.[47] The type of a sinning bishop seems to have been more widely disseminated in literary texts. In Notker's *Gesta Karoli* (884–87) a bishop 'of incomparable sanctity' is presented, who, after the first vespers of Easter and a night of drinking, was seduced by a beautiful woman. When he started the *Angelus* the next day, Easter morning, he fell dumb, put his episcopal garments on the altar and confessed publicly. After a flood of tears for over three hours and the constant prayers and support of his flock, God showed mercy on him because of his 'example of true penance'.[48]

The incestuous relation of Frederic with his sister does not form part of the Utrecht tradition of his life. It can be found in sources of the English Abbey of Evesham near Worcester. Abbot Ælfweard, also bishop of London, was able, in around 1034, to buy relics of Odulphus in London from merchants, for a price of 100 marks. These relics had, in a kind of *furta sacra*, been abducted and smuggled from the church of Staveren in Frisia.[49] The tale of Frederic's incest forms the start of Odulphus's miracles in the Evesham tradition (recorded *c.* 1125). It shows a Frisian angle, from the viewpoint of Staveren, and probably presents an older, independent tradition stemming from the time before Frederic became honoured as an Utrecht saint, although

[47] For the connection among sex, the penitentials and sacral periods such as Easter: R. Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600–1200* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 152–4 with the literature cited there; and M. de Jong, 'Pollution, penance and sanctity: Ekkehard's *Life* of Iso of St Gall', in J. Hill and M. Swan (eds), *The Community, the Family and the Saint. Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 1998), 145–58.

[48] '[I]n exemplo verae poenitentiae': Notker the Stammerer, *Gesta Karoli magni imperatoris*, c. 22, ed. H. Haefele, *MGH SRG* 12, pp. 29–31. See also Notker, *Gesta Karoli*, c. 25, p. 33–4; and M. de Jong, 'De boetedoening van Iso's ouders: kanttekeningen bij een verhaal uit Ekkehards *Casus sancti Galli*', in C. Cappon *et al.* (eds), *Ad fontes. Opstellen aangeboden aan prof. dr. C. van de Kieft ter gelegenheid van zijn afscheid* (Amsterdam, 1984), 111–37, p. 124, for a comparable case of 'fornicationis crimen' and the 'terribilia sacramenta'. There is an interesting contrast here to Frederic, who confessed to Odulphus but feigned an illness to the crowd to account for his non-participation in celebrating Easter Mass. See further Patzold, *Episcopus*, p. 214.

[49] Van Buijtenen, *Langs de heiligenweg*, pp. 53–5 and 138–9. Van Vliet, *In kringen*, pp. 94–6, 191–3.

his consequent confession and penance clearly put him in the same category as Notker's saintly bishop.[50]

The Utrecht *Passio* with its story of the martyrdom of Frederic and his campaign against Judith was, however, well known in England. Part of it can be found in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta pontificum Anglorum* (*c.* 1125), one of the most influential English ecclesiastical histories.[51] William presents Frederic as a nephew and disciple of Boniface – 'one knows the sanctity of the master through the virtue of the disciple' – and a successor in the line of Willibrord (with a reference to Bede). His glory is the glory of the *Angli*, 'illuminating foreign lands'.[52] The Utrecht author of the *Passio Friderici* would be pleased: Frederic known as a saintly bishop, directly associated with the 'nectar of holiness' of Boniface and Willibrord. His *Passio* probably reached England through ecclesiastical contacts, an example being Master Athelard, renowned *scolasticus* and founder of the school of Waltham Minster, endowed by Earl Harold Godwinson in 1060. Athelard was born in Liège and schooled and trained in Utrecht; he was succeeded by his son, Master Peter, who again tutored 'more Theutonicorum'.[53]

A perfect bishop

There is a second explanation for the insertion of the remarkable core miracle of the *Passio Friderici*. In the miracle Frederic is presented as 'the pastor bonus et probus', a key element of the Life as a whole too.[54] The sacristan is severely warned several times for his crossing of lines, and the consequences of doing so are presented in the form of eternal torture in a place of weeping and gnashing of teeth (Matt. 23.13; Luke 13.28), for which confession and penance are the only remedies. In a remarkable sentence the sacristan is exhorted 'to repeat with tears and good works your baptism, which you have lost through your sacrilege'.[55] The parallel with Louis's sins is clear.

[50] In Evesham, where they also possessed the *Vita Odulphi* from the Utrecht tradition, they explained the omission of this miracle 'ob reverentiam Trajectensis pontificis id tacitum omiserit'.

[51] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum libri quinque*, ed. N. Hamilton (London, 1870), pp. 11–15.

[52] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum*, 15: 'ut Anglorum deputetur gloriae, quod terras alienas illustrant'.

[53] A. Leach, *Educational Charters and Documents, 598 to 1909* (Cambridge, 1911), pp. 54–6; N. Orme, *Medieval Schools from Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven/London, 2006), pp. 37–8, who interprets Athelard's position differently.

[54] *Passio Friderici*, p. 355. See also Corbet, 'Interdits de parenté', pp. 6, 10, 24–7.

[55] *Passio Friderici*, p. 355: 'lacrimis et bonis operibus repete baptismum, quod culpabilis perdidisti per sacrilegium'. There are references here to Jerome, to the

Admonition, correction, convoking of synods, confession, repentance and penance are core procedures in the incest affairs of the *Passio* and, indeed, in everything a true pastor has to take care of.[56] Characteristic are two elements in Frederic's martyrdom: he insists on celebrating Mass first to preach afterwards to the people, before letting himself be killed.[57] Secondly, he assures a safe exit for his killers. The only reason to do so is in the hope of their salvation, through conversion and penance.

Frederic's humility and life without reproach are of course underlined, just as the qualifications St. Paul attributes to a good bishop are cited *in extenso* (1 Tim. 3.1–7).[58] The humble sinner Frederic asks for God's help in prayer, as the 'medicus medicorum', a reference to a favourite theme from patristic literature, especially Augustine[59] – and it is again a supplication for supervision and the healing of souls, preceded by a prayer to follow God's Law day and night, and to do what is pleasing in God's eyes (a reference to Gregory of Tours and Deuteronomy).[60] The prayer concludes with a long litany from Alcuin's *De ratione animae*.[61] With these personal qualifications and heavenly

Confessiones of Augustine, to Boethius's *De consolatione Philosophiae* and to Sulpitius Severus's Life of St Martin. For the Baptism of Repentance, see Acts 19.4, Luke 3.3 and Mark 4.4. Neither Louis nor the sacristan heeded the admonition. See the quote from Ambrose for David's example in De Jong, *Penitential State*, p. 122.

[56] See the long command of the emperor: 'adiuro, ut, si quis nobilis aut ignobilis, dominus aut liber aut servus, dives vel inops a religione erraverit cristiana et talibus … se polluerit criminibus, cum primum ad tuum pervenerit auditum, corrigas illum, et si correctus de prava sua non fuerit reversus via et te vel ecclesiam non audierit, ex communione omnium in Deum credentium auctoritate tibi tradita separes et condempnes et sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus [these last four words from Matt. 18.15–17], donec ad Dominum nostrum, qui semper paratus est ad miserandum, vera poenitencia ductus fuerit conversus'; *Passio Friderici*, p. 347.

[57] *Passio Friderici*, p. 353: 'Et pater fidelis pastori bono domino nostro Ihesu Christo lacrimando oves, quas illi commiserat, repraesentabat et commendabat'. See Corbet, 'Interdits de parenté', p. 10 for references to the Letters of Sulpitius Severus and the *Vita Severi*.

[58] *Passio Friderici*, pp. 346 and 348–9. Such a full quotation is a rare instance: Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum*, p. 238. The *Passio* also has quite an extended *Catalogus virtutum*: Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum*, pp. 253–7.

[59] P. Eijkenboom, *Het Christus-medicusmotief in de preken van Sint Augustinus* (Assen, 1960), pp. 70–124. But also Burchard's *Corrector seu medicus* comes to mind, as Corbet, 'Interdits de parenté', p. 49, notes.

[60] 'Facere quod in tuis placitum sit oculis': a quotation from Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* III:22, with a reference to Deuteronomy 13.18. The 'delicta iuventutis meae et ignorantias meas': Psalm 25.

[61] Alcuin, *De ratione animae*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Poet. lat.* 1, 302–4, pp. 303–4: 'tu es laus mea, lux mea, pax mea …'.

support Frederic can confront the duties of his episcopal office. He is a ceaseless preacher against offenders of God's Law, literally at the frontiers of Christian society, in Walcheren and in Frisia (with Odulphus). Both times are reminiscent of Utrecht's earliest heroic missionaries, Willibrord (Walcheren) and Boniface (Frisia)[62] – just as at the heart of his bishopric, preaching to the people, eradicating error, teaching and bringing peace, and restoring what was wrong in his clerical community;[63] just as it is his duty to cure the illness of the emperor, for whom he will not cease to pray like Samuel.[64] Correction is the central duty of a good pastor in this *Passio*, which can easily be read as a mirror for bishops.

This emphasis on the spiritual duties of a bishop may explain a trait of Utrecht's hagiography of its pastors: the reluctance to incorporate miracles into their Lives. This starts with the *Vita Gregorii* by Liudger and finds its culmination in the *Vita altera Bonifatii*, probably written at the beginning of the tenth century by Bishop Radbod, presumably on the basis of an earlier version, which was possibly composed by Bishop Frederic himself. An exception are their prophesies, characteristic elements in the Lives of both Odulphus and Frederic. Apart from these types of supernatural powers, all attention is drawn to their exemplary behaviour, their imitation of the apostles, their preaching and evangelising in the 'Pauline' tradition, just mentioned above. A characteristic detail is provided by the *Vita Plechelmi* (end of tenth century) which presents Plechelm as confessor of King Pippin; each year Pippin visited Plechelm during Lent, barefooted and without his purple mantle.[65] Wolfert van Egmond is probably right in his suggestion that the origin of this attitude may lie in the Anglo-Saxon mission and its spiritual legacy.[66]

[62] I. Wood, *The Missionary Life. Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe 400–1050* (Harlow, 2001), pp. 43–4, 52–3, 81–5, 100–16 and 250–6. See also the excellent overview by M. Mostert, 'De kerstening van Holland (zevende tot twaalfde eeuw). Een bijdrage aan de middeleeuwse religieuze geschiedenis', *Holland, regionaal-historisch tijdschrift* 25 (1993), 125–55, pp. 133, 137, 139–40; A. Weiler, *Willibrords missie: Christendom en cultuur in de zevende en achtste eeuw, met een vertaling van de voornaamste literaire bronnen* (Hilversum, 1989), pp. 143, 167, 201; *Vita Odulphi*, col. 860; *Passio Friderici*, pp. 350–1, with the interesting element of a *carta* written by Frederic and sent to all priests to be read publicly and often.

[63] *Passio Friderici*, p. 348: 'docensque et pacem faciens in populo, et quicquid pago vetusti erroris colebatur in illo, divino exstirpavit atque peremit eloquio'.

[64] *Passio Friderici*, p. 348: 'te autem honorare et bonis in actibus consentire et obedire, malis vero resistere atque corrigere', and 'non cessemus pro te orare'.

[65] Van Vliet, *In kringen*, p. 98.

[66] For the difference from the Egmond tradition: R. Künzel, *Beelden en zelfbeelden van middeleeuwse mensen. Historisch-antropologische studies over groepsculturen in de Nederlanden, 7de–13de eeuw* (Nijmegen, 1997), pp. 38–41; Mostert, 'Kerstening',

Carolingian inspiration?

However, there is also a political element in the *Passio Friderici*. Corbet correctly and extensively points to all the remarks on the correct relation between rulers and bishops, and discusses elements – like Frederic offering his possessions to the emperor as some anti-simoniacal deed and his claim that a bishop cannot be judged by a ruler – that could be associated with later developments as the Gregorian Reform. He shows again how these 'pre-Gregorian' elements perfectly fit the politico-ecclesiastical ideals of the Ottonian-Salian order.[67]

On the other hand we could also look backwards for Carolingian inspiration.[68] The *Passio* itself, describing events almost two centuries ago, does not share many characteristics with the Ottonian-Salian Lives of (almost) contemporary bishops, apart from general ideas on the virtues and qualities of holy bishops.[69] The juridical elements are definitely Ottonian-Salian. The ecclesiology, however, is Carolingian in nature. Leading here is the 'Pariser Modell' as established by Steffen Patzold on the decrees and motivations of the synod of Paris in 829. A central element is a *ministerium* that mediates and

pp. 148–53; and especially Carasso-Kok, 'Diocèse d'Utrecht', pp. 378–82. On the *Vita altera*, miracles and the example of St Paul: Kehl, *Kult und Nachleben*, pp. 140–53; and Patzold, *Episcopus*, pp. 90–102. For the miracles, J. Nieuwland, '"De Friezen gedenken zijn wonderbare daden". De functie van wonderen in de Friese kersteningstijd', *Utrechtse historische cahiers* 12 (1991), 7–103, pp. 47–52; and foremost Van Egmond, 'Misgivings about Miracles in Carolingian Hagiography from Utrecht', in K. Olsen, A. Harbus and T. Hofstra (eds), *Miracles and the Miraculous in Medieval Germanic and Latin Literature* (Leuven, 2004), 69–79, *passim*, and Van Egmond, 'Éloge ou légitimation?', pp. 46–50, refuting the all too political framework of R. Grosse, *Das Bistum Utrecht und seine Bischöfe im 10. und frühen 11. Jahrhundert* (Cologne/Vienna, 1987), pp. 91–4, 111–13 and 189–94, as well as the presumed opposition of the bishops to the 'Imperial Church System'. See also Alpertus, *Gebeurtenissen*, pp. 32–8. This attitude is only characteristic of the Lives of Utrecht bishops. Other hagiography written in Utrecht does contain more miracle stories.

67 Corbet, 'Interdits de parenté', pp. 18–24, 47–52, 55–8, 93–5.

68 Corbet is acutely aware of this: 'Interdits de parenté', p. 55: 'néo-carolingienne'.

69 Compare for instance the outline of the *Vita Burchardi*, which partly used the contemporary writings of the Utrecht cleric Alpertus: S. Haarländer, 'Die Vita Burchardi im Rahmen der Bischofsviten seiner Zeit', in W. Hartmann (ed.), *Bischof Burchard von Worms, 1000–1025* (Mainz, 2000), 129–60, pp. 131–3. In general, see W. Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter, Vol. IV: Ottonische Biographie: Das hohe Mittelalter 920–1220 n. Chr., 2 parts* (Stuttgart, 1999–2001). An extensive overview can be found in Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum*, esp. pp. 225–63, 288–91 and 306.

intercedes between God and the people. For the redemption of sins bishops have to exhort the emperor; in this they need the help of the counts. The bishops are successors to the apostles, have a duty to the *religio christiana* and are responsible for the *congrua dignaque conversio*. As a group they are accountable for the salvation of the people, gathered in the *ecclesia*. Their means to achieve this are an exemplary life like their saintly precursors, admonition, preaching, and especially confession and penance.[70]

In late Carolingian hagiography a central theme is the exemplary way bishops exercise their duties, especially their key duty, the protection of their *civitas* against the attacks of 'barbarians'. It is the image of the pastor protecting his flock from ravening wolves.[71] No wonder the *Passio Friderici* concludes with exactly this typology. The threat of wolves is mentioned twice, in the context of the obligations of the pastor to his flock, but also as a necessary warning to live an exemplary life: Frederic cannot protect the Lord's flock if 'I am unable to chase the wolf away from myself.' Both quotes are found in the sermon of Frederic where he tries in vain to evade his postulation as bishop – a sermon with many references to Ezekiel, and close to the 'key biblical text' of the rebellious bishops who imposed their penance on Louis in 833, as Mayke de Jong has shown.[72]

We have only sparse information on the historical Frederic. Frederic is mentioned in two charters of 828 and 834. He must have died shortly thereafter, because in 838/42 another bishop had succeeded him.[73] No doubt, however, the historical Frederic was well aware of the 'Pariser Modell'. He was present at the Council of Mainz in 829 – together with Toulouse and Lyon the parallel councils to the Paris Council. One of the other issues in Mainz was the famous case of the monk Gottschalk, who had applied for a discharge from the monastery of Fulda, led by abbot Hrabanus Maurus.[74] Moreover, Hrabanus had been

[70] Patzold, *Episcopus*, pp. 149–50, 154–8, 211–15 and 168–70 for the rewriting of the *Vita Huberti* by Jonas of Orléans. The Acts of Aachen (836) can be seen as a 'Bischofsspiegel' (Patzold, *Episcopus*, 215). See also De Jong, *Penitential State*, pp. 122–35 and 176–84.

[71] Patzold, *Episcopus*, pp. 507–8.

[72] De Jong, *Penitential State*, p. 114; Booker, *Past Convictions*, p. 209 on Odbert's knowledge of 833; *Passio Friderici*, p. 346: 'quia lupum a me ipso abigere non valeo', pp. 348 and 355–6.

[73] Muller and Bouman, *Oorkondenboek*, pp. 66, 69–70. In a letter to the bishop of Würzburg, dated between 838 and 842, Hrabanus Maurus recalls him as the 'late' Frederic: Hrabanus Maurus, *Ep.* 27, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 5, 379–516, p. 441.

[74] Patzold, *Episcopus*, p. 150; *Epistolarum Fuldensium fragmenta*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 5, 517–33, pp. 529–30. Another attendant was Drogo, bishop of Metz. Only the Acts of the Paris Council have been preserved. For De Jong (*Penitential State*, p. 176) this makes it unclear how the instructions of the court were met; see

an early correspondent of Frederic to whom he had sent his commentary on St Matthew on demand for a copy to be made, sometime between 821 and *c.* 826.[75] Not having received it back, Hrabanus tried to swap it, between 826 and 829, for another of his commentaries, on Joshua 'sensu allegorico', to be used for the education of the *fratres* of the Utrecht church. In his letter Hrabanus dwells on the prefiguration of Christ, together with long quotes from Jude (1.5–6) and 2 Peter (3.8–15) on the Divine Judgement.[76] In a dedicatory poem to Frederic Hrabanus emphasises again the obligations of a bishop as pastor.[77] The link between Utrecht and Fulda is, of course, Boniface, considered by Hrabanus a bishop of Utrecht, whose ministry Frederic is carrying out and who was martyred for the Frisia Frederic is leading.[78]

In spite of the lasting importance of Boniface for Utrecht, it is – owing to a lack of material – impossible to prove Odbert knew anything substantial about Frederic. However, a few suggestions may be made on possible oral and/or written (vague) reminiscences of Frederic. The '-ric' element in their names may link many of Utrecht's early bishops, such as Albric and Frederic, to the 'Baldric-clan', bishops of Utrecht and Liège in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[79] St Saviour in Utrecht, where the *Passio Friderici* was written, was the burial church for members of this last family.

however Patzold, *Episcopus*, pp. 212–15 for Aachen 836. For Gottschalk: M. de Jong, *In Samuel's Image. Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden/New York/Cologne, 1996), pp. 77–91.

[75] The commentary was written in 821 and was sent to Frederic 'ante annos ergo aliquot'. In the letter to Frederic Hrabanus mentions the late Archbishop Haistulf, deceased in 825. His next letter dates from 829: *MGH Epp.* 5, pp. 400–1. For Hrabanus's letters and his correspondents see G. Bührer-Thierry, 'Raban Maur et l'Épiscopat de son temps', in Ph. Depreux *et al.* (eds), *Raban Maur et son temps* (Turnhout, 2010), 63–76, pp. 65–70.

[76] M. de Jong, 'The empire as *ecclesia*: Hrabanus Maurus and biblical *historia* for rulers', in Y. Hen and M. Innes (eds), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2003), 191–226, for the relevance of biblical history for rulers and bishops alike.

[77] Hrabanus Maurus, *Carmina*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Poet. lat.* 2, 154–258, pp. 181–2: 'nam superintendens pie, episcopus ipse vocaris quod monet ut caute omnia super agis'. See also lines 10, 15–20 and 35–6.

[78] Hrabanus Maurus, *Ep.* 13, p. 400: 'unde accepisti christiane religionis exordium … gentem Fresonum cui tua dilectio preest … quod ab illo ministerii tui patrocinium quaeris, a quo ordinis tui ac sedis primam accepisti functionem'.

[79] Van Winter, 'First centuries', pp. 22–4. For the Liudgerids see K. Kuiken, 'De Liudgeriden (ca. 711–877). De oudste bekende adellijke familie van Nederland', *Virtus. Jaarboek voor adelsgeschiedenis* 12 (2005), 7–34. The Baldrics: A.-J. Bijsterveld, 'Les sépultures des comtes de la Meuse inférieur: les cas des Régnier et

Furthermore, regional politics must have been regularly entwined with incest debates. The most infamous case of the ninth century, the marriage of Lothar II, ended the career of Gunther archbishop of Cologne and also uncle and tutor of Radbod, bishop of Utrecht (899–917), who continued his studies at the palace of Charles the Bald and in Tours.[80] Bishop Ansfried's (995–1010) uncle was Archbishop Ruotbert of Trier (931–56) where Regino of Prüm had found a refuge in the early tenth century, under archbishop Radbod of Trier. The problems of King Robert II of France's (997 onwards) marriage, with its accusations of incest, a threat of excommunication by the pope and a seven-year penance, could not have escaped notice in Utrecht. A member of the Baldric-clan had married the sister of the king. Moreover, Bishop Adelbold of Utrecht had corresponded with Gerbert of Aurillac, bishop of Reims and future Pope Sylvester II, one of the protagonists in this quarrel.[81]

Liège, Adelbold and education

Intellectual relations of Utrecht bishops, especially with Liège, might also explain why the *Passio Friderici* was written in this form, even when oral transmission cannot be excluded. Of interest here are the Lives of St Lambert of Liège. The first Life of Lambert was written between *c.* 727 and 743, and describes the murder of this bishop of Maastricht by Dodo, the *domesticus* of Pippin II, and the translation of his body to Liège. The twists this story takes are fascinating. According to a ninth-century martyrology (Lyon, before 860) Lambert is murdered because he had reprimanded the Royal House *zelo religionis*. The origin of this version is unknown. The abbey of Prüm is a candidate, because Regino of Prüm copied the text in his chronicle.

At the same moment Bishop Stephen of Liège ordered the writing of a long poem, for the use of his canons in their meditations. It dealt with the adultery of the king with the sister of Dodo, blaming, however, the Merovingian king, and not the Carolingian mayor. In his own *Vita Landiberti* Stephen was even

des Baldéric (Xe siècle), des comtes de Looz (XIe siècle) et des comtes de Gueldre (XIIe–XIVe siècles)', in M. Margue (ed.), *Sépulture, mort et représentation du pouvoir au Moyen Âge. Actes des 11es Journées Lotharingiennes 26–9 septembre 2000* (Luxembourg, 2006), 373–404. More reservations in Van Vliet, *In kringen*, pp. 107 and 140–3, as well as in Patzold, *Episcopus*, pp. 28–9.

[80] K. Heidecker, *The Divorce of Lothar II. Christian Marriage and Political Power in the Carolingian World* (Ithaca, NY, 2010), 151–66; *Vita Radbodi*, ed. and trans. P. Nissen and V. Hunink, *Vita Radbodi. Het leven van Radboud* (Nijmegen, 2004), pp. 20, 34. For Gunther, see also Chapter 24 below.

[81] Corbet, *Autour de Burchard*, pp. 73–6, 222 with further connections; G. Duby, *Le chevalier, la femme et le prêtre* (Paris, 1981), pp. 83–93.

stricter. In the Annals of Lobbes, however, the older version, with the adulterous Pippin as one of the culprits, again crops up. It was carefully crafted, based on a series of sources, clearly the work of an intellectual. A copy of it was brought to Bamberg by a pupil of Bishop Notker of Liège (972–1008).[82]

Liège and its famous school could well be an important hub for the origins of the *Passio Friderici*. Bishop Adelbold himself is pivotal here but a much wider network can be reconstructed. First of all, the Life is a learned piece of work. Three sources for the *Passio* are obvious: Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle*; Thegan's Life of Louis and the *Vita Odulphi*.[83] Moreover, the author shows the usual familiarity of the educated Carolingian-Ottonian cleric with the Bible and patristic literature.[84] He also made use of the formula of a charter of Otto I for Utrecht (948). Patrick Corbet has demonstrated how well informed – 'un souci de précision juridique' – the author was in canon law, in view of his definition of incest and its bans.[85] Directly or indirectly, canons and synodal acts are cited, probably from Pseudo-Isidore (*collectio Anselmo dedicata*) and Regino of Prüm's Synodal Handbook. Odbertus almost certainly used Burchard of Worms's *Decretum*, which had only recently been published.

[82] J.-L. Kupper, 'Saint Lambert: de l'Histoire à la Légende', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 79 (1984) 5–49, pp. 10–37.

[83] I cannot discuss here the manuscript of the Annals of Egmond, containing four older codicological units: Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, the so-called Cartulary of Radbod, Regino's Chronicle (all eleventh century) and the Annals of Xanten (*c.* 1100). An Utrecht context is very likely for Regino and the Cartulary. Just as fascinating are the Annals of Xanten, written by the former librarian of Louis the Pious, who lived near Nijmegen – with a collection of books – and donated a part of his inheritance to the church of Utrecht: Van Vliet, *In kringen*, p. 119; P. Henderikx, 'Het cartularium van Radboud', in P. Henderikx, *Land, water en bewoning. Waterstaats- en nederzettingsgeschiedenis in de Zeeuwse en Hollandse delta in de Middeleeuwen* (Hilversum, 2001), 241–73, pp. 242–57; J. Burgers, M. Gumbert-Hepp and J. Gumbert (eds and trans), *Annalen van Egmond. De Annales Egmundenses tezamen met de 'Annales Xantenses' en het Egmondse Leven van Thomas Becket* (Hilversum, 2007), pp. xii–xvi.

[84] Far more work has to be done here: a comparison with the style of other Utrecht hagiography (B. Ahlers, *Die ältere Fassung der Vita Radbodi* (Bern/Frankfurt am Main, 1976), pp. 30–6, 43–61), but also with other influences. Van Rij, for instance, discovered a remarkable amount of borrowing from Caesar in the contemporary chronicle of Alpertus.

[85] Corbet, 'Interdits de parenté', pp. 19, 42–6, 50: 'un auteur averti, bon connaisseur de la tradition canonique', pp. 81, 91, 95. Also W. Hartmann, 'Bemerkungen zum Eherecht nach Burchard von Worms', in W. Hartmann (ed.), *Bischof Burchard von Worms, 1000–1025* (Mainz, 2000), 227–50, pp. 229–33, 237–9, 241–4, 248–9; Corbet, *Autour de Burchard*, pp. 76–7.

Alpertus of Metz dedicated his Utrecht Chronicle – contemporary with the *Passio* – to Burchard and corresponded with him, although at the time they did not know each other personally and used *frater* Immo as intermediary. Soon elements of his chronicle turned up in the *Vita Burchardi* and in the *Wormser Hofrecht*.[86] More examples of such connections could be given, with regard to Metz, Reichenau, Merseburg and the reform movement of Poppo of Stavelot, for instance.[87] Here I will focus on Adelbold, Utrecht's most fascinating bishop. Adelbold may have been educated at Lobbes under Heriger, but was certainly trained in Notker's Liège, where he was later *scolasticus* and archdeacon. It has also been suggested that he was a member of Otto III's and Henry II's chancery from 997 onwards – and as such a member of the committee, under the leadership of an Odbertus, sent by Notker to reform the clergy in Aachen.[88]

Adelbold was not only the author of a biography of Henry II and of a commentary on a section of Boethius's *De consolatione*, but also a correspondent of Gerbert of Aurillac and a writer on astronomical/mathematical and musical questions. He corresponded also with Egbert, a cleric of Liège. Both of them had visited the same school (Liège?); Egbert was a schoolmaster there, maybe a *scolasticus* of one of Liège's chapters. They exchanged letters on a musical question.[89] More importantly, Egbert dedicated his *Fecunda ratis* to Adelbold. This book contains a large number of proverbs, fables and folktales, among them the oldest European version of Little Red Riding Hood. It was intended for use in the classroom, to replace, for instance, the *Disticha Catonis*.[90] The two key questions with which Bishop Frederic confronted the emperor (the fish and the wall) have the same character as the proverbs from the *Fecunda*

[86] Alpertus of Metz, *Gebeurtenissen*, pp. ix–x, xxxii, 2–6. Haarländer, 'Vita', p. 240; K. Schulz, 'Wormser Hofrecht Bischof Burchards', in W. Hartmann (ed.), *Bischof Burchard von Worms, 1000–1025* (Mainz, 2000), 251–78, pp. 267–8.

[87] Apart from Alpertus (*Gebeurtenissen*, pp. ix, xi–xiv), also Bishop Folkmar of Utrecht's Christmas visit to Dietrich of Metz (978): Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, Vol. IV, Part 1, p. 109.

[88] Adelbold, *Vita Heinrici*, ed. and trans. H. van Rij, *Nederlandse historische bronnen*, Vol. III (Amsterdam, 1983) 7–95, pp. 11–2. J.-L. Kupper, *Liège et l'Église Impériale Xie–XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1981), pp. 344–5, 376–8. Egbert of Liège, *Fecunda ratis (The Well-Laden Ship)*, ed. and trans. R. Babcock (Cambridge, MA/London, 2013), pp. xii–xiv, 2.

[89] M. Huglo, 'La correspondance entre Adelbold d'Utrecht et Egbert de Liège au sujet des modes du plain-chant', *Revue Bénédictine* 121 (2011) 147–64, *passim*, with references to the tonary of Odo of Cluny and to Regino of Prüm's work. Adelbold addressed his *Musica*, extracts from Boethius, to Gerbert of Aurillac. Huglo denies Adelbold's authorship of a tract in Rome, discussed by Vellekoop and edited by Smits van Waesberghe.

[90] Egbert, *Well-Laden Ship*, pp. vii–xii, xv–xxii.

ratis. Although they have no parallel in that book and are, as questions, more comparable to riddles, I would like to suggest their origin from the school class – and maybe also their use in class.[91]

Another element supports the educational character of the *Passio Friderici*. At least eight times a Greek word is used in the text.[92] This may have been an Utrecht tradition inspired by Alcuin. Bishop Radbod, who had been in Rome, had been schooled in Cologne, Compiègne and Tours, and probably would have met Johannes Scotus Eriugena, who knew Greek.[93] Brun, Otto I's brother, was educated in Baldric's Utrecht, where he learnt, among other things, his Prudentius – and probably some Greek words too.[94] Adelbold himself wrote a word in Greek characters on top of his illustration in his Boëthius Commentary.[95]

The possible use of the *Passio* in a school setting gets more relief when seen in the context of the Schools of Worms and Speyer. In a fine overview Johannes Staub shows how Burchard of Worms was actively engaged in school practice, demanding that each pupil relate daily *dicta vel scripta studiosa* – an engagement further evidenced by his epistolar discussion with one of them. His *Decretum* was meant to be used in school (*pueris traderem ad discendum*) so that they could be future *doctores et magistri* for the people.[96]

Bishop Baldric of Speyer (970–86) ordered two of his pupils to write a Life of St Christopher. In it the future bishop Walther gives an overview of what

[91] An example is lines 1018–20, which could easily be turned into a question. The allegorical element is important, of course. Egbert has an odd lexicon and an often contorted syntax. Correction is an important commission in his poems, especially for priests and bishops (Egbert, *Well-Laden Ship*, pp. x–xi, 186–8, 212–14).

[92] *Admestia*; *archyereus*; *dindimum*; *filassere*; *arcomegistis*; *filima*; *ierei*; *ierosilia*.

[93] *Vita Radbodi*, p. 25; É. Jeauneau, 'Jean Scot Érigène et le Grec', *Bulletin du Cange. Archivum latinitatis medii aevi* 41 (1977–78), 5–50; I owe the latter reference to Rob Meens.

[94] He received a proper training in Greek at court. However, in the section on Utrecht mention is made of his 'in omni Greca vel Latina eloquentia'; Ruotger, *Ruotgeri vita Brunonis*, ed. I. Ott, *MGH SRG*, n.s. 10, 1–55, pp. 5 and 8. I interpret this as more than mere politeness, as does Grosse, *Bistum*, pp. 30–2. Baldric is also mentioned in the *Vita Mathildae* in connection with the Ottonians. The school in Utrecht must have had some importance under Bishop Folcmar, former chancellor (975–76), who was related to the Ottonians and had been educated in Hildesheim. Around the year 1000 the school was supervised by Wolbodo, who in 1018 became bishop of Liège, well known for its school (Grosse, *Bistum*, pp. 103–5).

[95] R. Huygens, 'Mittelalterliche Kommentare zum "O qui perpetua …"', *Sacris Erudiri. Jaarboek voor godsdienstwetenschappen* 6 (1954), 373–427, pp. 405 and 412.

[96] J. Staub, 'Domschulen am Mittelrhein um und nach 1000', in W. Hartmann (ed.), *Bischof Burchard von Worms, 1000–1025* (Mainz, 2000), 279–310, pp. 284–5.

was learnt in Speyer's school, with a marked stress on classical texts, compared to what we know of what Gerbert taught in Reims. Also noteworthy are the highly complicated expressions and style of this *Vita*.[97] Excellent material for hard labour in the schools, obviously.

Instruction, meditation and discussion are of course known objectives of hagiographical texts, just as they are part of a learned education. The *Passio Friderici* could therefore have functioned as a training ground for future clerics, where their knowledge of scripture, canons and morals could be tested and discussed. It would fit perfectly with the prologue of the *Passio*, where the little Odbert presents himself as an 'unlearned boy', eager to 'continously search thoroughly' after Frederic's life 'with a probing pen', and where he mentions Utrecht, 'shining brightly because of [Adelbold's] eager study'.[98]

Conclusion

With the *Passio Friderici* and the *Vita tertia* of Boniface the story of Utrecht's hagiography comes to an end. Not so much as a result of new developments – the Investiture Conflict and all that – but more likely because the Utrecht clerical community was satisfied with what they had got: a clear line of Utrecht confessors and martyrs, firmly based in the tradition of Willibrord and Boniface.[99]

The *Passio Friderici* itself is more or less situated in a void: it was written almost two centuries after the events described. Not being a life of a contemporary, it lacks detail, new historical data and a sense of urgency. On the other hand, precisely because of these 'shortcomings' a fairly abstract life has emerged, which could be read as a mirror for bishops. Notwithstanding its interest in precise canonical knowledge and its possible connections with, and commentary on, contemporary incest debates and their political ramifications – as a kind of *roman à clef avant la lettre* – it has an old-fashioned message. It perfectly shows how older Carolingian reform ideals were still very much alive.

It can be read on different levels: as an *oratio pro domo* of Utrecht's St Saviour; to stress the continuity of conversion, from Willibrord until the present – and the need for it: in preaching, admonishing, converting and

[97] Staub, *Domschulen*, 291–7. The other author was Hazecha, a nun.

[98] *Passio Friderici*, p. 344: 'ex cuius studio locus ille nitet modo magno'; 'nunc sulcante stilo lentus peragrare studebo'.

[99] Carasso-Kok, 'Diocèse d'Utrecht', 377, 396–7. Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum*, for the situation elsewhere in the empire. An interesting view on these developments is contained in R. Kaiser, '"Mord im Dom": von der Vertreibung zur Ermordung des Bischofs im frühen und hohen Mittelalter', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeshcichte. Kanonistische Abteilung* 110 (1993), 95–134, pp. 128–34.

exhorting, from 'wild men' at the frontiers to powerful Christians, and from laymen to clerics. It can also be read as a political and moral whodunit, with almost legendary Carolingian material as its basis. Obviously it was possible to cast Louis as a weakling, blinded by love, not up to the siren song of an evil wife. Here it resembles the anecdotes of Notker Balbulus. These aspects may have been highly relevant because we are still reading about a Christian emperor.[100] And finally the text could have been used as material for advanced learning, with its possibilities for biblical, patristic and canonical training and its use of Greek words.

[100] See M. Innes, 'Memory, orality and literacy in an early medieval society', *Past and Present* 158 (1998), 3–36 for the way anecdotes were used by Notker.

Part V

Franks and Rome

23

Pippin III and the sandals of Christ: the making and unmaking of an early medieval relic

Julia M. H. Smith

The central panel of a late-nineteenth-century reliquary-triptych in the parish church of Sankt Salvator in Prüm enshrines three pieces of highly decorated medieval leatherwork replete with gilded patterning and coloured embroidery. They derive from a pair of shoes that were so elaborate and costly that they must have been made for a high-status wearer, probably for ceremonial rather than everyday use. Although they have been altered, remade and cut apart again over the centuries, specialists are of the opinion that they are likely to be of eighth- or ninth-century European origin. The reliquary displays them as the 'sandals of Christ', and presents them flanked by images of *Pippinus rex* and *Zacharias papa* worked in mock-Carolingian enamel and goldwork.[1]

Why is this footwear preserved, relic-like, in a liturgical space? Why at Prüm? What connection might King Pippin have had with the 'sandals of Christ'? Why do the sandals link the first Carolingian king with the pope who, according to the Royal Frankish Annals, legitimised his coup in 751? I shall demonstrate that the sandals of Christ turn out to be associated with one of the Carolingian dynasty's first steps towards building the divinely established *ecclesia* whose nature Mayke de Jong has done so much to elucidate, and I shall follow her example in bringing scriptural exegesis to bear on questions of Carolingian political culture.[2] Doing so will reveal the unstable interrelation

[1] See www.basilika-pruem.de/rundgang/basilika_rundgang.php (click on Punkt 7, in the north-east corner of the choir) (accessed 7 June 2014).

[2] M. de Jong, 'The empire as *ecclesia*: Hrabanus Maurus and biblical *historia* for rulers', in Y. Hen and M. Innes (eds), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), 191–226; M. de Jong, 'Exegesis for an empress', in E. Cohen and M. de Jong (eds), *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context* (Leiden, 2001), 69–100; M. de Jong, *The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge, 2009); M. de Jong, '*Sacrum palatium et*

between textual and material forms of historical evidence for one particular relic, the 'sandals of Christ'. Full technical analysis of the construction, decoration and probable dating of the leatherwork will, in due course, elucidate many aspects of the shoes' manufacture, and will tell a story of elite craftsmen and -women working with costly materials to produce exceptional footwear. Here, however, I draw on textual evidence to examine their cultural construction as a relic and to suggest reasons why making a pair of shoes into a relic made sense in the 750s, but had ceased to do so by the end of the twelfth century. I shall propose that Pippin III acquired these shoes as a gift from Rome: this chapter is my gift to Mayke de Jong, in tribute to the ways in which she has stimulated me to rethink how to read Carolingian sources.

In the earlier Middle Ages, a wide range of objects nullified modern scholarly distinctions between 'commemorative object', 'treasure' and 'relic'. Shoes and vestments were among them, and Prüm is not the only place to preserve early medieval shoes as relics. In all other cases, however, the footwear was attributed to a saint: Chelles preserves three shoes traditionally ascribed to Balthild, whilst Delémont possesses shoes and hose associated with Germanus of Moutier-Grandval and an obscure murdered bishop called Desiderius whose cult was later tended by Murbach.[3] Similarly, Prüm was not the only medieval church to assert that it possessed something worn by Christ, and indeed, of the more than fifty churches laying claim to his 'seamless garment' (John 19.23), the most famous was nearby Trier.[4] Prüm alone, however, claimed Jesus' sandals, and did so centuries before cults of the 'holy tunic' burgeoned. For these reasons, the cult merits investigation.

The sandals of Christ first appear in the historical record at Prüm. They are mentioned in a famous diploma of Pippin III and his queen, Bertrada, issued in 762, when the monastery had been in existence some forty years.[5] At its

ecclesia: l'autorité religieuse royale sous les Carolingiens (790–840)', *Annales: histoire, sciences sociales* 58:6 (2003), 1243–69; M. de Jong, 'The State of the Church: *ecclesia* and early medieval state formation', in W. Pohl and V. Wieser (eds), *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat. Europäische Perspektiven, FGM 16* (Vienna, 2009), 241–54.

[3] J.-P. Laporte, *Le trésor des saints de Chelles* (Chelles, 1988), pp. 102–13; R. Schorta, 'Textil- und Lederreliquien aus der Kirche Saint-Marcel in Delsberg', in J. Rebetez (ed.), *Pro Deo. Das Bistum Basel vom 4. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert* (Pruntrut, 2006), 155–60. Several relic inventories also refer to sandal-relics of specific saints.

[4] R. Sörries, *Was von Jesus übrig blieb. Die Geschichte seiner Reliquien* (Kevelaer, 2012), pp. 213–19 on the seamless garment.

[5] E. Mühlbacher (ed.), *Die Urkunden Pippins, Karlmanns und Karls des Grossen, MGH DD Kar.* 1, no. 16, pp. 21–5. In Mayke de Jong's work, Prüm features principally as a reliable place of confinement for troublesome or surplus members of the Carolingian dynasty and this is simply a footnote to that story: De Jong, *Penitential State*, pp. 17, 48.

foundation in 721 by Bertrada (or Berta) and her son Charibert, Count of Laon, Prüm had been dedicated in honour of Sts Mary, Peter, Paul, John and Martin ('in honore S. Mariae et S. Petri et S. Pauli, S. Iohannis et S. Martini'), the leading saints whose relics were stated to be deposited there.[6] Then, in May 752, approximately six months after his elevation to the Frankish throne, Pippin III refounded it, introducing monks from Meaux. In extending its revenue-producing endowments by a grant of fisheries along the Moselle, he emphasised that neither force nor judicial process could ever take them away from the monks, who were to enjoy them in perpetuity in his memory. He also rebuilt the church entirely and changed its dedication: the new church was built 'in honore … sancti Salvatoris et sanctæ Mariæ', in honour of the Saviour and St Mary.[7]

The significance of these choices – site, new dedicatee and the institution of commemorative prayer – cannot be underestimated. Prüm was Pippin's neither by ancestral inheritance nor by takeover from the Merovingians: his claim derived from his marriage to the foundress's granddaughter, another Bertrada. His diploma stipulated that she was to be commemorated with him and indeed, according to Wandalbert of Prüm (writing in 839), it was Bertrada 'of holy memory', who had prompted him to re-establish a regular monastic community there.[8] Prüm was ideal as a centre to commemorate a new dynasty – by this date the royal couple finally had two infant sons, Charles (born 748) and Carloman (born 751).[9] It had never been under the patronage of the Neustrian and Burgundian aristocratic families so bitterly opposed to Pippin's ancestors and was (as yet) unburdened by links to the favoured saints

[6] *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der mittelrheinischen Territorien*, ed. H. Beyer, L. Eltester and A. Goerz, 3 vols (Hildesheim/New York, 1974; reprint of 1860–74 edn), Vol. I, no. 8, pp. 10–11.

[7] *Die Urkunden Pippins*, no. 3, pp. 5–6. On the re-foundation see further W. Haubrichs, *Die Kultur der Abtei Prüm zur Karolingerzeit: Studien zur Heimat des althochdeutschen Georgsliedes* (Bonn, 1979), p. 32; and J. Semmler, 'Pippin III. und die fränkischen Klöster', *Francia* 3 (1975), 88–146, pp. 94–5.

[8] *Die Urkunden Pippins*, no. 3, p. 5: 'ut nostra memoria et coniugis nostræ Bertradæ a praesentibus vel succedentibus monachis quos ibi instituimus perenniter habeatur'. Wandalbert of Prüm, 'Commemoratio quemadmodum et a quo cella sancti Goaris fuerit monasterio Prumiae sociata', ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH SS* 15:1, 372–3, p. 372. For discussion of the probable distant kinship between Pippin III and Bertrada, see R. Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc (VII^e–X^e siècle). Essai d'anthropologie sociale* (Paris, 1995), p. 203 n. 108 and p. 403 n. 156.

[9] J. Nelson, 'Bertrada', in M. Becher and J. Jarnut (eds), *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751. Vorgeschichte, Legitimationsstrategien und Erinnerung* (Münster, 2004), 93–108, emphasises how long Bertrada's marriage had remained childless.

of the displaced Merovingians.[10] In this context, the leading role now assigned to Christ the Saviour signalled rejection of all politically charged Frankish cults. But it also reflected onto Prüm the lustre of the papal see itself, whose seat was the *basilica Salvatoris* at the Lateran.[11] If the choice of site allowed Pippin to begin to rearrange the sacral geography of his kingdom, the choice of dedicatee enabled him to place his dynasty on secure liturgical foundations and, discreetly, to acknowledge the contribution the papacy had made to his accession.[12]

Eighth-century churches did not normally record details of the relics deposited in their altars. Nor, habitually, did royal diplomas mention gifts of relics: naturally enough, because these documents primarily secured title to landed property and jurisdictional rights rather than movables. Prüm's foundation charter of 721 had set a precedent in naming the saints whose relics were kept there, and Pippin followed its example in his second diploma for the house. Issued in 762 on the king's return from an apparently successful campaign to subjugate Aquitaine, this grandiose document lists the saints whose relics were at Prüm.[13] The diploma was drafted by the king's notary Baddilo, who used it as an opportunity not only to display his skill at composing Latin rhyme-prose, but also to issue a grandiloquent statement about the Franks' divinely elected kingship. Baddilo was the author of other innovative, indeed idiosyncratic, texts to emanate from Pippin's retinue, and was at the centre of the king's reforming, romanising circle: his blend of a high Latin style with fertile ideological bravura certainly was not constrained by either conventionality or historical accuracy.[14]

The list of relics given to Prüm is among the many unusual features of the 762 charter and adds another six names to Prüm's already considerable roll-call of patronal saints. The document is explicit that the royal couple placed there relics of all the monastery's dedicatees, eleven in total. Objects denoting several saints favoured by the Merovingians had now been secured and mark the

[10] P. Fouracre, 'The origins of the Carolingian attempt to regulate the cult of saints', in J. Howard-Johnston and P. Hayward (eds), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1999), 143–65.

[11] A. Angenendt, 'In Honore Salvatoris. Vom Sinn und Unsinn der Patrozinienkunde', in A. Angenendt (ed.), *Die Gegenwart von Heiligen und Reliquien* (Münster, 2010), 209–60, esp. pp. 225–9.

[12] For a succinct analysis of the place of monasticism in the Carolingian polity, see M. de Jong, 'Carolingian monasticism: the power of prayer', in *NCMH*, Vol. II, 622–53.

[13] See n. 6 above.

[14] J. Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1959), Vol. I, pp. 76 and 230–1; M. Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel? Education for an identity from Pippin to Charlemagne', in Y. Hen and M. Innes (eds), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), 114–61, esp. pp. 129–34.

acceptance of the new dynasty by some of the most important Neustrian religious houses: Saint-Denis, Saint-Germain and Saint-Martin together with the Burgundian royal foundation of Saint-Maurice-d'Agaune.[15] These are straightforward tokens of political-cum-religious patronage that hint at the cohesion the kingdom was now acquiring. The nature of relics of Mary and the nine other saints is unspecified, but heading the list are 'relics … of the sandals of our Lord Jesus Christ'.[16] On this basis, Prüm had acquired the sandals of Christ by 762 at the latest, but possibly as early as its re-foundation in 752.

Despite their prominence in Pippin's diploma, the sandals never became the object of a formal liturgical cult in their own right, and Wandalbert did not mention them in his verse martyrology, composed at Prüm in 848.[17] We do not even know where and how Carolingian Prüm kept and cared them. In 852, Lothar I had endowed Prüm with ornate reliquaries and added many other relics, and although his diploma only survives incompletely, enough of its text remains to make it a reasonable inference that the original made no mention of the sandals.[18] The preamble to the treasure inventory made in 1003 on the order of Henry II reiterated Pippin's list of relics (adding Benedict's name), complete with mention of the sandals, but its detailed list of relics and reliquaries also remained suspiciously silent about how this dominical footwear was housed.[19]

[15] See further J. Smith, 'Rulers and relics, *c.* 750–950: "treasure on earth, treasure in heaven"', in A. Walsham (ed.), *Relics and Remains*, *Past and Present*, Supplement 5 (2010), 73–96, pp. 79–80.

[16] *Die Urkunden Pippins*, p. 22: 'reliquias … de scandaliis domini nostri Iesu Christi nec non ipsius genetricis Mariæ ceterorumque sanctorum quorum supra fecimus mentionem, visi fuimus recondere reliquias'. The diploma is known through the copy placed at the head of Prüm's tenth-century cartulary, the *Liber aureus Prumiensis*: R. Nolden, *Das 'Goldene Buch' von Prüm (Liber aureus Prumiensis). Faksimile, Übersetzung der Urkunden, Einband* (Prüm, 1997), fols 2a–4a. The spelling *scandalia* for *sandalia* is common in tenth- and eleventh-century German treasure inventories: see B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, Vol. I: *Von der Zeit Karls des Grossen bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1967), 'Sachregister und Glossar', s.v., p. 193.

[17] Wandalbert of Prüm, *Wandalberti Prumiensis carmina*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Poet. lat.* 2, 567–622, pp. 578–603; Haubrichs, *Kultur der Abtei Prüm*, p. 158 collates liturgical details of Prüm's various feasts of the Saviour.

[18] *Die Urkunden Lothars I. 822–855*, no. 122, ed. T. Schieffer, *MGH DD LoI/LoII*, 1–365, pp. 279–81. The extant portion of the text includes both the list of Prüm's dedicatees and an itemised list of relics donated by Lothar. The sandals are not among its eight Jesus-relics, nor is a reliquary for them mentioned.

[19] A. Finken, 'Das Prümer Schatzverzeichnis von 1003', in R. Nolden (ed.), *Lothar I. Kaiser und Mönch in Prüm. Zum 1150. Jahr seines Todes* (Prüm, 2005), 161–70.

The sandals' sacral significance can be inferred in a rather different way, however. As Carolingian Prüm accumulated other prestigious relics, the monastery took care to keep them away from the main abbey church. Notably, in 765, Pippin handed over the impoverished monastic site at Lohbach on the banks of the Rhine associated with the idiosyncratic sixth-century hermit Goar. But rather than transferring the holy man's remains into the main abbey church, Abbot Asuerus of Prüm re-enshrined them at the site of the hermitage in 781, where a vigorous miracle-working cult profited from the passing traffic along the river.[20] Similarly, when in 844 his successor Marcward acquired the relics of the renowned Roman martyrs Chrysanthus and Daria, he placed them at a safe distance, in the dependency of Münstereifel, where they too worked miracles.[21] Unlike Fulda, where Boniface's cult gradually overlaid and then displaced the church's original dedication to Christ the Saviour, Prüm never again changed its dedication.[22] The Saviour, if not his sandals, retained primacy of place, gradually buttressed by the growing cult of All Saints.[23]

Relics of the sandals also spread elsewhere. They reappear among the twenty-five particles of Christ-related matter (*de sandaliis eius*) assembled by Angilbert at Saint-Riquier before his death in 814.[24] Angilbert is explicit that, in amassing his huge collection of relics, he had exploited his network of contacts at Charlemagne's palace, and in the case of this particular relic

The edition in Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, no. 74, pp. 79–82, omits the specifics of the relics.

[20] *Wandalbert von Prüm, Vita et miracula Sancti Goaris, ed. H. Steine* (Frankfurt am Main, 1981), pp. 41–2. Wandalbert's *Vita* is a reworking of the Merovingian life of the saint: see M. van Uytfanghe, 'Aux confins de la romanité et de la germanité du VIIIe siècle: le statut langagier et sociolinguistique de la Vie du prêtre Goar, un saint "dissident"', in M. Banniard (ed.), *Langages et peuples de l'Europe: cristallisation des identités romanes et germaniques (VIIe–XIe siècle)* (Toulouse, 2002), 209–59.

[21] C. Floss, 'Romreise des Abtes Marcward', *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein* 20 (1869), 96–217. For discussion of the *libellus* of texts concerning the acquisition of these relics, see J. Smith, 'Old saints, new cults: Roman relics in Carolingian Francia', in J. Smith (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough* (Leiden, 2000), 317–39, pp. 326–9.

[22] Cf. J. Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda, c. 744–c. 900* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 49–50.

[23] Haubrichs, *Kultur der Abtei Prüm*, p. 117.

[24] Angilbert's *Scriptura de perfectione et dedicatione Centulensis ecclesiae* survives incorporated verbatim into Hariulf of Saint-Riquier's chronicle. Hariulf, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier (Ve siècle–1104)*, ed. F. Lot (Paris, 1894), pp. 57–69, with the list of relics of the Saviour on p. 63. The sandals are fourth on the independent Saint-Riquier relic inventory recorded on the flyleaf of Paris, BnF, lat. 93, fol. 261v: see S. Berger, 'Les reliques de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier au IXe siècle', *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 1 (1893), 467–74.

it may be no coincidence that his common-law wife was another Bert(h)a, Charlemagne's daughter and thus Bertrada's granddaughter.[25] Saint-Riquier is a likely point for their dissemination across the English Channel, where they feature among the relics that had accumulated at Bath Abbey by the abbacy of Ælfsige (d. 1087).[26]

There is nevertheless scope for speculation about exactly what Angilbert acquired, and what Saint-Riquier forwarded elsewhere. Perhaps it was simply offcuts from Prüm's sandals, or dust from their shrine. In addition, or instead, Angilbert may have received one of the white socks or stockings (known in Rome as *udones*) that were typically worn with early medieval papal shoes. By the eleventh century, however, popes and bishops wore *caligae*, decorated knee-length stockings, often made of expensive textiles.[27] Now, the early-twelfth-century Saint-Riquier chronicler Hariulf reports that when the monks of Saint-Riquier prepared to flee from the Vikings in 881, their treasurer Jeremiah took their most precious relics for safety to Sens, where they remained thereafter. These included one of Jesus' *caligae*, whose small size, only one cubit long, led Hariulf to describe it as a childhood legging.[28] Perhaps, rather, it was one of a pair of eighth-century *udones* that had accompanied the shoes to Prüm and for which a spurious pedigree had been invented. Jesus' stocking certainly did reach Sens, where the 'Lord's hose' (*caliga Domini*) was among the cathedral's relics that Pope Alexander III held up for display to the congregation on his 1163 visit there. By this time, it been scaled down to 'a holy piece of cloth' (*sanctum pannum*), a description fully compatible with the remains of a simple white sock.[29]

Material tokens of Christ's earthly life were commonplace in early medieval relic collections, but apart from the cross, none of these received any liturgical cult in its own right. They had reached Francia in various ways. Over and

[25] On the role of royal women in the circulation of relics, see further Smith, 'Rulers and relics', p. 94; J. Smith, 'Material Christianity in the early medieval household', in J. Doran, C. Methuen and A. Walsham (eds), *Religion and the Household* (Woodbridge, 2014), 23–46, pp. 44–5.

[26] W. Hunt, *Two Chartularies of the Priory of St Peter at Bath* (London, 1893), p. lxxvi. Bath is known to have had links with two abbeys in the vicinity of Saint-Riquier: Saint-Bertin and Saint-Vaast; S. Kelly, *Charters of Bath and Wells* (Oxford, 2007), p. 12.

[27] On the pontifical sock-like leggings called *caligae*, see M. Miller, *Clothing the Clergy. Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe, c. 800–1200* (Ithaca, NY, 2014), pp. 174, 199.

[28] 'Caligula Domini Salvatoris qua tempore suae sanctae pueritiae usus est; nam unius cubiti habet longitudinem': Hariulf, *Chronique de Saint-Riquier* III, c. 20, pp. 141–2, emending from *caligula* (boot) to *caliga* (hose) to make sense of the dimensions.

[29] G. de Courlon (ed.), *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens rédigée vers la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Sens, 1876), p. 484.

above the modest items that Jerusalem pilgrims brought home with them, Constantinople and Rome both played a vital role as nodes in the circulation of relics. From at least the time of Radegund onwards, Frankish queens and kings had looked to Constantinople as both inspiration and a specific source. Here, the huge assemblage of relics of Jesus's life and Passion housed in the Pharos chapel of the imperial palace supplemented the remains of apostles and martyrs that the city had steadily sucked into its churches and monasteries from the 350s onwards.[30] Rome, by contrast, was amply endowed with its own martyr remains, which were eagerly sought out by the Carolingians, and it also acted as a centre for the onward distribution of relics of the eastern saints whose cults had become naturalised there. It too had a collection of Holy Land relics that approximated to that in the Pharos and was housed in a private chapel – in this case the chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum (Holy of Holies) in the Lateran palace, whose role as a source of papal gifts of relics for western rulers is likely but unproven.[31]

So might Pippin have acquired the sandals during his diplomatic exchanges with either Constantinople or Rome?[32] When and how did they reach these two cities? In the case of the former, the answer is precise: according to Leo the Deacon, John I Tzimiskes (969–76) captured the sandals while campaigning in Syria and added them to the Pharos collection, where they feature regularly in later reports of its astonishing contents.[33] This being so, I shall eliminate Constantinople as the source of Pippin III and Bertrada's gift to Prüm.

As far as Roman sources are concerned, the sandals are first mentioned in November 861 when Nicholas I brought the recalcitrant Archbishop John of

[30] M. Bacci, 'Relics of the Pharos chapel: a view from the Latin West', in A. Lidov (ed.), *Eastern Christian Relics* (Moscow, 2003), 234–47; P. Magdalino, 'L'église du Phare et les reliques de la Passion à Constantinople', in J. Durand and B. Flusin (eds), *Byzance et les reliques du Christ* (Paris, 2004), 15–30; P. Schreiner, 'Diplomatische Geschenke zwischen Byzanz und dem Westen ca. 800–1200: Eine Analyse der Texte mit Quellenanhang', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004), 251–82.

[31] Smith, 'Old saints, new cults'; J. Smith, 'Care of relics in early medieval Rome', in V. Garver and O. Phelan (eds), *Rome and Religion in the Medieval World: Studies in Honor of Thomas F. X. Noble* (Farnham, 2014), 179–205.

[32] J. Nelson, 'Religion in the age of Charlemagne', in J. Arnold (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity* (Oxford, 2014), 490–514, p. 491.

[33] Leo the Deacon, *Historiae libri decem* X, c. 4, ed. C. Hase (Bonn, 1828), pp. 165–6; ed. and trans. D. Sullivan and A. Talbot, *The History of Leo the Deacon. Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century* (Washington, DC, 2005), pp. 207–8, with qualifications in nn. 35–6 about the date and place of their capture. See further B. Flusin, 'Construire une nouvelle Jérusalem: Constantinople et les reliques', in M. Amir-Moezzi and J. Scheid (eds), *L'Orient dans l'histoire religieuse de l'Europe* (Turnhout, 2000), 51–70; and Bacci, 'Relics of the Pharos chapel'. Matthew of Edessa reports that Tzimiskes found the sandals at Gibeon, north of Jerusalem: Flusin, 'Construire une nouvelle Jérusalem', p. 56.

Ravenna to order and ended his insubordination. In front of nearly 100 bishops and other clergy, John renewed his profession of obedience in the grand chamber of the Lateran patriarchate, which Leo III had built. Then everyone processed to the Lateran basilica where he abjured the charges of heresy against him and his sentence of excommunication was lifted. The sandals' significance emerges clearly in the detailed account in the *Liber pontificalis*, which describes how, in returning to obedience, John placed the written version of the promise he had given to the papacy upon his accession on top of a crucifix, the four gospels and the sandals of Christ. Then, still holding his text, he vowed full obedience to Rome for the rest of his life.[34] Although Nicholas clearly regarded the sandals as a material instantiation of the Lateran's authority of the highest order, it is unclear how long they had been there. Writing his *Commentary on Matthew* during the 850s in retirement at Saint-Riquier, Paschasius Radbertus asserted that the *sandalia Domini* had protected the soles of Jesus' feet without covering their upper side, and that they were 'still to this day' in Rome.[35]

Yet Rome too is an implausible place for the sandals to have become a relic. Indeed, we are entitled to suspect that the pair in Rome were a gift from Louis the Pious to Pope Stephen IV (816–17) when the latter travelled to Reims to consecrate him in October 816. Agnellus of Ravenna prefaced his report of the new emperor's gift of one of Charlemagne's silver tables to Archbishop Martin of Ravenna (810–18) with an account of how Stephen IV had travelled home via this city, having received from the new Carolingian emperor 'whatever he asked from him':

> He [Pope Stephen] came to Ravenna, and both bishops kissed, the Roman and the Ravennate. And the Roman bishop celebrated mass in the Ursiana church, and displayed the sandals of the Savior [*sandalias Saluatoris*], which all the people saw. And having left the city, he joyfully returned to his own see.[36]

[34] *LP*, Vol. II, p. 157. For the full dossier of texts concerning the synod of November 861, see *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche 860–874*, ed. W. Hartmann, *MGH Conc.* 4, no. 8, 58–67, pp. 58–64.

[35] Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo libri XII* VI, lines 919–21, ed. B. Paulus, 3 vols, *CCCM* 56, 56A, 56B (Turnhout, 1984), Vol. 56A, p. 584. *In Matheum* X:10: 'Unde et adhuc hodie sandalie Domini Rome habentur quibus pedes tecti et intecti monstrantur. Id est ut nec nudi deorsum ad terram sint, nec cooperti desuper.' On the circumstances in which Paschasius wrote his *Commentary on Matthew* see M. de Jong, 'Becoming Jeremiah: Paschasius Radbertus on Wala, himself and others', in R. Corradini, M. Gillis, R. McKitterick and I. van Renswoude (eds), *Ego Trouble. Authors and Their Identities in the Early Middle Ages* (Vienna, 2010), 185–96, esp. p. 189.

[36] Agnellus of Ravenna, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, c. 170, ed. D. Deliyannis, *CCCM* 199 (Turnhout, 2006), p. 350; trans. D. Deliyannis, *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna* (Washington, DC, 2004), p. 298.

Archbishop Martin had to make do with a silver table, while Pope Stephen, it seems, got the sandals of Christ. Further, if the sandals did indeed reach Rome as a gift from Louis the Pious – Pippin III and Bertrada's grandson – their 'discovery' in tenth-century Syria becomes an unusual case of a Byzantine emperor striving to emulate the West.

By the 960s, Byzantine envoys must surely have been aware of the presence of the sandals in Rome. By the late eleventh century, the 'sandals, that is shoes of the Lord' were kept in a silver reliquary box inside Leo III's cypress altar-chest in the Sancta Sanctorum at the heart of the Lateran patriarchate.[37] Nicholas I may well have kept them in the same place, where they would have been readily to hand for ceremonial use elsewhere in the Lateran. Their other recorded ritual use in Rome occurs in a liturgical order from the 1140s, where they featured along with two other relics kept in Leo's chest (the cross and foreskin of Christ) that were carried to the Lateran basilica as part of the stational liturgy for the Exaltation of the Holy Cross every 14 September.[38] Whether this processional use stretched back into the ninth century cannot be ascertained; what is certain is that the sandals (and the foreskin) were subsequently dropped from the Roman liturgy for 14 September.[39]

When Leo III's altar-chest was opened and its contents examined in 1905, the medieval lists thereof shaped the investigators' interpretation of what they found. Inside a rectangular silver reliquary, and resting on a Byzantine patterned silk depicting scenes of the nativity, was a piece of coarse yellowish cloth with fragments of resinous leather stuck to it, which were interpreted at the time as the soles and laces of the 'sandals of Christ'.[40] None of the 119 relic

[37] Their presence there is reported in the late-eleventh-century recension of the *Descriptio Lateranensis ecclesiae*, ed. D. Giorgi, *De liturgia Romani pontificis in solemni celebratione missarum liber quartus*, 3 vols (facsimile reprint of 1st edn, Rome, 1731–44; Farnborough, 1970), p. 545: 'sandalia id est calciamenta Domini'. Several other authors record their presence there: see *La chronique de Saint-Hubert dite Cantatorium*, ed. K. Hanquet (Brussels, 1906), p. 72; C. Märtl (ed.), *Die falschen Investiturprivilegien*, *MGH Fontes iuris* 13, pp. 21–2, 156; Peter the Deacon, *Liber de locis sanctis*, cited in 'Appendix ad *Itinerarium Egeriae*', *Itineraria et alia geographica*, ed. P. Geyer *et al.*, *CCSL* 175 (Turnhout, 1965), p. 96.

[38] L. Duchesne, P. Fabre and G. Mollat (eds), *Le Liber censuum de l'église romaine*, 3 vols (Paris, 1889–1952), Vol. I, p. 159.

[39] S. de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor. Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale. Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri*, 2 vols (Vatican City, 1994),Vol. I, pp. 317–19.

[40] P. Lauer, *Le trésor du Sancta Sanctorum* (Paris, 1906), pp. 81, 124; cf. the competing account of H. Grisar, *Die römische Kapelle Sancta Sanctorum und ihr Schatz. Meine Entdeckungen und Studien in der Palastkapelle der mittelalterlichen Päpste* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1908), pp. 100–2.

labels found inside the chest mentions the sandals or the foreskin, however.[41] Their disappearance from such a rigorously controlled and well documented environment as the Sancta Sanctorum can hardly have been accidental: they were dropped from ritual use and their obliteration from the record appears to have been deliberate.

On this basis, the sandals of Christ would appear to have suffered from many of the same handicaps as the foreskin of Christ, whose implausibility and multiplication was so pilloried by Guibert of Nogent. Moreover, descriptions of them differ, for we have seen that they were variously described as sandals with thongs to tie them on, and generic footwear (*calciamenta*). Their fate, at least at Saint-Riquier and Sens, seems inextricably entwined with some stockings. On the other hand, a genuine history of sandal-relics can be established: they were of great importance to Pippin III, reached Saint-Riquier through Charlemagne's innermost court circles and were transmitted to the Lateran by Louis the Pious. Here, they were used in solemn proceedings by Nicholas I and, for a time, were absorbed into the celebrations of the Exaltation of the Cross. And they were sufficiently important that, not to be outdone, the Byzantine imperial relic collection also acquired them. This is sufficient to suggest that they should be taken seriously and appraised alongside other material remains of Christ's earthly existence.

For the most part, early medieval relic collectors such as Angilbert and Lothar I assembled things that denoted specific moments in the story of Jesus' life, from birth to resurrection, including what subsequently became known as the 'instruments of the Passion', or *arma Christi*. These objects were commonplace in early medieval relic collections and usually correlate with the sites named in late antique and early medieval pilgrim itineraries to the Holy Land. Relics – such as those of the crib, column of the flagellation, bucket of vinegar, seamless tunic and stone in front of the tomb. They turned biblical events into highly portable form, enabling the Holy Land to be relocated into western churches.[42] Directly or indirectly (via Constantinople or other intermediaries), they always stemmed from the Holy Land.

But not so the sandals of Christ: no itinerary mentions them, nor does the list of churches surveyed by Charlemagne's agents in the Holy Land. An authoritative local – i.e. Syrian – perspective on the mid-eighth-century cults of Christ's relics is provided by John of Damascus, who lists 'places and things by which God has accomplished our salvation' in the course of a sermon in defence of icons. These include various items of Jesus' apparel,

[41] B. Galland (ed.), *Les authentiques de reliques du Sancta Sanctorum* (Vatican City, 2004), p. 61.

[42] I have discussed this in 'Portable Christianity: relics in the medieval West (*c.* 700–1200)', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 181 (2012), 143–67.

notably his robe, seamless tunic, winding-sheet and swaddling clothes – but no footwear.[43] There is no trace whatsoever of the sandals of Christ in the Holy Land, probably because they lacked association with any of the many places connected with Jesus' earthly existence. Pippin and Bertrada's gift cannot have originated in the province where Jesus was born, lived and died.

Carolingian readers of the gospels were nevertheless fully familiar with them. They feature in a rhetorical trope that all four evangelists put into the mouth of John the Baptist. Contrasting his own use of water to the spirit and fire with which Jesus would baptise, the 'Forerunner' had declared: 'he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear'.[44] Their presence is counterfactual, their context is baptism and they signify everything that separated the mortal John from the saviour who would follow him. In short, they are an interloper in medieval relic lists, unconnected with the material traces of gospel narratives.

Thanks to their mention in Scripture, Jesus shoes had a lively theological existence. Carolingian exegetes could draw on a range of patristic comments, notably one of Gregory the Great's sermons on the gospels, the views of Augustine on baptism and a commentary on Matthew by an anonymous eighth-century Irishman.[45] Augustine also helpfully pointed out that there is no conflict between Matthew's version of the episode and that of the other three gospels, in which John the Baptist declared his unworthiness to undo the straps of Jesus' shoes: both are expressions of humility.[46]

The two Carolingian commentators beloved by Mayke de Jong – Hrabanus Maurus and Paschasius Radbertus – both authored weighty commentaries on Matthew and addressed the holy footwear in this context. Hrabanus, in typical fashion, summarised his sources in a careful sequence: (following Augustine) John the Baptist was simply expressing his humility, but nevertheless those looking for an allegorical reading might (following Gregory the Great) understand the sentence as signifying the divinity's fleshly incarnation,

[43] John of Damascus, *Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres* III, c. 34, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, Vol. III (Berlin, 1975), pp. 139–40; trans. D. Anderson, *On the Divine Images: Three Apologies against Those who Attack the Divine Images* (New York, 1980), pp. 85–6.

[44] '[Q]ui autem post me venturus est, fortior me est, cuius non sum dignus calceamenta portare' (Matt. 3.11).

[45] Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia* VII, 3, ed. R. Étaix, *CCSL* 141 (Turnhout, 1999), p. 49; Augustine of Hippo, 'De baptismo libri septem' V.ix.10, in *Scripta contra Donatistas*, ed. M. Petschenig, *CSEL* 51 (Vienna, 1908), p. 271; *Liber questionum in Evangeliis*, c. 3, ed. J. Rittmueller, *CCSL* 108F (Turnhout, 2003), p. 64.

[46] Cf. Mark 1.7, Luke 3.16, John 1.27. See Augustine of Hippo, *De consensu euangelistarum libri quattuor* II.xii.29, ed. F. Weihrich, *CSEL* 43 (Vienna, 1904), pp. 129–30.

since everyone knows that shoes are made from dead animals.[47] Similarly, Paschasius Radbertus gave two readings. The basic one noted John the Baptist's humility and refusal to liken himself to Jesus; the advanced one emphasised the magnitude of the mystery signified by this footwear: the incarnation of the Word, no less than the universal sacraments of the gospels, which John was never worthy to preach.[48] By contrast, Heiric of Auxerre took the opportunity of a sermon to deal with the Baptist's unworthiness to untie Jesus' shoes, which indicated the unworthiness of humankind to fathom the mystery of the incarnation. 'The shoelaces', he declared, 'are the inexplicable mystery of Christ's birth'.[49] Commenting on the Gospel of John, John the Scot agreed with Heiric about the thongs. But his starting position was that shoes come in pairs: the *calciamentum Christi* referred to the visible creation and holy Scripture, the twin tracks, or footprints (*vestigia*), imprinted by his feet.[50] In Carolingian theology, then, Jesus' footwear was always figural and typological.

We may doubt whether the explanations of Gregory the Great and Augustine were widely known in the circle of Pippin III. It was enough that Jesus' shoes were sanctioned by the Bible; their lack of narrative or topographical anchoring in Scripture cannot have mattered. But words mattered very much to the Frankish scholars who wrestled with biblical conundrums, and in pursuing the riddle of why the sandals of Christ first emerge in Pippin's reign, and at Prüm, we should be as alert to the niceties of vocabulary as they were. Carolingian exegesis of John the Baptist's words followed Vulgate usage in using *calciamentum/-a* as its standard word for footwear throughout the

[47] Hrabanus Maurus, *Expositio in Matthaeum*, ed. B. Löfstedt, 2 vols, *CCCM* 174–174A (Turnhout, 2000), p. 82: 'Nihil autem intendit Iohannes, cum de calciamentis Domini dixerat, nisi excellentiam eius et humilitatem suam. Si autem allegoria in hoc quaeritur, potest calciamentum Domini incarnationem eius significare. Quis enim nesciat, quod calciamenta ex mortuis animalibus fiant? Incarnatus uero Dominus ueniens quasi calciatus apparuit, qui in Diuinitate sua corpus nostrae mortalitatis assumpsit.'

[48] Paschasius, *Expositio in Matheo* II, lines 2889–96, *CCCM* 56, p. 204: 'Ex quo nimirum iuxta simplicem intelligentiam condigne se humiliat ne se illi comparasse videatur, qui se calciamenta ejus portare non dignum judicat. Ceterum si altiora paulisper contueamur in calceamentis mysterii supereminet magnitudo. Per calciamenta quippe se non minus Verbi incarnatio, quam universa evangelii sacramenta designantur quae beatus Joannes nequaquam dignus fuit portare.'

[49] Heiric of Auxerre, *Homeliae per circulum anni* I, c. 4, lines 283–4, ed. R. Quadri, *CCCM* 116, 116A and 116B (Turnhout, 1992–94), p. 44: 'Corrigia calciamenti inenodabile est mysterium natiuitatis Christi.'

[50] Johannes Scotus Eriugena, *Commentaire sur l'évangile de Jean* I, *c. 29*, ed. É. Jeauneau, SC (Paris, 1972), p. 154: 'Potest etiam per calciamentum Christi uisibilis creatura et sancta scriptura significari; in his enim uestigia sua ueluti pedes suos infigit.'

Old and New Testaments.[51] *Sandalia*, by contrast, only appear once in the gospels: Jesus sent his disciples to preach with nothing except a staff, wearing only sandals and a single garment (Mark 6.8–9).[52] If Jesus wore *calciamenta*, his disciples wore *sandalia*. So did their successors, and by the tenth century, *sandalia* held in place with laces had become a standard item of liturgical apparel for Ottonian bishops. As the ninth-century(?) liturgical handbook *Liber Quare* stated: 'sandals [*sandalia*] signify the journeying of preachers'.[53]

Among the Carolingian liturgical commentators who evinced an interest in priestly shoes, Walahfrid Strabo stands out. Writing at Reichenau in 840–42, he devised a brief history of priestly attire, in which he was clear that *sandalia* were among the more recent additions.[54] He was correct that they were a novelty, for prior to the Carolingian era, the usage of special shoes in which to celebrate Mass was an Italian, especially Roman, one. In early papal contexts, however, they were not styled *sandalia* but *campagi*.[55] Their introduction into the Frankish Church seems to have taken place in the course of the romanising Carolingian liturgical reforms launched by Pippin III but catalysed by Charlemagne. A sure sign of royal interest survives in a capitulary clause of 789 which flags 'shoes [*calciamenta*] in the Roman fashion' as an item of ecclesiastical business for discussion.[56] In the light of this, the sudden upsurge of ninth-century exegetical interest in biblical footwear betrays a new awareness of an object of curiosity and significance. The routine occurrence of *sandalia* among the liturgical vestments owned by Ottonian bishops shows how widespread their usage had become, and how the Roman terminology had been displaced by a more familiar word.[57]

[51] *Calciament** occurs thirty-three times in the Vulgate.

[52] *Sandal** also occurs twice in Judith, but is otherwise absent from the Vulgate.

[53] *Liber Quare*, ed. G. Götz, *CCCM* 60 (Turnhout, 1983), *quaestio* 253, p. 103: 'Quaerendum est, quid sandalia significent? Sandalia cursum praedicatorum significant.' Note that, in the opinion of this author (*quaestio* 252, pp. 102–3) only bishops' sandals have straps, unlike those of priests and deacons. On the date of *Liber Quare*, see R. Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ from Their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Berlin, 1978), p. 114.

[54] Walahfrid Strabo, *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum*, c. 25, line 25, ed. A. Harting-Correa (Leiden, 1996), p. 152.

[55] As Henri Leclercq pointed out, shoes are one of the items of liturgical apparel of which least is known: H. Leclercq, 'Chaussures', in F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq (eds), *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (Paris, 1913), cols 1232–56. There are many helpful comments on shoes in Miller, *Clothing the Clergy*, with pp. 29, 34, 87, 99–100 and Figs 12–14 specifically on *campagi*.

[56] *Duplex legationis edictum* (*a.* 789), c. 24, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* I, 62–4, p. 64: 'De calciamentis secundum Romanum usum'.

[57] Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse* confirms that the term *campagi* never appears in German inventories.

Ceremonial footwear was not the exclusive preserve of the clergy, however. Careful readers of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* would have encountered a bewildering range of archaic words for many types of ancient footwear (although not including *sandalia*). Isidore had noted that one of these classical terms, *calcei*, denoted the footwear that was worn by kings and emperors and by *patricii*.[58] Einhard knew this: 'shoes [*calcei*] made in the Roman manner' formed part of the attire that Hadrian I had insisted Charlemagne wear on one of his visits to the city, and that Leo III also imposed upon him.[59] We may be confident both popes knew exactly what sort of footwear a well-dressed king/emperor should wear on his feet when he attended a papal mass, and may suspect that they relied on Byzantine ceremonial precedents.[60]

Pippin and Bertrada's encounter with the full panoply of Roman ceremonial took place in Francia, not in Rome, and occurred in 754, not 751. Prüm's nineteenth-century triptych got a significant detail wrong, however, for it involved Stephen II, not Zachary. Scholarly attention has tended to focus on the ceremonies in Saint-Denis, when Stephen anointed the king, queen and their two sons and also bestowed on Pippin the title *patricius Romanorum*, an event that took place perhaps on 28 July, but probably before Easter.[61] But this was not their first encounter, and in this context, their initial meeting at the start of the same year is more important.

In the depths of winter, the young Charlemagne met the pontiff and his huge retinue as he descended from the Alps, and led him to the royal *villa* at

[58] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, XIX.xxxiv.4, ed. W. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri 20*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1911): 'Calceos reges utebantur et Caesares … Patricios calceos Romulus repperit quattuor corrigiarum, adsutaque luna: hos soli patricii utebantur.'

[59] *Vita Karoli*, c. 23, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH SRG* 25, p. 28: 'Peregrina vero indumenta, quamvis pulcherrima, respuebat nec umquam eis indui patiebatur, excepto quod Romae semel Hadriano pontifice petente et iterum Leone successore eius supplicante longa tunica et clamide amictus, calceis quoque Romano more formatis induebatur.' *Calceus* was a rare word in the Middle Ages; in *c.* 1148, Wibald of Stablo glossed several passages in his personal copy of the *Vita Karoli*, including the account of Charlemagne's attire in *c.* 23: for *calceis* he noted 'id est sandaliis'. On Wibald's manuscript, see M. Tischler, *Einharts 'Vita Karoli'. Studien zur Entstehung, Überlieferung und Rezeption*, *MGH Schriften* 48, pp. 648–59, esp. pp. 653–4.

[60] By the tenth century, red shoes formed part of Byzantine imperial insignia and were imitated by Abbasid caliphs, but I have been unable to locate earlier evidence for the footwear of emperors or *patrikioi*. See N. El Cheikh, 'The institutionalisation of Abbasid ceremonial', in J. Hudson and A. Rodríguez (eds), *Diverging Paths? The Shapes of Power and Institutions in Medieval Christendom and Islam* (Leiden, 2014), 351–70, p. 362.

[61] The date traditionally given is 28 July, but for the argument in favour of a date before Easter, see Nelson, 'Bertrada', p. 102.

Ponthion where his formal *adventus* was staged on 6 January; in the chapel on the royal estate, Stephen pleaded for assistance against the Lombard threat to Rome. Angenendt has surmised that the pope would certainly have celebrated Mass on such a major ecclesiastical feast day, and that this would have been when he and the king were in the chapel together.[62] If so, this was a classic example of the skilful exploitation of the liturgical calendar to create a heightened political aura. Mass on 6 January commemorated the giving of gifts to the Christ-child by the three *magi*, 'the first representatives of the Gentiles', as Hrabanus Maurus styled them.[63] Perhaps Pippin's cousin Count Nibelung was in the royal retinue that day: the chronicle he commissioned deferred mention of the request for help against the Lombards until after describing how 'coming into the king's presence, Stephen, the Roman pope, bestowed many gifts on the king himself and the Franks'.[64]

What gifts might a pope who had made an unprecedented, lengthy transalpine journey have selected as suitable for the new king of the Franks, his wife and sons? Relics brought from the Lateran basilica Salvatoris, perhaps? We know too little about papal gifts to Carolingian kings, but they certainly could include costly prestige items such as those sent by Stephen's brother and successor Paul I (757–67), including a spoon, a jewelled sword and swordbelt, rings set with gemstones, and a silk patterned with peacocks.[65] Would a pair of top-quality Roman ceremonial shoes have been out of the question as a gift for either the king or his queen? Perhaps Stephen's baggage included all the vestments befitting a *patricius Romanorum*, shoes and even white socks included? Had he delivered a homily that made reference to shoes as a sign of humility? Had the notary Baddilo, with his penchant for high-flown rhetoric, also been among the bystanders on 6 January? Had the king and queen subsequently donated whatever Stephen had given them to their foundation in honour of the Saviour at Prüm? This hypothesis proposes that Baddilo used his rhetorical ingenuity to tag a papal gift of ceremonial shoes as 'the sandals of Christ'. If so,

[62] A. Angenendt, 'Pippins Königserhebung und Salbung', in M. Becher and J. Jarnut (eds), *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751. Vorgeschichte, Legitimationsstrategien und Erinnerung* (Münster, 2004), 179–210, p. 198.

[63] 'Primi legati gentium': 'Hymnus in Epiphania', in Hrabanus Maurus, *Carmina*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Poet. lat.* 2, 154–258, p. 248.

[64] *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar with Its Continuations*, ed. J. Wallace-Hadrill (Edinburgh, 1960), p. 104: 'Stephanus papa Romensis ad praesentiam regis ueniens et multis muneribus tam ipso rege quam et Francis largitus est' (my translation).

[65] See the postscript to *Codex Carolinus* 17, ed. W. Gundlach, *Codex epistolaris Carolinus*, *MGH Epp.* 3, 469–657, p. 517. On papal gift-giving, see further A. Hack, *Codex Carolinus. Päpstliche Epistolographie im 8. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 2006–07), Vol. II, pp. 856–9, 1056–7.

he thereby elided the full symbolism of an exceptional gift on an extraordinary occasion into a simple sound-bite, suitable for a relic list.

In 816, another pope called Stephen (IV) again crossed the Alps to negotiate with a new Carolingian ruler, Louis the Pious, and in October of that year confirmed his rule by anointing and crowning him at Reims. By then, the aggressively independent Lombard kingdom had been destroyed; Rome was secure; and although northern Italy was under firm Carolingian control, it was nevertheless time for the pope to seek clarification of the status of Rome within the Carolingian polity.[66] On his return journey, Stephen carried, as we have seen, 'sandals of Christ', something big enough to display to a crowd.[67] Could these have been the same shoes that Pippin and Bertrada had given to Prüm, now being repatriated? Alternatively, had this pair been taken north in the papal baggage train in 816, for the new ruler to wear at a papal ceremony that, in Tom Noble's words, was 'roughly analogous' to that in 754?[68] It seems likely that the 'sandals of Christ' originated as elaborately crafted ceremonial footwear that the pope gave Pippin III when he travelled north to anoint him in 754, and perhaps also an analogous pair provided for Louis the Pious in 816.

Prestigious and exotic, this pair of decorated shoes epitomised the characteristics of early medieval gifts: 'versatility; ambivalence; [and] connectivity'.[69] These properties go a long way towards explaining the sandals' remarkable afterlife. They were versatile enough to be repurposed as symbolic tokens of a new, specifically Carolingian form of Christological kingship. In so doing, they tied Pippin, Bertrada and their dynasty to the Lateran with a knot that was intended to be permanent, while instantiating that bond at their family foundation, Prüm. They conferred such cachet on their owners that they stimulated the two new Jerusalems, Rome and Constantinople, into finding sandals of Christ for themselves, in emulation of the upstart Carolingians. Because the sandals were material objects imbued with symbolic significance, they also enjoyed many of the same qualities as relics. Tangible objects of distant origin with powerful associative qualities, they could be replicated by subdivision or cultural cloning, just as textile and corporeal relics were.[70] They could be held up for display, carried in procession, enshrined and inventoried. They came into being as an authentic relic at a specific political moment because they embodied biblical literalism, papal ceremonial and highfalutin rhetoric, and were accepted for as long as their credibility was unquestioned.

[66] As T. Noble, *The Republic of St Peter. The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia, 1984), p. 303.

[67] Above, p. 000.

[68] Noble, *The Republic of St Peter*, p. 302.

[69] J. Nelson, 'The role of the gift in early medieval diplomatic relations', *Le relazioni internazionali nell'alto medioevo: 8–12 aprile 2010* (Spoleto, 2011), 225–48, p. 248.

[70] See further Smith, 'Portable Christianity'.

That credibility rested on a sound biblical pedigree, unlike 'the Lord's hose'. Thanks to the imagination of a cleric struggling to explain a prestigious, unusual textile relic but familiar with the custom of keeping children's legs warm by clothing them in leggings, these sock-relics had an ephemeral career that never took root. The 'sandals of Christ', on the other hand, were a product of a Carolingian way of reading the Bible and interpreting the world through its lens. But as techniques of biblical interpretation changed, so too did their plausibility as relics, and an identification that the Carolingians had accepted came unstuck in late-twelfth-century Rome. At that point, ambivalence became their dominant attribute, and they were taken out of liturgical use. Only pious nineteenth-century antiquarianism at Prüm rescued them from complete oblivion.

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24

Rulers, popes and bishops: the historical context of the ninth-century Cologne *Codex Carolinus* manuscript (*Codex Vindobonensis* 449)

Dorine van Espelo

A unique source in many respects, the *Codex epistolaris Carolinus* comprises ninety-nine papal letters that were sent to the Carolingian court between 739 and 790.[1] These are mostly addressed to the Frankish rulers Charles Martel, Pippin III, Carloman and Charlemagne, but there are also three letters grouped together in the collection about Adoptionism sent by Pope Hadrian I to the Spanish bishops. The letters shed light on many aspects of the burgeoning Frankish–papal relations in this period and are therefore indispensable pieces of information on the history of the Franks, Lombards and Rome in the second half of the eighth century. In them we read, for instance, of the popes' bids for help against the Lombards and expressing their opinion on topics such as the politics of Italy and matters of the Church; of Hadrian I's territorial claims; and of popes emulating, praising but sometimes also reprimanding the Frankish rulers, all in order to establish and maintain their mutual bond.

[1] Entry 15 in the collection is merely a summary, so there are technically only ninety-eight letters in the collection. The most recent edition is *Codex epistolaris Carolinus* (hereafter *Codex Carolinus*), ed. W. Gundlach, *MGH Epp.* 3, 469–657. A facsimile edition has also been published (hereafter *Facsimile*): *Codex epistolaris Carolinus*, ed. F. Unterkircher, Codices selecti 3 (Graz, 1962). A number of letters dating to the reign of Charlemagne are (partially) translated in P. King, *Charlemagne. Translated Sources* (Kendal, 1987), pp. 269–307. The most recent studies of the *Codex Carolinus* are T. Orth-Müller, *Philologische Studien zu den Papstbriefen des Codex epistolaris Karolinus*, Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters 47 (Berlin, 2013); A. Hack, *Codex Carolinus. Päpstliche Epistolographie im 8. Jahrhundert, 2 vols*, Päpste und Papsttum 35 (Stuttgart, 2006–07). Also see T. Noble, 'The Bible in the *Codex Carolinus*', in C. Leonardi and G. Orlandi (eds), *Biblical Studies in the Early Middle Ages* (Florence, 2005), 61–74.

As the *praefatio* to the collection, written at the behest of Charlemagne, informs us, it was put together in the twenty-third year of the king's reign (791). Since it explains the king's reasons for having the letters rewritten on parchment, it offers the best entry to understanding why and for what purpose the collection was prepared, and tells us that it is not only the individual letters that are exceptional testimonies to this dynamic period in history; their compilation into a coherent codex too reflects the spirit of the age and the Carolingian court agenda. The *Codex Carolinus* should, then, not merely be considered for its papal contents but should also be regarded as a highly valuable Carolingian source, since it reflects the interest of the Frankish court of the 790s in preserving historical documents.

Problematic for our understanding of the *Codex Carolinus* is that we do not have the original manuscript from 791, nor do we know if any other copies circulated at some point. Today, the letter collection survives solely in a unique, later-ninth-century codex, known as *Codex Vindobonensis* 449, which is associated with Archbishop Willibert of Cologne (870–89) because of the inscription *LIBER VVILLIBERTI ARCHIEPI[SCOPI]* that is glued on the inside of the front cover (fol. av) in a ninth-century black rustica script.[2] We therefore assume that this archbishop owned the manuscript, but we cannot be sure that it was also copied under his auspices. The manuscript appears to correspond both palaeographically and codicologically to Willibert's time and the Cologne scriptorium, although there are indications that it may have been produced some decades earlier, around the middle of the ninth century.[3] Consequently, although it is certain that he claimed ownership of it, we cannot be sure that the manuscript was indeed produced under Willibert's auspices. But what explains Willibert's interest in the *Codex Carolinus*? This question has so far not been addressed in modern historiography, probably in part because of the lack of information and details on what happened to the *Codex Carolinus* from its creation in 791 onwards as a result of the isolated manuscript dissemination and the pertaining uncertainties. Despite these unfortunate gaps in our knowledge, I will attempt to offer some considerations with regard to its emergence in the episcopal library of Cologne. At this point, I should like to warn the reader that, in what follows, there will be more suggestions than conclusions on offer, but I hope to present some food for thought.

Our manuscript's historical and socio-political context is that of the East Frankish Kingdom in the second half of the ninth century, a turbulent period

[2] Another reference to Willibert, in lower case, is found on the inside of the back cover; *Facsimile*, pp. x, xxiii.

[3] *Facsimile*, p. xx; Gundlach's preface to his *Codex Carolinus* edition, p. 469; Hack, *Codex Carolinus* 1, pp. 84–5; C. Gantner, *Freunde Roms und Völker der Finsternis. Die päpstliche Konstruktion von Anderen im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar, 2014), pp. 38–9.

by any account, with conflicts and rivalries involving the various rulers of the Carolingian subkingdoms, but also the papal Republic of St Peter. During the later 850s and 860s, Cologne was at the centre of controversy for years as a result of King Lothar II's (r. 855–69) bitter struggle with the papacy to have his marriage to Theutberga dissolved. Owing to Archbishop Gunther's (850–63) involvement in the case as Lothar's subservient adherent, the see of Cologne, located in Lotharingia, became a focal point for Carolingian dynastic ambitions and the exercise of papal authority. When 'our' Willibert took up the episcopal position in 870, amidst the rivalries between Louis the German (king of East Francia from 840 to 876) and Charles the Bald (r. 843–77, emperor in 875), the controversy did not end immediately. Owing his position to the former, Willibert remained Louis's loyal supporter throughout his reign. Yet where Gunther's episcopate had been turbulent, Willibert's was characterised by problems of its own, brought about by, among others, his disputed election. As a result, he was faced with pacifying and mending the destabilising forces that had dominated his see in the past years.

It is against this wider canvas of influential popes and rival rulers that the appearance of the *Codex Carolinus* in Willibert's archiepiscopal library may be explained. But, before the re-emergence of the *Codex Carolinus* in the later ninth century can discussed, the historical background of its creation in the later eighth century should be briefly addressed.

A historical context: the 790s

Charlemagne's preface to the collection quite straightforwardly explains what is in it, namely: 'letters, which in the time of the Lord Charles his grandfather [i.e. Charles Martel] of blessed memory and also his glorious father Pippin and from his own time were known to be directed to them, and are about the highest Apostolic See of St Peter the Apostle and about the *imperium* [i.e. Carolingian rule or realm]'.[4] This preface transmutes into the lemma, or heading, introducing the letter that opens the collection, written by Gregory III to Charles Martel in 739, and underlines the importance of the papal letters and the need to safeguard them as carriers of truthful knowledge and authority, coming from the figureheads of the Roman Church.[5] Additionally, the preface

[4] *Codex Carolinus*, p. 476: 'epistolas, quae tempore bonae memoriae domni caroli avi sui nec non et gloriosi genitoris sui pippini suisque temporibus de summa sede apostolica beati petri apostolorum principis seu etiam de imperio ad eos directae esse noscuntur'.

[5] In Gundlach's *MGH* edition, the first lines of the lemma to Gregory III's letter from 739 are represented as part of the foreword. I thank Marco Mostert for bringing this to my attention. In the analysis and translation of this foreword in my own article 'A

informs us that the papyrus of the original letters was in a deteriorated state because of carelessness and great age, but this surely was not the only reason why the letters were rewritten on parchment.

Contemporary concerns inspired not only interest in, but also the need for, accessibility of the papal correspondence. A practical factor that may have contributed to this was Bishop (later Archbishop) Hildebald of Cologne's sudden rise to the position of archchaplain in 791, following the unexpected death of his predecessor Angilram. In this position at court Hildebald became, from this point onwards, responsible for maintaining relations between the Frankish court and the bishops of Rome. New on the job, he may have required access to the Carolingian–papal diplomatic relations of the past decades, for which the papal letters to the Carolingian court would have been crucial sources. Could this explain why the papal correspondence was suddenly compiled into a coherent collection in 791? If this indeed was the case, the *Codex Carolinus* may have functioned as a type of reference book for Hildebald. It is tempting to speculate. In any case, Hildebald's dual responsibilities as bishop of Cologne and archchaplain at Aachen almost certainly explain the emergence of the *Codex Carolinus* in the Cologne library, for it is likely that he brought (a copy of) the original letter collection to his archiepiscopal library, where it was later possibly copied into *Codex Vindobonensis* 449.[6]

On a broader scale, the letter collection reflects the vested interests of the Carolingian court. As is well known, the later eighth century was a time of reform. The desire to preserve the papal missives by restoring and rewriting (*renovare ac rescribere*) them, as expressed in the preface, is reminiscent of the spirit of the later 780s and 790s, and echoes the guiding principles (alongside *correctio* and *emendatio*) of the Carolingian court.[7] Emphasising

testimony of Carolingian rule? The *Codex epistolaris carolinus*, its historical context, and the meaning of *imperium*', *EME* 21 (2013), 254–82, I have followed Gundlach's edition. In a forthcoming volume on the *Codex Carolinus* in the Liverpool University Press series Translated Texts for Historians, which I am currently preparing with Rosamond McKitterick and Richard Pollard, the lemmata in the collection will be analysed in more detail.

[6] J. Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, 2 vols, Vol. I: *Die karolingische Hofkapelle* (Stuttgart, 1959), pp. 49–55, 234–8; also see M. Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel? Education for an identity from Pippin to Charlemagne', in Y. Hen and M. Innes (eds), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), 114–61, p. 127.

[7] I have discussed the later-eighth-century context of the *Codex Carolinus* in 'A testimony of Carolingian rule?'; also see Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, pp. 65–6. On the Carolingian ruler's responsibility for the correct worship of God and his people: M. de Jong, 'Religion', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2001), 131–64, esp. pp. 139–42; M. de Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', in J. Story (ed.),

the importance of the letters to the Carolingian dynasty and rule, the *Codex Carolinus* was not only a source of information on history and papal precepts and opinions on diverse topics, but also a purposeful collection, documenting the Carolingian–papal relations of the second half of the eighth century. It can therefore be considered as an assertion of Carolingian rule, supporting, and supported by, the bishops of Rome and their Church. A representation of Charlemagne as the Christian ruler in dialogue with the highest spiritual authority on earth thus emerges from the *Codex Carolinus*. As a result, the collection in its entirety attests to the rise of Carolingian royal rule, with Charlemagne's preface presenting a Carolingian perspective on the collected texts' importance.

The compilation also fits nicely with the promulgation of the great reform capitulary known as the *Admonitio generalis* in 789, of which the foreword portrays Charlemagne as guardian of the correct orthodox faith, and the Frankfurt Council of 794 which rebuffed the Adoptionist heresy. In any case, the compilation of the papal letters and the inclusion of those that Hadrian I sent to Spain about this heresy into a coherent assemblage in the period between these major milestones of reform and orthodoxy indicates that such ideas gained momentum at the Carolingian court from the late 780s onwards, culminating in the middle of the 790s. One may hypothesise as to whether the *Codex Carolinus* was perhaps employed in preparation for the Frankfurt Council – or, even, as a type of reference book during the discussions about heresy. We know for a fact that Hildebald himself was involved in these discussions in Frankfurt, as his attendance at the council is attested by a letter of Charlemagne's written to Hildebald and some of his fellow bishops, celebrating their active resistence to heresies and affirming the correct faith.[8] Moreover, the acts of the council mention that Hildebald, like his predecessor Angilram before him, had received papal permission to be absent from his diocese in order to be able to fulfil his position as court chaplain.[9] In the council's acts there are no passages that hint at such a use of the letters in the *Codex Carolinus* specifically, but the eighth chapter does state that, as authoritative

Charlemagne. Empire and Society (Manchester/New York, 2005), 103–35, *passim*; and, for this notion in Louis the Pious's days: M. de Jong, *The Penitential State. Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge, 2009), esp. pp. 114–22; R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895* (London, 1977); R. McKitterick, 'Die karolingische *Renovatio*: Eine Einführung', in *799 Kunst und Kultur*, 668–85; and, most recently, R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne. The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), esp. at pp. 292–380.

[8] Letter from Charlemagne to Hildebald and other bishops, in Alcuin, *Epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 4, 1–481, pp. 529–31.

[9] *Synodus Franconofurtensis* (*a.* 794), c. 55, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* 1, p. 78; also see McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 241.

texts used in another discussion, 'letters of the blessed Gregory, Zosimus, Leo and Symmachus' were read.[10] This goes to show that papal letters were actively used and referred to at councils, and that they could be consulted on the spot. Moreover, it was common practice to read out authoritative texts, both acts of former councils and papal letters that were germane to the topics on the agenda, at episcopal gatherings.[11]

With this in mind, we can move on to the renewed interest in the collection in the archbishopric of Cologne roughly two generations later.

Carolingian rivalries and the archiepiscopal see of Cologne

Relying greatly on Carolingian protection and patronage of Rome, the pontificates of the second half of the eighth century had been characterised by papal aspirations to establish relationships with the Carolingian family. Things changed, however, in the course of the ninth century, when it was not the popes themselves who actively sought to interfere in Frankish business, but the Frankish ecclesiastics propagating papal authority who invited them to do so, rendering the Roman bishops the authoritative sources during episcopal conflicts in the Frankish realms.[12] Of all ninth-century popes, it is principally Pope Nicholas I (858–67) who is associated with the rise of papal authority thanks to his interference in Carolingian politics in the 860s, most notably with regard to the divorce case of Lothar II, king of Lotharingia, the realm that incorporated the episcopate of Cologne.[13] Yet Nicholas, too, acted on Frankish

[10] Translation King, *Charlemagne*, p. 226; *Synodus Franconofurtensis*, 73–8, p. 75: 'lectae sunt epistolae beati Gregorii, Zosimi, Leonis et Simmachi'. The letters were used to settle a dispute between Ursio, bishop of Vienna, and the bishop of Arles.

[11] As testified, for instance, by the circulation of the Visigothic *Ordines de celebrando concilio* in the Carolingian realm from the later eighth century onwards: *Ordines de celebrando concilio*, ed. H. Schneider, *MGH Ordines de celebrando concilio*, Vol. I: *Die Konzilsordines des Früh- und Hochmittelalters*.

[12] De Jong, *The Penitential State*, on the rebellion of Louis's sons in the 830s culminating in the penance of the Emperor Louis, and the ninth-century discussions (both lay and clerical) on (sources of) legitimate authority in the Frankish realm. Also see M. de Jong, 'Pseudo-Isidorus en de (dis)continuïteit van het pausdom. Een zomers gesprek voortgezet', in B. Roest (ed.), *De last der geschiedenis. Beeldvorming, leergezag en traditie binnen het historisch metier. 'Liber amicorum' bij het afscheid van Prof. Dr. P. G. J. M. Raedts* (Nijmegen, 2013), 78–91.

[13] H. Fuhrmann, *Einfluss und Verbreitung der Pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen. Von ihrem Auftauchen bis in die neuere Zeit*, *Schriften der MGH* 24, Vol. II, pp. 237–40; S. Scholz, *Politik – Selbstverständnis – Selbstdarstellung. Die Päpste in karolingischer und ottonischer Zeit*, Historische Forschungen 26 (Stuttgart, 2006), pp. 208–11 (on

invitation, and the traditional historiographical portrayal of his character and pontificate needs revision, as Thomas Noble proposes in the next chapter.[14]

As explained above, Lothar was set on divorcing his wife Theutberga, but Nicholas repudiated this. Involving all Carolingian rulers, the papacy and the Lotharingian see of Cologne, the dissent caused by this prolonged and complicated divorce case certainly left its mark on the political landscape. Although loyalties shifted periodically, it was, generally speaking, King Louis the German, also Emperor Louis II (r. 844–75, emperor in 850), who supported Lothar's appeal to Nicholas for permission to divorce his wife Theutberga and to marry his mistress Waldrada instead. Yet Nicholas refused to consent to the separation.[15] The archbishop of Cologne at the time was Gunther, Willebert's immediate predecessor, who was also Lothar's archchaplain. Gunther, together with his ecclesiastical colleague Archbishop Theutgaud of Trier, played a major role in this conflict as they unwaveringly supported their king by initiating ecclesiastical measures against the queen. They did this most notably by their prominent role in two synods in Aachen that legalised the divorce, thereby openly defying Pope Nicholas in the process. In reaction to this, Nicholas went to extreme measures and had both Gunther and Theutgaud excommunicated and deprived of office. Yet the archbishops did not throw in the towel without a struggle; in a rather ineffectual attempt to persuade the pope to give them their positions back, they went to Rome to appeal the decision, but to no avail. The *Liber pontificalis* recounts that Pope Nicholas knew them to be 'the instigators of the great crime'.[16] Gunther, however, blatantly refused to accept his defeat and continued his ecclesiastical functions in Cologne. This caused a complicated aftermath that cannot be discussed in detail here, but it certainly greatly affected the Cologne see, as it was left contested until 870. In practice, Gunther still dominated the see with

Nicholas I) and pp. 212–24 (on Hadrian II), who explains their clout as a result of Charles the Bald's political weakness, which is, in my view, difficult to maintain. Also see K. Heidecker, *The Divorce of Lothar II. Christian Marriage and Political Power in the Carolingian World* (Ithaca, NY/London, 2010), esp. at pp. 149–172 on Nicholas's role in the conflicts surrounding Lothar's divorce and its aftermath.

[14] See Thomas Noble's chapter on Pope Nicholas and the Franks in this volume.

[15] For detailed discussions of the events and the accounts in the various sources, see Heidecker, *Divorce of Lothar II*. Also see S. Airlie, 'Private bodies and the body politic in the divorce case of Lothar II', *Past and Present* 161 (1998), 3–38.

[16] 'Theutgaudus et Guntharius archiepiscopi, quos sanctus auctores in tanto scelere iam papa compererat': English trans. R. Davis, *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes (Liber pontificalis). The Ancient Biographies of Ten Popes from AD 817–891, Translated Texts for Historians 20* (Liverpool, 1995), *Life of Nicholas*, c. 46, p. 228; *LP*, Vol. II, c. 46, p. 160. For an account of what happened in Rome, see the Annals of St Bertin: *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SRG* 5, *s.a.* 864, pp. 70–1.

the exception of the period 864–66, when he had serious trouble not only with Lothar but also with other bishops in the realm.[17] All in all, therefore, the relations between the archbishopric of Cologne and the papacy had certainly taken a turn for the worse during Gunther's episcopate. But things would not be settled immediately with the arrival of Willibert.

When Lothar II died in 869, the Cologne archbishopric became an important factor in royal claims to power and dominance. After a good deal of strife, the Treaty of Meerssen (8 August 870) eventually divided Lothar's kingdom of Lotharingia between the competing kings and brothers Louis the German and Charles the Bald, with the latter occupying the territory briefly between 869 and 870. Cologne was placed in the hands of Louis. Immediately consolidating his power against his brother, who had a contender of his own for the position of archbishop ready to be installed, Louis put forward his candidate Willibert to take the archiepiscopal see. Supposedly following the rules of a canonical election, as had been insisted upon by the pope, Willibert was ordained on 7 January 870, but in reality his appointment had been far from unanimous and without much observance of the regulations. There are indications that the Cologne clerics had been divided over his candidacy and had consecrated him under pressure from Louis.[18] Immediate support from the papacy for Willibert's episcopate was not offered either. Even though Willibert had been ordained, Pope Hadrian II had initially opposed his ordination since he had not been consulted on the election.[19] At first, Hadrian's successor John VIII would not sanction it either, because the election had been challenged by someone in Cologne.[20] Eventually, however, Willibert did receive the *pallium* in 875.

Produced in Cologne after 870, the continuations to the Xanten Annals present an inverted picture about what exactly had happened.[21] Spanning the years 861/63 to 873, the entries relating to the years 863–71 are dominated by the fall of Gunther and the rise of Willibert. The events surrounding

[17] Heidecker, *Divorce of Lothar II*, pp. 166–8.

[18] S. Patzold, *Episcopus. Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankenreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts. Mittelalter-Forschungen* 25 (Ostfildern, 2008), pp. 333–53, 374–81; also see the reports of Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, ed. F. Kurze, *MGH SRG* 50, pp. 1–153, *s.a.* 869, pp. 98–100, where Regino describes how Louis the German interfered in order to get Willibert elected.

[19] Davis' introduction to the *Life of Hadrian II*, *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, p. 256.

[20] As the pope explains in a letter from 873: John VIII, *Epistolae*, ed. P. Kehr, *MGH Epp.* 7, 313–33, pp. 313–15.

[21] *Annales Xantenses*, ed. B. von Simson, *MGH SRG* 12, with the continuations covering 86–73 at pp. 19–33; H. Löwe, 'Studien zu den *Annales Xantenses*', *DA* 8 (1951), 59–99.

Gunther's deposition, its repercussions (including his attempts for restitution) and Willibert's succession are all narrated in detail. Seemingly, the purpose of these entries is to prove that Gunther's excommunication and deposition from his office by Pope Nicholas were both legitimate and final. Almost as a matter of course, the continuator derogates Gunther, comparing him to the devil and imputing pride (*elatio*) to him.[22] Conversely, Willibert is portrayed as the most suitable and honorable claimant to the see, who was elected according to canonical precept. The overall goal of the text, therefore, is to defend Willibert's appointment to the episcopal see of Cologne, supported by his patron Louis the German.[23] Leaving out or downplaying any hint of papal–Carolingian discord that resulted from the notorious deposition of Gunther and the disputed election of Willibert himself, these annals smooth out all signs of deeper seated troubles and present a pacified image of undisturbed and peaceful relations among Cologne, the papacy and Louis the German. Presenting Pope Nicholas as entirely within his rights to depose Gunther, the continuator also supports papal authority. In every conceivable way, he demonstrates evidence of harmony between Cologne under Willibert and the papacy.

Indeed, justification for Willibert's appointment was needed. Steffen Patzold has recently described the circumstances as 'einer kirchenrechtlichen prekären Situation'. Firstly, before Willibert was appointed archbishop, Charles the Bald had attempted to get his own candidate, Hilduin, a family member of Gunther, elected for the position. Secondly, although Gunther had been excommunicated and deposed, he was still alive when Willibert was elected. Concerning these issues, the continuations deftly narrate and argue in favour of King Louis and his protégé Willibert. It is therefore likely that either Willibert himself or someone from within his close circle was the author of the continuations to the Xanten Annals.[24] It is this coloured perspective on events as presented in these annals that may possibly elucidate Willbert's interest in and benefits from the *Codex Carolinus*.

Praised, lauded and presented as the finest of the Carolingian rulers, among other reasons for his victories over the Moravians, Louis the German is the other hero in these annals.[25] Conversely, Lothar II, Charles the Bald, and Louis II are described exhibiting major flaws. While the first had unlawfully divorced his wife, the second had refrained from defending his realm against Norman attacks, and the third had assaulted the pope in Rome for Gunther's sake whilst he should have devoted his attention to defending Benevento from the Moors. One could therefore say that Louis the German is presented as the

[22] *Annales Xantenses*, *s.a.* 864 (865), p. 22; and *s.a.* 866 (867), p. 24.

[23] Löwe, 'Studien zu den *Annales Xantenses*', pp. 76–80; and more recently Patzold, *Episcopus*, pp. 368–83.

[24] Patzold, *Episcopus*, with the quotation on p. 372.

[25] *Annales Xantenses*, *s.a.* 863 (864), p. 21; and *s.a.* 869 (870), p. 28.

one and only true Carolingian king – of all of Charlemagne's heirs, he was the one who did things right, outshining his fellow Carolingian rulers in competence and valour.

Almost nine months after Willibert's election and seven weeks after the conclusion of the Treaty of Meerssen, a synod was gathered at Cologne on 26 September 870 at the behest of Louis the German. Willibert presided over this synod together with his colleagues archbishops Liutbert of Mainz and Bertulf of Trier, with all the Saxon bishops also present.[26] Its main purpose was to consolidate Louis's rule over Lotharingia and to address and rectify the difficulties that had dominated the archbishoprics of Cologne and Trier in the recent years. Moreover, it was meant to symbolise the unification of the East Frankish, Lotharingian and Saxon Churches.[27] Under Willibert's episcopal guidance, Cologne proved a steady anchor for Louis the German, and the archbishop dutifully dedicated himself to Louis's cause and the East Frankish Church.

It is against this background of challenging forces dominating and changing the political and archiepiscopal landscape of Cologne that we should situate Willibert's ownership of the *Codex Carolinus*. As mentioned earlier, we cannot be sure if the *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 was indeed produced during Willibert's episcopate or a few decades earlier, but from the ownership indication it follows that it mattered for this archbishop to be known as its holder. Were the reasons for this mainly practical? Or could other motives also have played a part? In more than one way, as we shall see, the *Codex Carolinus* and its codex carrier echo the historiographical developments of the later ninth century.

Historiography and memory in the later Carolingian world

From the beginnings of the ninth century onwards, we can detect an increase in production of annalistic and narrative texts that, in Rosamond McKitterick's words, 'mirror an extraordinarily focused sense of the past that is of the utmost importance in any assessment of the strength, perceived or real, of Carolingian royal power at that time'.[28] This tendency was already palpable under Charlemagne and his son Louis the Pious, who sponsored texts that were centred on their dynastic past and were intended to legitimise

[26] Synod of Cologne, in *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche 860–874*, ed. W. Hartmann, *MGH Conc.* 4, pp. 396–401.

[27] E. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire. Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817–876* (Ithaca, NY/London, 2006), p. 299.

[28] R. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 154.

contemporary rule.[29] A similar awareness of past Frankish and Carolingian rule can be detected especially under Charlemagne's later-ninth-century descendants Charles the Bald, Lothar II and Louis the German. One could even speak of a historiographical campaign. The works that were copied, written and disseminated 'articulate a clear ideology of political power and a very particular presentation of the past … The Carolingians created their own image of their past and offered it to posterity. But they also offered it to their contemporaries, who treated their own history as part of a larger progression of the history of the Franks.'[30] Though using, rewriting or even creating texts to suit contemporary political needs was by no means a new phenomenon, linking up with the reign of the Frankish and Carolingian ancestors by creating a shared collective memory would provide an unmistakable claim to legitimacy of rule for kings governing a later-ninth-century polity. It was characteristic of the ninth century not only to create and preserve such texts, but also to organise them and make them more accessible.[31] Ninth-century copies of older texts reveal adaptations in layout and arrangements to suit contemporary requirements, allowing new standards and needs to be met.[32]

An example of such interest from a later Carolingian king in presenting a specific version of the past to feed collective memory is the Viennese codex designated ÖNB 473, produced in the second half of the ninth century in the northern Frankish monastery of St Amand. In all likelihood it was compiled

[29] R. McKitterick and M. Innes, 'The writing of history', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture. Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1994), 193–220, p. 193; McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 36.

[30] R. McKitterick, 'Political ideology in Carolingian historiography', in Y. Hen and M. Innes (eds), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), 162–74, p. 173.

[31] Such developments are, for instance, visible in the development and organisation of cartularies and the genre of *gesta episcoporum*; see P. Geary, 'Entre gestion et gesta', in O. Guyotjeannin, L. Morelle, and M. Parisse (eds), *Les Cartulaires. Actes de la Table ronde organisée par l'École Nationale des Chartes et le GDR 121 du CNRS (Paris, 5–7 décembre 1991), Mémoires et Documents de l'École des Chartes* 39 (Paris, 1993), 13–26; and P. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance. Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 81–114. Also see G. DeClercq, 'Originals and cartularies: the organization of archival memory (ninth–eleventh centuries)', in K. Heidecker (ed.), *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 5 (Turnhout, 2000), 147–70, pp. 148–9.

[32] R. McKitterick, 'The migration of ideas in the early middle ages: ways and means', in R. Bremmer, Jr and K. Dekker (eds), *Foundations of Learning. The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, Storehouses of Wholesome Learning 1 (Leuven, 2007), 1–17.

either for Charles the Bald's royal (869) or imperial (875) coronation, or in relation to Charles's conquest and rule of Lotharingia (869–70), and therefore could have served to legitimise his occupation of Lothar's kingdom.[33] The codex contains a selection of the most prominent texts on Frankish history: papal biographies of the *Liber pontificalis* are first in line and are followed by the *Liber historiae Francorum*, the continuations to Fredegar's *Chronicle*, the *Annales regni Francorum*, a portion of Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, and an abbreviated version of the *Genealogia domus carolingicae*. This compilation betrays a Frankish compiler and audience. The biographies of Popes Gregory III and Stephen II (the latter having anointed Pippin in 754) in particular both deal with Frankish affairs and contain considerable alterations and additions that focus on the Frankish perspective. As these are the only non-Frankish sources, they were undoubtedly inserted with a special intention. In these biographies, the Carolingian family is portrayed as having Roman (and Trojan) roots, which prominently accentuates its associations with papal authority. In the Life of Stephen II, especially, the emphasis in the text seems to be on the pope supporting the Carolingian rulers. By combining the papal biographies with Frankish historical works in one book, the codex conveys a clear message: the popes and the Franks share a common background, with Rome and the Carolingian family inextricably intertwined. As argued by both McKitterick and Helmut Reimitz, codex ÖNB 473 not only serves to link the papacy with the Carolingians historically: it was also designed to legitimise the rule of Charles the Bald. In any case, it is certain that it was intentionally put together with a specific ideological and political purpose.[34] One could say that this codex was intended to represent a Roman–papal authoritative past, which was, in this specific context, connected to the Carolingian kings, their accession and their rule being supported by the Church in Rome. The history-writers of the ninth century clearly adopted and shaped texts to interweave the Carolingian past with a Roman tradition. Between codex ÖNB 473 and the *Codex Carolinus* Cologne manuscript *Codex Vindobonensis* 449, therefore, there are certain similarities in purpose and outlook. Both are datable to the second half of the ninth century and show interest in a shared papal–Carolingian history. They also share a similar message: they are a testimony of Carolingian rule, of which Rome and the papacy are inherent components.

[33] H. Reimitz, 'The social logic of historiographical compendia in the Carolingian period', in O. Kano (ed.), *Herméneutique du texte d'histoire* (Nagoya, 2012), 17–28, pp. 24–5; also see H. Reimitz, 'Ein karolingisches Geschichtsbuch aus Saint-Amand. Der *Codex Vindobonensis* palat. 473', in C. Egger and H. Weigl (eds), *Text-Schrift-Codex. Quellenkundlige Arbeiten aus dem Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* (Vienna/Munich, 2000), 35–77.

[34] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 121–2; McKitterick, 'Political ideology', pp. 162–9; Reimitz, 'Ein karolingisches Geschichtsbuch', pp. 60–4, 71.

The *Codex Carolinus* as preserved in the *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 reflects this general interest in documents presenting and preserving the past, but it is neither a newly written piece of history, nor a glorified version of events.[35] It is not a narrative or annalistic text either, such as the continuations to the Xanten Annals. Rather, it documents a wealth of information on Carolingian diplomatic relations with the papacy – but it is more than that. On the basis of the papal letters collected under Charlemagne's auspices, as explained in its preface, it presents an authoritative account of the rise of the Carolingian dynasty supported by Roman and Petrine authority, which echoes the historiographical efforts of the time.

Interestingly, the *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 has an unusual square format, which is also found with other manuscripts from Willibert's scriptorium. Both the format and layout of such square-shaped manuscripts represent an effort to emulate late antique exemplars of history texts, breathing a sense of antiquarianism.[36] What is more, the manuscript features lemmata that accompany most of the individual papal letters, generally placed at the beginning of each letter. What is exceptional about these headings is that they are much more elaborate and informative than other contemporary lemmata. They not only mention the identity of the sender and recipient, but also organise the letters in the collection, provide reading tools to assist the reader, summarise the contents of the individual letters, and sometimes even provide context to or information on how to interpret or handle the correspondence. Accessibility of information and functionality thus seem to have been the primary concerns for the compiler(s) of *Codex Vindobonensis* 449, corresponding well with the above-mentioned developments and concerns that gained momentum in the ninth century. Could the *Codex Carolinus* have served Willibert as a practical book of reference on papal statements on a plethora of subjects and papal–Frankish relations of the second half of the eighth century, as it possibly had been used by Hildebald? After all, Willibert himself had been involved in papal–Carolingian diplomatic issues and had been at the heart of a canonical affair. Or was it kept for the sake of commemorative purposes only? It is difficult to tell, since the manuscript reveals little as to possible handling and use – it is in a relatively pristine state.

For later-ninth-century rulers, another means of employing history and memory was to associate themselves with their illustrious forefathers and to root their rule firmly in their Carolingian heritage. Charles the Bald, for instance, was keen on evoking associations with his grandfather Charlemagne's

[35] There is no direct evidence of censorship or deliberate omission of letters, as is testified, for example, by the presence of letter 45 in the collection, in which Pope Stephen III threatens Charlemagne and Carloman with anathema, should they marry a Lombard princess.

[36] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 202–3; on the format, see *Facsimile*, p. xxii.

reign – not least because he was named after him.[37] Twentieth-century historiography has, for the most part, deemed Louis the German's kingship inconsequential with regard to royal ritual and ideological representation, and has sharply contrasted his rule to that of Charles the Bald.[38] More recently, however, Louis has been placed in a more favourable light and a strong case for this king's empire-building has been made by Eric Goldberg. To underline his legitimacy as a Carolingian ruler in the imperial tradition, Louis sought associations with the rule of his father and namesake Louis the Pious, but also, more importantly, with that of his grandfather Charlemagne. Using various strategies, ranging from cultivating an aristocratic warrior culture to stressing the divine endorsement of his rule by employing carefully selected regalia, Louis was represented as a traditional Carolingian king, a Christian warlord in panoply, a new Constantine, even.[39] Political geography also provided him with an opportunity to do so. His share of Lotharingia, obtained in 870, was a realm not only dotted with important places such as the two Lotharingian archbishoprics of Cologne and Trier; it also incorporated, among others, the royal palaces of Nijmegen and Thionville and, most crucially, the royal capital of Aachen, the great Carolingian centre founded by Charlemagne.[40] Strategically as well as symbolically, this was an important vantage point for Louis to operate from, as it provided him with a conspicuous practical and ideological connection to his grandfather's rule.

As we have seen, the year 870 had been a turbulent one for Louis in more ways than one. Besides obtaining a good share of Lotharingia as an outcome

[37] Charles supposedly also took after his grandfather physically: Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 13, 15, 84, 221–53. For Charles the Bald's court library, see R. McKitterick, 'Charles the Bald and his library: the patronage of learning', *EHR* 95 (1980), 28–47, reprinted as Chapter 5 in R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Kings and Culture in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1995).

[38] W. Hartmann, 'Ludwig der Deutsche: Portrait eines wenig bekannten Königs', in W. Hartmann (ed.), *Ludwig der Deutsche und seine Zeit* (Darmstadt, 2004), 1–26, pp. 13–15; E. Goldberg, ' "More devoted to the equipment of battle than the splendor of banquets": Frontier kingship, martial ritual, and early knighthood at the court of Louis the German', *Viator* 30 (1999), 41–78, with an overview of historical works that have dismissed Louis the German as a king of marginal importance as to political representation and court ceremonial on pp. 43–44 nn. 7 and 8.

[39] Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 186–200. For various means of royal representation as to political symbolism and ritual under Louis the German, see Goldberg, 'More devoted'. As to Louis as a new Constantine, Goldberg refers to Hrabanus Maurus, who incited Louis to be more like Constantine ('More devoted', p. 72 n. 120).

[40] *Divisio regni Hlotarii II* (Treaty of Meerssen), ed. H. Brunner and K. Zeumer, *MGH Cap.* 2, 193–4; *Annales Bertiniani*, *s.a.* 870, pp. 109–10; also see Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 298.

of the Treaty of Meerssen, Louis triumphed as the conqueror of Moravia. An assembly mirroring a Roman classical military triumph held in Regensburg was partly meant to celebrate this victory over the Slavs. The year also witnessed the production of one of the most important historical works of East Francia, the *Conversion of the Bavarians and the Carantanians* (*Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*). This text, written in Salzburg, describes the life of the city's founding saint and the deeds of the Salzburg archdiocese's bishops and abbots in relation to the missionary works in its hinterlands (Bavaria and the eastern marches). Written for and presented to Louis, it glorified him 'as a second Charlemagne for upholding Frankish political and ecclesiastical control of the Eastland'.[41] Both the Regensburg assembly and the *Conversion*'s outlook echo the concept of Louis's rule of a Christian *imperium* encompassing multiple peoples and territories – a conception of *imperium* that can also be understood from the *Codex Carolinus*'s preface.[42]

One other substantial way for later-ninth-century Carolingian rulers to link their own polity to that of the first two Carolingian emperors was to create a library with, in the case of Louis the German, works that 'stressed the Frankish and Carolingian foundations of Louis's kingship'.[43] Grimald, Louis's archchaplain, had accumulated a book collection that, apart from multiple liturgical, hagiographical and biblical works, included the great monuments of Frankish-Carolingian history: Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, Thegan's *Gesta Hludowici imperatoris*, the *Annales regni Francorum* and the *Liber historiae Francorum*.[44] The Cologne library similarly had monumental works that demonstrated a particular interest in texts that testified to Carolingian–papal connections. In the early ninth century, Archbishop Hildebald's active acquisition policy for the Cologne library had resulted in an influx of papal texts, such as Gregory the Great's letters, the *Dionysio-Hadriana* and the *Liber pontificalis*.[45] With this

[41] Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 299–301, with the quotation from p. 301. The text itself: *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, ed. H. Wolfram, *Das Weissbuch der Salzburger Kirche über die erfolgreiche Mission in Karantanien und Pannonien, Böhlau Quellen Bücher* (Vienna/Cologne/Graz, 1979).

[42] Van Espelo, 'A testimony of Carolingian rule?'.

[43] Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 188.

[44] B. Bischoff, 'Bücher am Hofe Ludwigs des Deutschen und die Privatbibliothek des Kanzlers Grimalt', in B. Bischoff (ed.), *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte, Vol.* III (Stuttgart, 1981), 187–212, pp. 210–11.

[45] Some of the texts that Hildebald acquired for his Cologne library, such as the *Dionysio-Hadriana* and the *Liber pontificalis*, may have been copied directly from originals in the Aachen court library: H. Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos in Early Ottonian Germany. The View from Cologne* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 70–7. Also see P. Lehmann, 'Erzbischof Hildebald und die Dombibliothek von Köln', in

line-up of monumental works relating to popes and the papal–Carolingian past, the *Codex Carolinus* certainly linked up perfectly.

Owning and preserving Charlemagne's letter collection would have been a source of prestige for Willibert, and could also have functioned as an outstanding testament to the long-standing historic relations between his patron Louis the German's dynastic house and the papacy, and the Petrine support of the Carolingian throne. Additionally, Willibert's possession of the letter collection would have underlined his position as an adherent to King Louis. As we have seen, the continuations to the Annals of Xanten, which may have been Willibert's undertaking, not only present Louis as outshining all his rivals when it came to embodying quintessential Carolingian values, but also convey an image of a peaceable balance among the papacy, Cologne and Louis. I therefore suspect that the archbishop's bond with and loyalty to his royal benefactor may be at least one explanation for Willibert's interest in the *Codex Carolinus*. That its 791 preface was presented as Charlemagne's personal undertaking gave it a royal stamp that must have stimulated his interest in the collection.

Conclusion

It is against the background of Carolingian high politics involving Cologne and the papacy that the creation of the *Codex Carolinus* manuscript *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 and its ownership by Willibert of Cologne should be situated. As we have seen, the Lotharingian realm played a key role in the tug of war between Louis the German and Charles the Bald. Concentrating on Louis's rule over Lotharingia and placing the letter collection against the canvas of a wider ninth-century interest in preserving history and memory provides us with the clues necessary to understand the possible reasons for its appearance in the Cologne library as well as Willibert's role in preserving it. Where the original compilation of the collection in the early 790s reflected the spirit of Charlemagne's court and its contemporary concerns and should, as such, be regarded as a significant product of its time, its emergence in a later-ninth-century episcopal milieu narrates a similar story. Documenting the shared past between the Carolingian dynasty and the Republic of St Peter, the *Codex Carolinus* would have underlined their deep-rooted connections. At the same time, its presence in the library of Cologne would have been an authoritative source for Louis the German's Carolingian legacy and position as the

P. Lehmann (ed.), *Erforschung des Mittelalters. Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze, Vol.* II (Stuttgart, 1959–62), 139–44; and J. M. Plotzek, *Glaube und Wissen im Mittelalter. Die Kölner Dombibliothek; Katalogbuch zur Ausstellung Glaube und Wissen im Mittelalter – die Kölner Dombibliothek, Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum Köln, 7. August bis 15. November 1998* (Munich, 1998).

ultimate heir and legitimate successor to Charlemagne and his rule – an image that Archbishop Willibert as the protector of *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 would have been keen to sustain. Prestige of ownership may have been a consideration here as well. Additionally, the form, layout and presence of this manuscript in the Cologne episcopal library seem to reflect the wider ninth-century awareness of and concern for the shared history of the papacy with the dynasty that had firmly ruled the Frankish lands since the middle of the eighth century. Whether the *Codex Carolinus* also served a practical purpose as a type of reference book is difficult to tell. Since the evidence on its possible uses and functions under Willibert is mostly circumstantial, and definite conclusions cannot be drawn as a consequence, any suggestions must remain speculation only. But what *can* be said about the *Codex Carolinus* and its later-ninth-century historical context is that it reflects a genuine attention to memorising the Carolingian–papal past. Just as much as it did in Charlemagne's day, the *Codex Carolinus* served a purpose in Louis the German's age.

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25

Pope Nicholas I and the Franks: politics and ecclesiology in the ninth century

Tom Noble

Pope Nicholas I, one of only three popes to earn, at least in some circles, the moniker 'the Great', has always been a controversial figure. He was confident and self-assured, or else he was arrogant and overbearing. He was devoted to the law and acted only *canonice auctoritate*, or else he imagined himself to be above the law or, indeed, to be the law incarnate. He was a conscious and deliberate innovator, or else he was a fastidious adherent to tradition. He was a consummate politician, or else he was a man of principle who stood above all mere earthly situations.[1] Johannes Haller once said that we might think of Nicholas as the first real pope.[2] What he had in mind was the vigorous and powerful way in which Nicholas sometimes expressed himself, the kinds of claims he made for the authority of the papal office, and the novelty of his actions. In my view, some scholars have been anachronistic in their lines of

[1] Nicholas has not been the subject of a modern scholarly biography. One may refer to two old books: J. Roy, *Saint Nicholas I*, trans. M. Maitland (London, 1901); and J. Richterich, *Papst Nikolaus I. Eine Monographie* (Bern, 1903). Two older studies remain fundamental: E. Perels, *Papst Nikolaus I und Anastasius Bibliothecarius* (Berlin, 1920); and J. Haller, *Nikolaus I. und Pseudoisidor* (Stuttgart, 1936). Standard papal histories include more or less extensive discussions of Nicholas: H. Mann, *The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages*, Vol. III (St Louis, MO, 1906), pp. 1–148; F. Seppelt, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, Vol. II: *Das Papsttum im Frühmittelalter* (Leipzig, 1934), pp. 241–84; J. Haller, *Das Papsttum. Idee und Wirklichkeit*, Vol. II (Urach, 1950), pp. 55–89. Standard Church histories also treat Nicholas in some detail: A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, Vol. II, 8th edn (Berlin, 1954), pp. 549–72; E. Amann, 'L'époque carolingienne', in A. Fliche and V. Martin (eds), *Histoire de l'église*, Vol. VI (Paris, 1937), 369–95. One could cite chapters in more recent books, handbooks or encyclopedia articles but the studies cited here have been of durable influence. Worthy of mention among recent studies, however, is S. Scholz, *Politik – Selbstverständnis – Selbstdarstellung. Die Päpste in karolingischer und ottonischer Zeit, Historische Forschungen 26* (Stuttgart, 2006), pp. 185–211.

[2] Haller, *Das Papsttum*, p. 55.

interpretation; they have tried to make Nicholas the clear ancestor of the high medieval papal monarchy. Nicholas lived in the ninth century and his horizons were framed by the world in which he lived.

In a pontificate that lasted eight-and-a-half years, against a Carolingian era average of seven-and-a-half years, Nicholas was by any imaginable measure extraordinarily busy on a host of fronts. A full study of Nicholas, which, to my astonishment, we still lack, would take account of his intense battle with Archbishop John of Ravenna and, even more, of his herculean struggle with Byzantium and his ultimately unsuccessful attempt to bring Bulgaria into the Roman orbit. In fact, some of the issues that I shall discuss in the last part of this chapter are developed more fully in Nicholas's letters to Byzantium, but for this discussion I shall keep my eye focused tightly on the Carolingian West.

The following pages will attempt to interpret Nicholas and his pontificate on the basis of his interactions with the Franks. What I will do here is, first of all, sketch in summary fashion their wide range. The sheer scope of these activities tells us something about Nicholas's pontificate (and I shall reserve until the end explaining what they might tell us about Nicholas himself). Secondly, I shall devote some detail to a discussion of three cases where Nicholas and the Franks were engaged in a concerted fashion over several years in each instance: the divorce of Lothar II, and the cases of Bishops Rothad of Soissons and Wulfad of Bourges. As a prelude to this discussion I will offer some comments on two topics: what was the relationship between Nicholas and Anastasius Bibliothecarius, a key and influential adviser of the pope and, more specifically, do the papal sources reveal Nicholas himself or Anastasius? What was the relationship between Nicholas and the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries that, among other things, defended the rights of suffragan bishops against their metropolitans? Nicholas defended Rothad and Wulfad against Archbishop Hincmar of Reims. Did Pseudo-Isidore have anything to do with this contention? Finally, I shall extract from Nicholas's voluminous correspondence some general principles according to which I believe he operated, see how they applied in my three case studies, and ask what broad conclusions they permit with respect to Nicholas himself.

In order to place in context the three cases to which I shall devote primary attention, it is worth taking a brief look at the number of times Nicholas dealt with the Frankish world and the scope thereof – bearing in mind that he was dealing with Italian and Byzantine matters all the while too. The divorce case of Lothar II is famous and I shall come to it shortly. But Nicholas dealt with several other marriage cases, some of them also high-profile affairs. He tried several times to get Engeltrude to return to her husband, Count Boso. He interceded with Charles the Bald for Baldwin of Flanders with whom the king's daughter had eloped, and again with Charles on behalf of young Charles, the king of Provence, who had married without his father's permission. He also advised Bishop Ado of Vienne about a subdeacon who had illicitly married,

and Bishop Adalwin of Salzburg about a woman who was widowed, took the veil and then married again.[3] He instructed Charles the Bald to send to him for his approval John the Scot's translations from the Greek of two works of (Pseudo-) Dionysius the Areopagite, the *Divine Names* and the *Celestial Hierarchy*.[4] Nicholas dealt with a variety of matters pertaining to episcopal administration: boundaries and suffragans (Hamburg/Bremen, Tours/Dol, Vienne/Tarantaise); sick or incapacitated bishops (Nevers, Regensburg, Passau); five questions put to him by Salomon of Constance ranging from marital impediments to penitential regimes; seven equally broad questions raised by Rodulf of Bourges and a further eight by Ado of Vienne; and he advised Adalwin of Salzburg to restrain the immoral conduct of a young bishop.[5] Nicholas addressed a number of diverse and interesting questions about homicide: Can a cleric who has killed a pagan be promoted to a higher grade? Should such a cleric relinquish his clerical office? What penance must a certain Hugo perform for fratricide? What penance must a monk perform after killing a priest and a monk? What penance is suitable for matricide?[6] On several occasions Nicholas thundered his displeasure in the face of depredations of church properties.[7] Nicholas could be a stickler for applying the rules but he could also exhibit discretion: he sent a *pallium* to Egilo of Sens while criticising the fact that he was not a member of the local clergy.[8] I could mention a variety of other cases but I believe that these examples illustrate effectively the continuous relationship between Nicholas and the Frankish world.

Let me turn, then, to the first of my three case studies, the attempt by Lothar II to divorce his wife Theutberga in order to marry his long-time consort, Waldrada. The story has been told many times so I shall confine myself to essential details while focusing on the role of Nicholas I.[9] Before his father

[3] Nicholas I, *Epp.* 1, 2, 41 (Engeltrude); 7, 8, 60 (Baldwin); 9 (Charles); 25 (Ado); 146 (Adalwin); ed. E. Perels, *MGH Epp.* 6, 257–690, pp. 267, 268, 304–15, 272–5, 369–72, 275, 289, 663–4.

[4] Nicholas I, *Ep.* 130, p. 651.

[5] On boundaries and suffragans: Nicholas I, *Epp.* 26, 107, 122, 126, 127, 153, pp. 291–2, 620–2, 640, 647–9, 668; on sick or incapacitated bishops: *Epp.* 26, 103, pp. 291–2, 611–12; on marital impediments to penitential regimes: *Epp.* 138, 117, 147, pp. 657–8, 633–6, 664–5; on the immoral conduct of a young bishop: *Ep.* 116, pp. 631–3.

[6] Nicholas I, *Ep.* 104, 142, 131, 133, 139, pp. 613, 660–61, 652, 654, 658–59.

[7] Nicholas I, *Epp.* 40, 43, 145, pp. 314, 317–18, 662–3.

[8] Nicholas I, *Epp.* 124, 125, pp. 644–6.

[9] The best study to date is K. Heidecker, *The Divorce of Lothar II. Christian Marriage and Political Power in the Carolingian World* (Ithaca, NY, 2010). Heidecker lays the case out as 'A marital drama in six acts', which can make it a little difficult to follow events in strict chronological order. Still excellent is the narrative of E. Dümmler,

Lothar I died on 29 September 855, Lothar II had for some time been conducting a relationship with a noblewoman named Waldrada. She bore him a son and two daughters. As the eventual case wore on, Lothar sometimes claimed that he had been married to Waldrada and therefore had never been free to marry Theutberga, but on other occasions he claimed that he wished to divorce Theutberga so as to be able to marry Waldrada. When Lothar I died, another of his sons, Louis II of Italy, made menacing gestures towards Burgundy and Provence, areas where Lothar II had interests. The nobles of Lotharingia prevailed upon Lothar to marry Theutberga, whose brother Hucbert was abbot of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune and in a position to exert real influence in Burgundy. Their father Boso was also a major figure in the area. Late in 856 Benedict III helped to establish peace among the sons of Lothar I and suddenly Lothar II's marriage to Theutberga was rendered pointless.[10] It does seem that Lothar really disliked his wife and that he was very much in love with Waldrada. By 858 Lothar put his marriage before an assembly of Lotharingian notables. Perhaps to secure their acquiescence, horrible stories started circulating alleging that Theutberga had had an incestuous relationship with her brother. Theutberga was obliged to undergo an ordeal of hot water. Her champion prevailed and Lothar was frustrated in his attempt to be rid of her. In January and February of 860 councils were held at Aachen in which Lotharingian bishops pronounced Lothar eligible to divorce Theutberga and marry Waldrada.[11] This marked the first time a marriage case had been put before a Frankish council. The bishops wrote to Nicholas in 861 claiming, among other things, that they possessed a booklet containing Theutberga's confession and that various falsehoods had reached Rome; Nicholas later said that he had received appeals from Theutberga and that, at some point, Charles the Bald and Hucbert had also appealed to him.[12] Shortly after Easter in 862 another exclusively Lotharingian synod at Aachen pronounced Lothar free to marry Waldrada, which he did; and he had her crowned queen as well.[13]

Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches, 3 vols (1887; repr. Darmstadt, 1960), Vol. II, pp. 1–25, 127–51. See also Scholz, *Die Päpste in karolingischer und ottonischer Zeit*, pp. 185–95. The chapter by Erik Goosmann and Rob Meens in the present volume also discusses the conflict between King Lothar II and Pope Nicholas.

10 Details are murky. See Benedict III, *Ep.* 5, ed. A. de Hirsch-Gereuth, *MGH Epp.* 5, 581–614, pp. 612–14.

11 *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche 860–874*, ed. W. Hartmann, *MGH Conc.* 4, pp. 3–11.

12 *Epistolae ad divortium Lotharii II regis pertinentes*, c. 2, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 6, 207–40, pp. 210–12; Nicholas I, *Ep.* 3, p. 269: Theutberga 'has earnestly and tearfully appealed many times to the apostolic see'. A letter from 863 (no. 16, pp. 282–3) mentions Hucbert's appeals.

13 *Die Konzilien*, no. 9, pp. 71–89; Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, *s.a.* 864, ed. F. Kurze, *MGH SRG* 50, 1–153, pp. 81–2. Regino's dates are usually off a year or two. He

Nicholas proceeded with circumspection. In late 862 he sent out a whole sheaf of letters.[14] Nicholas called for a council to meet at Metz in 863 with his legates to preside. He asked Louis II to let his legates pass freely; he asked Charles the Bald to urge his bishops to attend Metz; he informed Lothar that he was sending legates; he instructed all Frankish bishops to attend Metz. It seems clear that Nicholas was very uncertain about the basic facts of the case. His instructions to his legates, his *Commonitorium*, are balanced and non-partisan.[15] Once again, only Lotharingian bishops appeared at Metz and, predictably, they affirmed their earlier decisions. Archbishops Gunther of Cologne and Thietgaud of Trier departed for Rome with the records of the synod; Nicholas had asked that the *acta* be sent to him, an unusual step in that the records of Frankish councils were not normally sent to Rome. Nicholas seems to have been suspicious about the whole process. Indeed, when Nicholas's legates returned to Rome they were sacked for accepting bribes; it did in fact turn out that Radoald of Porto had lined his pocket a few years earlier in Constantinople.[16] When the two archbishops arrived Nicholas kept them waiting for three weeks and then, before a Roman synod, he quashed the Metz proceedings and deposed Gunther and Thietgaud.[17] They objected strenuously but, in the end, to no avail. Apart from Gunther, the Lotharingian bishops made their peace with Nicholas. Although Lothar's case went through a few more twists and turns, the decisions taken by Nicholas in 863 prevailed: Lothar had to take back Theutberga and he died without legitimate heirs in 869; Gunther was permanently deposed.

Before turning to my second case study, and before drawing general conclusions from the three studies, let me offer a few reflections on Lothar's case. Lothar initiated his attempt to divorce Theutberga in 857. Nicholas, as far as we know, did not have news of the issue before 860. Not until late 862 did he take any action and at that time he directed the Franks to settle the matter in a large council. He acted, moreover, after Theutberga, Hucbert and Charles the Bald asked him to do so; in October 863 he said that 'almost the whole world' had brought the matter to his attention.[18] Scholars who see in Nicholas a pope constantly seeking to expand papal power and influence can find little

mentions Waldrada's coronation and also says that Hucbert brought all this to the attention of Nicholas – confirming the information cited in n. 14. Here and elsewhere in this account, the key source is Hincmar of Reims, *De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae*, ed. L. Böhringer, *MGH Conc.* 4, *Suppl.* 1.

[14] Nicholas I, *Epp.* 3–10, pp. 268–76.

[15] Nicholas I, *Ep.* 11, pp. 276–8.

[16] *LP*, Vol. II, Nicholas I, cc. 39–40, 42, pp. 158–9; *AB*, *s.a.* 863.

[17] *Die Konzilien*, pp. 152–5. The records are actually preserved in the *Annals of St Bertin* (as in n. 16), pp. 99–100.

[18] Nicholas I, *Ep.* 18, p. 284.

support in his reluctance to implicate himself in Lothar's case. In his flurry of correspondence from late 862, Nicholas took up not only Lothar's case but also those of Judith and Baldwin, Boso and Engeltrude, and Charles of Provence. Nicholas could perhaps be excused for thinking that the leading Franks were having a hard time with their marriages. When Nicholas acted decisively in 863 he did so only after he had been betrayed and lied to by his legates who had succumbed to Lotharingian bribery. The synod he had called for in Metz met virtually none of the criteria spelt out in his *Commonitorium*. In addition, although Nicholas had grave reservations about Lothar's marital relations, he essentially told the Franks to put their own house in order. This is not evidence of a grasping 'papalist'. Finally, Nicholas quite reasonably disbelieved the wild stories about Theutberga and her brother, and he rebuked Gunther and Thietgaud, and their fellow bishops, for supporting Lothar's flimsy case.

My second case concerns Nicholas's role in the seemingly interminable quarrel between Hincmar of Reims and Bishop Rothad of Soissons.[19] Rothad was a difficult man who almost seems to have relished making trouble for Hincmar. Before 858 Hincmar had chastised him for poor administration, and then he criticised him for siding with Louis the German when he invaded West Francia, and for being sympathetic to Godescalc of Orbais whose theology of predestination was then under intense discussion. Under circumstances about which we are uninformed, Rothad sacked a priest who then appealed to Hincmar, who reinstated him. When Rothad refused to accept this action, Hincmar held a synod at Soissons and excluded Rothad from episcopal communion until such time as he should obey his metropolitan.[20] In 862 Rothad appeared at a synod at Pîtres. His excommunication was confirmed. At this point Rothad seems to have appealed to Rome but he also demanded to be judged by twelve bishops of his choosing. Later in 862, again at Soissions, the *clerici electi* condemned Rothad again.[21] At a date that cannot be determined, Rothad even appealed over Hincmar's head to Thietgaud of Trier, an extremely irregular step that shows how irreparably broken were Rotahd's relations with his metropolitan.

It was only after Rothad appealed to Rome that Nicholas got involved. In early 863 Nicholas sent an angry letter to Hincmar demanding that Rothad be reinstated and calling for Rothad and his accusers to be sent to Rome.[22]

[19] Rothad's case has been discussed many times. Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, Vol. II, pp. 88–101; Amann, 'L'époque carolingienne', pp. 383–8; Seppelt, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, Vol. II, pp. 252–4; Haller, *Das Papsttum*, pp. 77–9; J. Devisse, *Hincmar Archevêque de Reims 845–882*, 3 vols (Geneva, 1976), Vol. I, pp. 101–2, 127, 312–13; Vol. II, pp. 583–600; Scholz, *Die Päpste in karolingischer und ottonischer Zeit*, pp. 195–9.

[20] *AB*, *s.a.* 861, pp. 86–7; *Die Konzilien*, no. 7, p. 57.

[21] *AB*, *s.a.* 862, pp. 91–2; *Die Konzilien*, no. 10, p. 96.

[22] Nicholas I, *Ep.* 55, pp. 353–4.

Hincmar later said that he did not receive this letter.[23] In another letter of early 863, Nicholas informed Charles the Bald that he wanted Rothad's case resolved.[24] In April 863 Nicholas wrote to the bishops of Francia to say that he refused to accept the decisions of Soissons and he gave them a lengthy lesson about papal authority. At the same time, he wrote to Charles the Bald yet again, asking him to send Rothad to Rome, and he wrote to Hincmar in the same terms. He also wrote to Rothad himself insisting that he come to Rome without delay.[25] In 864 Charles sent Bishop Robert of Le Mans to Rome (he was mixed up in a long-running dispute concerning the monastery of Saint-Calais) and Rothad accompanied him. For reasons that need not detain us here, it took Rothad more than six months to arrive in Rome.[26] Nicholas waited until December 864, and when no accusers appeared, he called a council and restored Rothad to episcopal rank.[27] In January he formalised the decision and dispatched a bundle of letters to Francia: to Charles the Bald, to the bishops, to Hincmar and to the clergy of Soissons.[28]

The correspondence of Nicholas and Hincmar on Rothad's case is lengthy and vituperative. Once again, let us note that Nicholas's actions were not spontaneous. Rothad appealed to him. For Hincmar the key issue was his competence to handle cases within his own metropolitan see. Rothad seems to have believed that all bishops were essentially equal and that he did not have to obey Hincmar. He also felt that he could appeal to another metropolitan – Trier in this instance. For Nicholas the key issue was his right – he would have said duty – to hear appeals, but, even more than this, his supervisory position over all bishops. As noted, Nicholas was in these years receiving one appeal after another. He did not necessarily always take sides against metropolitans, even Hincmar. When Lothar II named a relative of Gunther of Cologne as bishop of Cambrai, Hincmar protested and Nicholas backed him up.[29] When the bishops of Brittany appealed to Nicholas over the head of their metropolitan, the archbishop of Tours, Nicholas supported Tours.[30] What seems to have provoked Nicholas about Rothad's case was Hincmar's tone, sometimes school-masterish and sometimes hectoring. Two of Nicholas's letters (nos 57

[23] Hincmar, *Ep.* 169, ed. E Perels, *MGH Epp.* 8:1, p. 145.
[24] Nicholas I, *Ep.* 56, pp. 354–5.
[25] Nicholas I, *Epp.* 57, 58, 60, 61, pp. 355–64, 369–73.
[26] *AB*, *s.a.* 864, p. 112.
[27] *Die Konzilien*, pp. 180–2. Perels published Nicholas's sermon among his letters: no. 66a, pp. 379–81.
[28] Nicholas I, *Epp.* 68–72, pp. 382–401. For Hincmar's acerbic assessment of the whole situation see *AB*, *s.a.* 865, pp. 118–19.
[29] Nicholas I, *Epp.* 13, 14, 15, pp. 279–82.
[30] Nicholas I, *Epp.* 107, 122, 126, 127, pp. 620–2, 640, 647–9.

and 71), which I shall discuss below, are full of powerful statements about papal rights and prerogatives. One is addressed to all the bishops of Francia and one to Hincmar. They are unusually personal.

My third and final case concerns another quarrel involving Hincmar and Nicholas. This time it was Wulfad who brought the issue to the fore.[31] Wulfad was among a number of clerics ordained by Ebbo of Reims during his brief reinstatement (840–41) by Lothar after the death of Louis the Pious in 840. Ebbo had been deposed in 835 for his part in the rebellion against Louis the Pious. During the troubled years 833–35 he had been loyal to Lothar, who in 840 restored him to the see that had been vacant since 835. When Charles the Bald secured control of Reims he removed Ebbo again. The matter was of interest to Hincmar because he was Ebbo's successor, elected in 845 after a four-year vacancy in the see (841–45). If Ebbo's brief restoration were to be seen as legitimate, as signified by the legitimacy of his ordinations, then there could be questions about Hincmar's legitimacy. Put differently, if Ebbo's removal in 841 were viewed as illegitimate, then his ordinations would be seen as legitimate, and the see of Reims would have been unlawfully vacant when Hincmar succeeded to it. Hincmar held a council at Soissons in 853 that declared all the clerics ordained by Ebbo in 840 and 841 deposed. He subsequently got Popes Leo IV, Benedict III and Nicholas himself to confirm the decisions taken at Soissons. There things might have rested except for the fact that Charles the Bald knew that Archbishop Rodulf of Bourges was old and ill, and Charles wished to have Wulfad succeed him. Wulfad was a significant figure at Charles's court and the king wanted to introduce him into Aquitaine to support and advise his young son Charles. It is possible that Charles and Rothad had brought this matter to Nicholas's attention as early as 865. Nicholas wrote to Charles and to Hincmar, as well as to Herard of Tours and Ado of Vienne, on 3 April 866. He said he had learnt about the case of Wulfad and his colleagues and had looked in the archives to see what he could learn. He said that he had no particular stake in the case except to come to the aid of oppressed persons. He told Hincmar to convene a council at Soissons in September. Hincmar could, he said, resolve the matter *sua sponte* (on his own authority) or, if he did not feel able to participate, he should appoint other bishops to do so. If it were found that the decisions of 853 had been erroneously reached, they should be altered. If parties wished to appeal to Rome, they could do so. In any case, the *acta* of Soissons were to be sent to Rome. As the year 866 wore on, the pace of developments quickened. Rodulf died and Charles wanted Wulfad installed promptly. Nicholas criticised Charles for

[31] Like Rothad's, Wulfad's case has been discussed many times. Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, Vol. II, pp. 146–57; Amann, *L' époque carolingienne*, pp. 388–94; Seppelt, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, Vol. II, pp. 255–7; Haller, *Das Papsttum*, pp. 79–81; Devisse, *Hincmar*, Vol. II, pp. 600–28.

acting in advance of papal approval.[32] In December 866 Nicholas responded to a letter sent to him from Soissons. He repeated some of the history of the case and demanded that the deposed clerics all be reinstated.[33] He noted too some of Hincmar's rather devious legal manoeuvres and he told him that he had one year to appeal.[34] Nicholas also wrote to Wulfad and the others, congratulated them on their restoration, and urged them to show proper respect to Hincmar.[35]

Once again, a case landed on Nicholas's doorstep. Throughout his involvement he insisted that he was only looking out for people who might have been wronged. Hincmar did not want any challenge to the decisions of 853 because he did not wish to have his own legitimacy called into question. Accordingly, he told Nicholas that there were old precedents for re-admitting clergy who had been deposed and that Nicholas could act on his own in this case. What was more, Hincmar said, only a pope could undo the decisions of another pope. Finally, Hincmar said that Nicholas had the right to show mercy to the deposed clerics. Nicholas insisted that he and his predecessors had only granted provisional approval to the decisions taken in Soissons in 853. The issues could always be re-opened for a new inspection. It was not, for him, a matter of reversing a predecessor's decision. In addition, he rejected Hincmar's argument that all he had to do was show mercy. Reviewing cases such as this one was within his rights as pope.

Before looking more specifically at Nicholas's ideas there are two issues that need to be taken off the table. Firstly, when we read Nicholas's letters – 153 of them, more than the total of any early medieval pope except John VIII (I leave on one side the 866 of Gregory I) – are we reading Nicholas himself or his ebullient secretary Anastasius, called 'Bibliothecarius'? Scholars have come down on both sides of the question.[36] There can be no question that Anastasius had a lofty sense of the papal office.[37] Indeed, he struggled mightily to obtain that office himself.[38] But Anastasius was in exile until at least 861 and perhaps until some point in 862. Between his elevation to the pontificate and

[32] Nicholas I, *Ep.* 77, pp. 411–12.
[33] Nicholas I, *Ep.* 79, pp. 414–22.
[34] Nicholas I, *Ep.* 80, pp. 422–30.
[35] Nicholas I, *Ep.* 81, pp. 431–2.
[36] See the discussion and rich bibliography in H. Wolter, 'Anastasius Bibliothecarius', in *LdM*, Vol. I (repr. Munich, 2002), cols 573–4.
[37] One may conclude this from Anastasius's laudatory *vita* of Nicholas in *LP*, Vol. II, pp. 151–67. See, e.g., c. 41: 'The ruler and prince of the whole church, the notable and discerning prelate of the apostolic see' (p. 159, trans. R. Davis, *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes (Liber pontificalis). The Ancient Biographies of Ten Popes from AD 817–891*, Translated Texts for Historians 20 (Liverpool, 1995), p. 222.
[38] *LP*, Vol. II: Leo IV, c. 92, p. 129; Benedict III, cc. 8–20, pp. 141–4.

Anastasius's assumption of office as his secretary Nicholas wrote a number of letters, almost all of them to the East in connection with the patriarchal see of Constantinople, that breathe the central themes of Nicholas's considered views on the papal office and its rights and prerogatives.[39] It is safest to argue that Nicholas and Anastasius shared compatible views on the papal office, and that Nicholas was his own man and knew his own mind.[40] Secondly, because Nicholas upheld the rights of suffragan bishops in the cases of Rothad and Wulfad, it has sometimes been argued that Nicholas was a conscious utiliser of the Pseudo-Isidorean forgeries that, among many other things, defended the rights of suffragans against their metropolitans. No document that issued from Nicholas's *scrinium* before 864 betrays the slightest hint of Pseudo-Isidore and, even if we assume, as has long been assumed, that Rothad of Soissons brought the text of Pseudo-Isidore to Rome in 864, the fact remains that it is surpassingly difficult to identify any explicit borrowing from that corpus of material by Nicholas.[41] One may repeat with respect to Pseudo-Isidore what has just been said with respect to Anastasius: there was a convergence of opinion. Indeed, on one occasion when he responded to a complaint by Frankish bishops that he had gone beyond what could be found in the 'book of canons', Nicholas said that many things operative in the Church were not in that book and, anyway, all papal decrees were to be received.[42] In other words, whether or not he had Pseudo-Isidore before him, Nicholas was prepared to insist that all papal decrees were always and everywhere valid and binding.

Nicholas has received mixed, or ambiguous, assessments from modern scholars. Looking at the views of just the scholars cited in the first note to this chapter produces a range of views that see Nicholas as everything from very original to wholly traditional. It must be said that Nicholas himself has contributed to the range of views his pontificate has elicited. In the Roman synod where he condemned Gunther and Thietgaud, Nicholas said this:

> If anyone willfully ignores the dogmas, mandates, interdicts, sanctions or decrees healthfully promulgated by the bishops of the apostolic see for the Catholic faith, for ecclesiastical discipline, for the correction of the faithful,

[39] Nicholas I, *Epp.* 82–6, pp. 433–51.

[40] See especially the works of Perels and Haller cited in n. 1. Also B. Neil, *Seventh-Century Popes and Martyrs. The Political Hagiography of Anastasius Bibliothecarius* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 14–17.

[41] The subject has been aired many times. The safest position is that of H. Fuhrmann, *Einfluß und Verbreitung der Pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen. Von ihrem Auftauschen bis in die neuere Zeit, Schriften der MGH 24*, Vol. II, pp. 247–72. Clara Harder, *Pseudoisidor und das Papsttum: Funktion und Bedeutung des apostolischen Stuhles in den pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen*, Papsttum im mittelalterlichen Europa 2 (Cologne, 2014) came to my attention too late to be included here.

[42] Nicholas I, *Ep.* 71, pp. 392–400.

> for the emendation of the wicked or for the interdiction of imminent or future evildoers, let him be anathema.[43]

That is a starkly potent statement and I cannot find anything in earlier papal letters that matches it in intensity, clarity, or precision. Gunther of Cologne certainly thought that Nicholas had crossed an understood boundary. To him Nicholas was 'making himself emperor of the whole world'. In a letter sent to the bishops of Lotharingia but also to Rome, Gunther spelt out his concerns: he said that Nicholas proceeded by 'tyrannical will and fury' without prosecutors, witnesses, due procedure, convincing proof from canonical authorities, the presence of other metropolitans or diocesan bishops, confessions from the accused, or any collective expression of opinion. Gunther speaks of 'brother bishops' and the 'fraternal society of the Church'. He concludes that 'we' – he means in the first place himself and Thietgaud but by extension the Lotharingian bishops – utterly reject your (i.e. Nicholas's) decisions.[44] So we have a quarrel in the ninth century that is even more intense than the modern one.

Nicholas's statement and Gunther's rebuttal provide an opportunity to assess what was at stake, how various parties viewed the situation. It is first of all interesting to note that the relevant documents were preserved by Hincmar of Reims, the author of the pertinent section of the *Annals of St-Bertin*. Hincmar had his own struggles with Nicholas, as we have noted and will do again below. He was, moreover, very much on the side of Theutberga, and thus of Nicholas, but he nevertheless published Gunther's furious letter. Gunther accuses Nicholas of sound and fury and it seems to me that, in all the relevant documentation, Nicholas's frustration, perhaps indeed anger, is palpable. His legates had betrayed him. The Frankish bishops had not assembled in council as Nicholas had told them to do. He had had a hard time learning the plain facts. For three or four generations, popes and Frankish rulers had come to comfortable accommodations on a host of issues. Surely Lothar, and his spokesmen Gunther and Thietgaud, seem to have expected similar accommodation in this instance. Nicholas instead proved inflexible. Radoald, who had become the henchman of Lothar and the Lotharingian bishops, was a key Roman ally of Louis II, whose support was no doubt expected by the Lotharingians. But Radoald had fallen from both grace and influence, and Nicholas had a free hand in Rome after 863.

Political contexts are, however, less important than specific issues. Let us review Gunther's charges. He complained about the process in Rome. It

[43] *Die Konzilien*, no. 16, c. 5. The text survives only in *AB*, *s.a.* 863, p. 103, citing the translation in J. Nelson (trans.), *The Annals of St-Bertin* (Manchester, 1991), pp. 109–10.

[44] The letter is preserved in *AB*, *s.a.* 864, pp. 108–10.

is worth recalling that he was deposed in a Roman synod. There had been a process. Gunther said there was no convincing proof from authorities. This might mean either of two things. It might have to do with the merits of the marriage case as Gunther had expected to present it. The fact is that Lothar's case actually had a great deal to do with establishing the law of marriage in the Christian West. Karl Heidecker has done a splendid job of explaining just how complex and contradictory current understandings actually were. Nicholas did, in that Roman synod, take a stand on the legal question. But I do not think his treatment of Gunther and Thietgaud had anything to do with the law of marriage. He sacked them for disobedience and rank dishonesty. It is also possible that what Gunther had in mind were the canonical rules bearing on whether, or in what circumstances, a pope could demote a metropolitan. Nicholas actually sidestepped that issue too. His statement, quoted above, is extraordinarily broad but it does not directly address papal jurisdiction over metropolitans. As Raymund Kottje pointed out some years ago, Nicholas did not act against the law. He acted without the law.[45] As for synods and fellow bishops, Nicholas had attempted to get the matter adjudicated in Metz. Only when that effort failed did he summon the case to Rome and there he acted in concert with a Roman synod. That synod was not full of Gunther's brothers in the narrow sense, but it was a legitimate clerical assembly. What we really see here are two rather different understandings of papal authority, of papal relations with metropolitan bishops, and of the authority of synods and councils.

The same kinds of issues appear in the Rothad and Wulfad cases. Right away it should be said that, as in Lothar's marriage case, Nicholas's actions were not spontaneous; people appealed to him. It is also important to say at the start that in all three cases Nicholas had some trouble learning fully and truthfully what was going on. His letters in all three are full of frustration on exactly this score. As a final preliminary observation, it is perhaps worth saying that in Nicholas and Hincmar we are not dealing with a pair of shrinking violets. These were proud, learned and determined men. To come to substantive issues, what was at stake was the pope's right to entertain appeals. Nicholas and Hincmar debated the relevance and meaning of the Serdican canons – canons issued by the Council of Serdica in 342 bearing on appeals to Rome – so we may safely assume that they were playing the same game by the same rules. But, as in any game, players may understand the rules differently. In Wulfad's case, as noted, Hincmar had, in addition to the specific matter at hand, some concern about the possibility that the legitimacy of his own archiepiscopal office might be called into question. But in both cases, Rothad's and Wulfad's,

[45] R. Kottje, 'Kirchliches Recht und päpstlicher Autoritätsanspruch: zu den Auseinandersetzung über die Ehe Lothars II', in H. Mordek (ed.), *Aus Kirche und Reich. Studien zu Theologie, Politik, und Recht im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf* (Sigmaringen, 1983), 97–103, esp. p. 103.

Hincmar was really concerned that constant reviews of metropolitan decisions might erode metropolitan authority.

Nicholas was attempting to implement a strictly hierarchical understanding of the Church. How much authority popes had over metropolitans in late antiquity is a question that has not yet been satisfactorily answered. In the fragmented world of the early medieval West, papal authority was not strong in theory and no more than episodic in practice. With the eager support and encouragement of the Carolingians the continental Church had grown dramatically in both prestige and power. Late Merovingian bishops – *Milo et eiusmodi similes* – were pretty dynamic figures, but as churchmen they would have paled before a Hincmar or even a Gunther. It was only in Nicholas's time that the new situation in Western Europe was put to the test. I have stressed repeatedly in this chapter how one issue after another landed on Nicholas's doorstep. That is revealing in itself: the papacy had acquired deep reservoirs of respect and prestige. The Carolingians had repeatedly turned to the popes for guidance and instruction. There is also the matter of how the Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals attempted, among other things, to limit the power of metropolitans. I do not think that Nicholas, or his two immediate successors for that matter, said and acted as they did because of Pseudo-Isidore. I believe this was a remarkable coincidence of interests.

If scholars have believed that Nicholas pushed papal authority further than his predecessors did, we need to ask what his predecessors had done, how Nicholas viewed his predecessors, and what Nicholas himself actually said and did. The first point, unfortunately, cannot be pursued in the framework of this chapter. It needs a book to itself. In fact, there is a need for a serious book assessing Nicholas I, Hadrian II and John VIII in the context of their own times and in light of the late antique papacy. With respect to Nicholas's views of his predecessors, I can speak less confidently than I wish I could. Perels's notes in his *MGH* edition of Nicholas's letters are less helpful than they might have been in identifying quotations, paraphrases and allusions. I have neither the time nor the talent to track down every expression of Nicholas I. I can say, however, that he cites Leo I and Gelasius I with considerable frequency and he constantly protests his adherence to inherited traditions. That leaves the matter of what Nicholas himself said and did. The letters pertaining to my three case studies are full of both hints and concrete expressions.

I believe that three guiding ideas can be found in Nicholas's letters. He emphasised his unique concerns for the whole Church, East and West. He acted on the basis of a God-given apostolic authority. And he struggled to maintain the unity of the Church and of the Catholic faith. Not one of these ideas was original with Nicholas, nor was their combination in his thought a matter of particular novelty.

Several times Nicholas stressed that he, and he alone, had concern for the entire Church.[46] When he acted, he did so on the basis of that deep concern.

[46] Nicholas I, *Epp.* 4, 5, 29, 31, 42, 71, pp. 270, 271, 296, 300, 315, 197.

As Yves Congar has pointed out, this was not a new claim: popes from Julius I to John VIII expressed their *sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*.[47] Nicholas's expression took a particular form, however. He saw himself as the 'pastor of the Lord's flock'.[48] In his dealings with Lothar's marriage dispute he said that 'pastoral care has moved us to hear the case'.[49] Nicholas saw himself repeatedly as duty-bound to care for the good of the whole Church.[50] Congar, again, says that Nicholas's was a 'pastoral monarchy'. Juridical reasoning was not his style.[51] As noted above, Raymund Kottje believes that Nicholas could appeal to the decrees of his predecessors and could stress the need for everyone to act *canonice*, but he generally acted without the law rather than because of it or on its basis.[52] The Franks threw law at him and he responded with apostolic authority, as we shall see shortly. His was a priestly office in a spiritual sense, not a magisterial one.

Nicholas did not regard his authority as grounded in office or in law. It came from St Peter and, more than that, from God himself who, in the person of Jesus Christ, had conferred authority upon St Peter. He acted on 'apostolic authority', on apostolic authority and 'the authority of St Peter', on 'our authority and the authority of St Peter, and of God', or even 'on the authority of God, and of Sts Peter and Paul, and of all the holy fathers'.[53] He spoke once of 'our apostolic mind' (*animus apostolicus*).[54] As pope he was 'prince over all the earth, that is, over the whole Church'.[55] Once he called the Holy Roman Church 'the mother of all the earth'. In a letter to Queen Irmintrude, Nicholas said 'For you have written that if we would hear our son no detriment or enhancement would result for the privileges of our Church: we most certainly believe that, because the privileges of the Holy Roman Church simply cannot sustain any detriment.'[56] In a letter to Rodulf of Bourges, Nicholas clarified what he meant: In the whole Church of Christ the Roman Church has a 'special prerogative to establish laws, to lay down decrees, and to issue judgements'.[57] Nicholas used some lofty terms

47 Y. Congar, *L'ecclésiologie du haut moyen âge* (Paris, 1968), pp. 190–1.

48 Nicholas I, *Ep.* 1, p. 267; see W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn (London, 1970), pp. 205–6.

49 Nicholas I, *Ep.* 3, p. 269.

50 K. Kennedy, 'The permanence of an idea: three ninth-century Frankish ecclesiastics and the authority of the Roman see', in Mordek, *Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf*, 105–16, p. 114.

51 Congar, *L'ecclésiologie*, pp. 151–63, 210.

52 Kottje, 'Kirchliches Recht und päpstlicher Autoritätsanspruch', p. 103.

53 Nicholas I, *Epp.* 13, 15, 18, 26, pp. 280, 281–2, 285, 291.

54 Nicholas I, *Ep.* 3, p. 269.

55 Nicholas I, *Ep.* 8, p. 205; cf. *Epp.* 29, 71, pp. 296, 392.

56 Nicholas I, *Ep.* 64, p. 376.

57 Nicholas I, *Ep.* 29, p. 296;

that were not common in earlier papal documents: *apostolatus* and *praesulatus*, for example.[58] Anastasius, the author of Nicholas's *vita* in the *Liber pontificalis*, spoke the language of the Lateran in calling Nicholas 'the ruler and prince of the whole Church, the notable and discerning prelate of the apostolic see'.[59] In seeing Nicholas argue this way, do we see him as Haller did: 'New high goals were sought, unheard of claims were raised, both with a confidence and provocative taste for struggle that one had not yet known in bishops of Rome'?[60] Or do we agree with Amann, Mann and Seppelt, who insist that Nicholas was not an innovator, although he may have expressed himself more clearly and forcefully than his immediate predecessors had done?[61] I myself would stand with the latter. And it is important to observe that numerous Frankish writers spoke with deep respect for the papal office. Adventius of Metz, for example, praised the Holy See to the mountain tops.[62] Hincmar, who could be acerbic when it came to what he regarded as Rome's pretensions, could also express himself in laudatory terms: 'the triply blessed, coangelic and apostolic Nicholas'.[63] Of course, Gunther and Thietgaud took a diametrically opposed view, as we have seen. But what was really at stake here was a contest between papal and episcopal power. Nicholas basically returned to the views of Gregory I, but no Frankish bishop had heard such views in the Carolingian period. Frankish Metropolitans, ironically with papal aid and support, had grown powerful and independent, and they had been in league with Frankish rulers.[64] Put a little differently, no one in Francia actually refused or rejected papal authority or primacy, but by the 850s and 860s no one really knew what this meant in practice.[65] Nicholas was remedying this gap in perception.

Finally, Nicholas believed in unity formed by the Catholic faith and guided by Rome. On taking office popes swore a profession of faith that is rarely taken up in discussions of papal history. Popes swore to Peter to accept the power to bind and to loose as Christ had given it to Simon Peter. They promised to strive with all their heart and soul to maintain the faith and to adhere to the teachings of the universal councils: to maintain canonical discipline, and to

[58] Nicholas I, *Epp*. 3, 6, pp. 269, 272.

[59] *LP*, c. 2, p. 151.

[60] Haller, *Das Papsttum*, pp. 55–6.

[61] Amann, *L' époque carolingienne*, p. 369; Mann, *Lives of the Popes*, p. 8; Seppelt, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, p. 243.

[62] Adventius to Nicholas, *apud* Nicholas I, *Ep*. 8, p. 220.

[63] *AB*, *s.a.* 863, p. 120. Examples like this could be multiplied endlessly. See K. Morrison, *Tradition and Authority in the Western Church, 300–1140* (Princeton, 1969), pp. 228–33.

[64] So K. Morrison, *The Two Kingdoms. Ecclesiology in Carolingian Political Thought* (Princeton, 1964), pp. 258–69.

[65] Congar, *L'ecclésiologie*, pp. 151–63.

admit no novelties.[66] This oath couples nicely with Nicholas's 'solicitude' for the entire Church. That the pope was the 'heir and guardian' of apostolic teaching was the 'primary tendency' of Nicholas's thought.[67] In addition to its spiritual dimension, Nicholas's sense of unity had an ecclesial dimension. His view of the Church was decidedly vertical, not horizontal.[68] Rome was the *caput* of all Christianity.[69] Rome's was the 'holy and supreme see'.[70] The episcopate derived its authority from Rome.[71] Rome could judge but never be judged.[72] Adherence to Rome's teachings assured salvation.[73] In a modest way with respect to Godescalc and John the Scot, and in a significant way with respect to the Byzantines, who are deliberately omitted from this chapter, Nicholas saw himself as the key guardian of the faith of all the Christian people. In a similar way, he saw himself as the unique leader of the Christian people and Church.

In the space of this rather brief exposition, I believe that I have dealt with the 'ecclesiology' signalled in my title. Let me conclude with a few words on 'politics'. Protestant Church historians of earlier generations in particular, beginning with Matthias Flaccius Illyricus, for whom Nicholas inaugurated the reign of Antichrist, have tended to regard Nicholas as a cunning politician.[74] Even Karl Heidecker, in his fine book on the divorce case of Lothar II, interprets developments in fundamentally political terms. He says that Nicholas had no direct interest in the case but only wished to establish his supreme authority to judge other bishops and secular rulers.[75] I dissent. Let us recall from the case studies limned above that Nicholas never acted spontaneously. As Ernst Dümmler artfully put it, 'The sins of kings were the steps to the throne of supreme papal power.'[76] Nicholas acted only when various persons appealed to him. Let us recall as well that he suffered all sorts of subterfuge and deceit. There can be no question that he encountered stiff opposition on some occasions. But in every case, he applied pastoral guidance, apostolic authority and Catholic unity in his attempts to resolve the controversies that

66 *Indiculum pontificis, liber diurnus Romanorum pontificum*, ed. H. Foerster (Bern, 1958), pp. 145–8. For Congar, *L'ecclésiologie*, pp. 207–8, faith was everything to Nicholas.

67 Morrison, *Tradition and Authority*, p. 216.

68 Ullmann, *Papal Government*, p. 196.

69 Nicholas I, *Ep.* 71, p. 393.

70 Nicholas I, *Ep.* 5, p. 271.

71 Nicholas I, *Ep.* 18, p. 285 (= Roman synod, c. 3, *Die Konzilien*, p. 154).

72 Nicholas I, *Epp.* 46, 48, 70, 100, pp. 323, 330, 390, 606.

73 Nicholas I, *Epp.* 8, 66a, 71, pp. 274, 379–80, 394–5.

74 For example: Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, Vol. II, pp. 549–50; Haller, *Das Papsttum*, pp. 64, 77–9.

75 Heidecker, *Divorce of Lothar II*, p. 156.

76 Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, Vol. I, p. 62.

his dealings with the Franks brought to his attention. Nothing here was really new, as I myself, and other historians, have argued. Nicholas's letters to the Frankish kings Charles the Bald, Lothar II and Louis the German are always respectful and only sought peace. The Fulda annalist stressed this point and never ascribed political motives to the pope, although he might well have done so.[77] Hincmar tangled with the pope many times, and sometimes his exasperation is palpable. Yet, as noted above, he maintained a respectful distance. And Nicholas could be magnanimous too. Once he had settled the Wulfad affair he remained utterly silent on any question pertaining to Hincmar's legitimacy. What is more, he plangently asked the Franks for their support against the perverse Greeks.[78] There is more here than simply diplomatic courtesy. Nicholas was drawing upon his sense of unity: we, who are right, must rally against them, who are wrong. Nicholas was no crass politician. He acted on principle.

Perspective is crucial. Firstly, as Yves Congar has argued, various historical developments played a key role in advancing or checking the development of papal primacy. He notes the pontificate of Honorius, continuous struggles with Ravenna, iconoclasm, the birth of the Papal State, the reign of Charlemagne, the weakness of the later Carolingians, and papal protection of monasteries.[79] Specific issues in the mid-ninth century must be seen with a long lens. Secondly, no pope before Nicholas was so constantly and intensively involved with the Franks. His pontificate is hard to go to school on. Who knows what one of his Carolingian-era predecessors might have done had he been so frequently assailed by appeals of all kinds? Nicholas has sometimes been seen as a precursor of the papal 'monarchs' of the high Middle Ages. He was no such thing, but he was like them insofar as he was comprehensively busy with the concerns of the Christian world. Thirdly, and closely related to the second point, Ernst Perels, superb Monumentist that he was notwithstanding, did students of Nicholas I no favours by editing his letters into batches dealing with the divorce of Lothar, the affairs of Rothad and Wulfad, Byzantine relations and 'various' issues. If instead one leafs through Philipp Jaffé's *Regesta pontificum* – that is, if one looks at Nicholas's voluminous correspondence in strictly chronological fashion, one can see right away how burdened this pope was with a huge array of issues from all sides on a constant basis. He addressed those issues 'with unbending firmness, but also with a keen sense of reality and a statesmanlike sense of perspective'.[80]

[77] *AF*, *s.a.* 865, p. 63.

[78] Nicholas I, *Ep.* 100, pp. 600–9. Indeed, Aeneas of Paris and Ratramnus of Corbie complied with Nicholas's request.

[79] Congar, *L'ecclésiologie*, pp. 195–205.

[80] Seppelt, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, p. 249.

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